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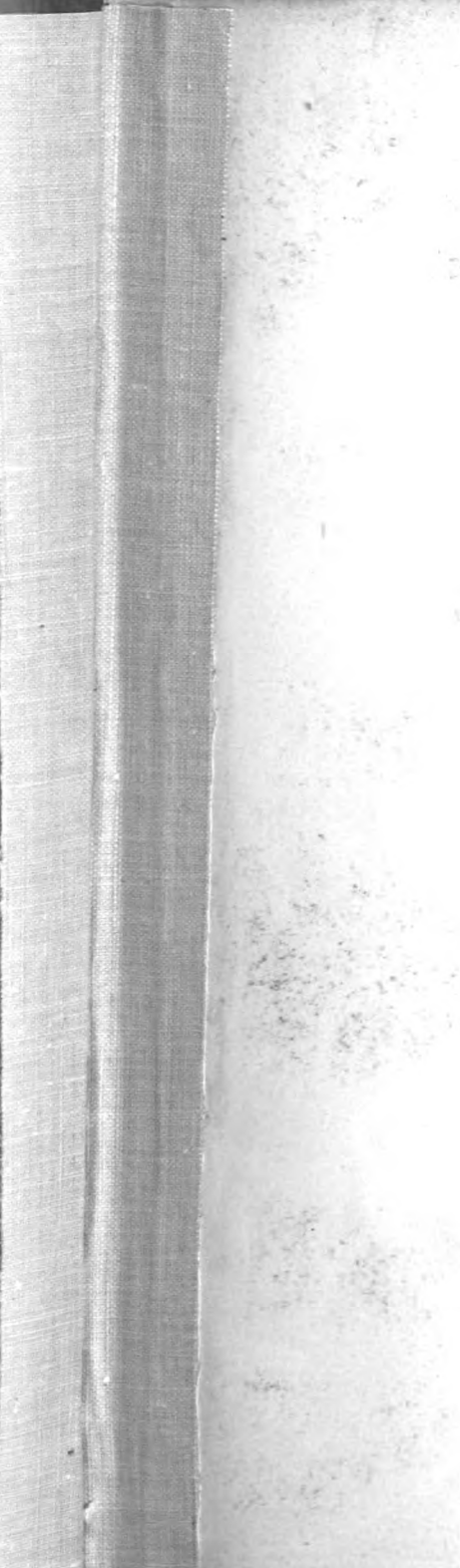
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THE
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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XVI

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1882

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

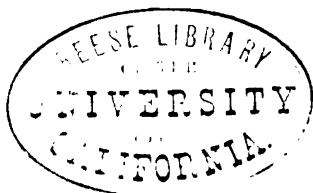
THE TEXTS OF CONFUCIANISM

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES LEGGE

PART II

THE YÎ KING



•xford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1882

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PREFACE.

I wrote out a translation of the Yî King, embracing both the Text and the Appendixes, in 1854 and 1855; and have to acknowledge that when the manuscript was completed, I knew very little about the scope and method of the book. I laid the volumes containing the result of my labour aside, and hoped, believed indeed, that the light would by and by dawn, and that I should one day get hold of a clue that would guide me to a knowledge of the mysterious classic.

Before that day came, the translation was soaked, in 1870, for more than a month in water of the Red Sea. By dint of careful manipulation it was recovered so as to be still legible; but it was not till 1874 that I began to be able to give to the book the prolonged attention necessary to make it reveal its secrets. Then for the first time I got hold, as I believe, of the clue, and found that my toil of twenty years before was of no service at all.

What had tended more than anything else to hide the nature of the book from my earlier studies was the way in which, with the Text, ordinarily and, as I think, correctly ascribed to king Wăn and his son Tan, there are interspersed, under each hexagram, the portions of the Appendixes I, II, and IV relating to it. The student at first thinks this an advantage. He believes that all the Appendixes were written by Confucius, and combine with the text to form one harmonious work; and he is glad to have the sentiments of 'the three sages' brought together. But I now perceived that the composition of the Text and of the Appendixes, allowing the Confucian authorship of the latter, was separated by about 700 years, and that their subject-matter was often incongruous. My first step towards a right understanding of the Yî was to study the Text by itself and as complete in itself. It was easy to

do this because the imperial edition of 1715, with all its critical apparatus, keeps the Text and the Appendixes separate.

The wisdom of the course thus adopted became more apparent by the formation of eight different concordances, one for the Text, and one for each of the Appendixes. They showed that many characters in the Appendixes, and those especially which most readily occur to sinologists as characteristic of the *Yi*, are not to be found in the Text at all. A fuller acquaintance, moreover, with the tone and style of the Appendixes satisfied me that while we had sufficient evidence that the greater part of them was not from Confucius, we had no evidence that any part was his, unless it might be the paragraphs introduced by the compiler or compilers as sayings of 'the Master.'

Studying the Text in the manner thus described, I soon arrived at the view of the meaning and object of the *Yi*, which I have described in the second chapter of the Introduction; and I was delighted to find that there was a substantial agreement between my interpretations of the hexagrams and their several lines and those given by the most noted commentators from the Han dynasty down to the present. They have not formulated the scheme so concisely as I have done, and they were fettered by their belief in the Confucian authorship of the Appendixes; but they held the same general opinion, and were similarly controlled by it in construing the Text. Any sinologist who will examine the *Yü Kih Zăh Kiang Yi King Kieh I*, prepared by one of the departments of the Han Lin college, and published in 1682, and which I have called the 'Daily Lessons,' or 'Lectures,' will see the agreement between my views and those underlying its paraphrase.

After the clue to the meaning of the *Yi* was discovered, there remained the difficulty of translating. The peculiarity of its style makes it the most difficult of all the Confucian classics to present in an intelligible version. I suppose that there are sinologists who will continue, for a time at least, to maintain that it was intended by its

author or authors, whoever they were, merely as a book of divination; and of course the oracles of divination were designedly wrapped up in mysterious phraseology. But notwithstanding the account of the origin of the book and its composition by king Wăn and his son, which I have seen reason to adopt, they, its authors, had to write after the manner of diviners. There is hardly another work in the ancient literature of China that presents the same difficulties to the translator.

When I made my first translation of it in 1854, I endeavoured to be as concise in my English as the original Chinese was. Much of what I wrote was made up, in consequence, of so many English words, with little or no mark of syntactical connexion. I followed in this the example of P. Regis and his coadjutors (Introduction, page 9) in their Latin version. But their version is all but unintelligible, and mine was not less so. How to surmount this difficulty occurred to me after I had found the clue to the interpretation;—in a fact which I had unconsciously acted on in all my translations of other classics, namely, that the written characters of the Chinese are not representations of words, but symbols of ideas, and that the combination of them in composition is not a representation of what the writer would say, but of what he thinks. It is vain therefore for a translator to attempt a literal version. When the symbolic characters have brought his mind en rapport with that of his author, he is free to render the ideas in his own or any other speech in the best manner that he can attain to. This is the rule which Mencius followed in interpreting the old poems of his country:—‘We must try with our thoughts to meet the scope of a sentence, and then we shall apprehend it.’ In the study of a Chinese classical book there is not so much an interpretation of the characters employed by the writer as a participation of his thoughts;—there is the seeing of mind to mind. The canon hence derived for a translator is not one of license. It will be his object to express the meaning of the original as exactly and concisely as possible. But it will be necessary for him to introduce a word or two

now and then to indicate what the mind of the writer supplied for itself. What I have done in this way will generally be seen enclosed in parentheses, though I queried whether I might not dispense with them, as there is nothing in the English version which was not, I believe, present in the writer's thought. I hope, however, that I have been able in this way to make the translation intelligible to readers. If, after all, they shall conclude that in what is said on the hexagrams there is often 'much ado about nothing,' it is not the translator who should be deemed accountable for that, but his original.

I had intended to append to the volume translations of certain chapters from *K'ü Hsî* and other writers of the Sung dynasty; but this purpose could not be carried into effect for want of space. It was found necessary to accompany the version with a running commentary, illustrating the way in which the teachings of king Wăn and his son are supposed to be drawn from the figures and their several lines; and my difficulty was to keep the single *Yî* within the limits of one volume. Those intended translations therefore are reserved for another opportunity; and indeed, the Sung philosophy did not grow out of the *Yî* proper, but from the Appendixes to it, and especially from the third of them. It is more Tâoistic than Confucian.

When I first took the *Yî* in hand, there existed no translation of it in any western language but that of P. Regis and his coadjutors, which I have mentioned above and in various places of the Introduction. The authors were all sinologists of great attainments; and their view of the Text as relating to the transactions between the founders of the *K'âu* dynasty and the last sovereign of the Shang or Yin, and capable of being illustrated historically, though too narrow, was an approximation to the truth. The late M. Mohl, who had edited the work in 1834, said to me once, 'I like it; for I come to it out of a sea of mist, and find solid ground.' No sufficient distinction was made in it, however, between the Text and the Appendixes; and in discussing the third and following Appendixes the translators

were haunted by the name and shade of Confucius. To the excessive literalness of the version I have referred above.

In 1876 the Rev. Canon McClatchie, M.A., published a version at Shanghai with the title, 'A Translation of the Confucian Yî King, or the "Classic of Changes," with Notes and Appendix.' This embraces both the Text and the Appendixes, the first, second, and fourth of the latter being interspersed along with the Text, as in the ordinary school editions of the classic. So far as I can judge from his language, he does not appear to be aware that the first and second Appendixes were not the work of king Wăn and the duke of Kâu, but of a subsequent writer—he would say of Confucius—explaining their explanations of the entire hexagrams and their several lines. His own special object was 'to open the mysteries of the Yî by applying to it the key of Comparative Mythology.' Such a key was not necessary; and the author, by the application of it, has found sundry things to which I have occasionally referred in my notes. They are not pleasant to look at or dwell upon; and happily it has never entered into the minds of Chinese scholars to conceive of them. I have followed Canon McClatchie's translation from paragraph to paragraph and from sentence to sentence, but found nothing which I could employ with advantage in my own.

Long after my translation had been completed, and that of the Text indeed was printed, I received from Shanghai the third volume of P. Angelo Zottoli's '*Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*,' which had appeared in 1880. About 100 pages of it are occupied with the Yî. The Latin version is a great improvement on that in the work of Regis; but P. Zottoli translates only the Text of the first two hexagrams, with the portions of the first, second, and fourth Appendixes relating to them; and other six hexagrams with the explanations of king Wăn's Thwan and of the Great Symbolism. Of the remaining fifty-six hexagrams only the briefest summary is given; and then follow the Appendixes III, V, VI, and VII at length. The author has done his work well.

His general view of the *Yî* is stated in the following sentences:—‘*Ex Fû-hsi figuris, Wăn regis definitionibus, Kâu ducis symbolis, et Confucii commentariis, Liber conficitur, qui a mutationibus, quas duo elementa in hexagrammatum compositione inducunt, Yî (Mutator) vel Yî King (Mutationum Liber) appellatur. Quid igitur tandem famosus iste Yî King? Paucis accipe: .ex linearum qualitate continua vel intercisa; earumque situ, imo, medio, vel supremo; mutuaque ipsarum relatione, occursu, dissidio, convenientia; ex ipso scilicet trigrammatum corpore seu forma, tum ex trigrammatum symbolo seu imagine, tum ex trigrammatum proprietate seu virtute, tum etiam aliquando ex unius ad alterum hexagramma varietate, eruitur aliqua imago, deducitur aliqua sententia, quoddam veluti oraculum continens, quod sorte etiam consulere possis ad documentum obtinendum, moderandae vitae solvendove dubio consentaneum. Ita liber juxta Confucii explicationem in scholis tradi solitam. Nil igitur sublime aut mysteriosum, nil foedum aut vile hic quaeras; argutulum potius lusum ibi video ad instructiones morales politicasque eliciendas, ut ad satietatem usque in Sinicis passim classicis, obvias, planas, naturales; tantum, cum liber iste, ut integrum legenti textum facile patebit, ad sortilegii usum deductus fuerit, per ipsum jam summum homo obtinebit vitae beneficium, arcanam cum spiritibus communicationem secretamque futurorum eventuum cognitionem; theurgus igitur visus est iste liber, totus lux, totus spiritus, hominisque vitae accommodatissimus; indeque laudes a Confucio ei tributas, prorsus exaggeratas, in hujus libri praesertim appendice videre erit, si vere tamen, ut communis fert opinio, ipse sit hujus appendicis auctor.*’

There has been a report for two or three years of a new translation of the *Yî*, or at least of a part of it, as being in preparation by M. Terrien de Lacouperie, and Professor R. K. Douglas of the British Museum and King’s College, London. I have alluded on pages 8, 9 of the Introduction to some inaccurate statements about native commentaries on the *Yî* and translations of it by foreigners, made in connexion with this contemplated version. But I did not know

what the projected undertaking really was, till I read a letter from M. Terrien in the 'Athenæum' of the 21st January of this year. He there says that the joint translation 'deals only with the oldest part of the book, the short lists of characters which follow each of the sixty-four headings, and leaves entirely aside the explanations and commentaries attributed to Wen Wang, K'au Kung, Confucius, and others, from 1200 B. C. downwards, which are commonly embodied as an integral part of the classic;' adding, 'The proportion of the primitive text to these additions is about one-sixth of the whole.' But if we take away these explanations and commentaries attributed to king Wăn, the duke of K'au, and Confucius, we take away the whole Yî. There remain only the linear figures attributed to Fû-hsî, without any lists of characters, long or short, without a single written character of any kind whatever. The projectors have been misled somehow about the contents of the Yî; and unless they can overthrow all the traditions and beliefs about them, whether Chinese or foreign, their undertaking is more hopeless than the task laid on the children of Israel by Pharaoh, that they should make bricks without straw.

I do not express myself thus in any spirit of hostility. If, by discoveries in Accadian or any other long-buried and forgotten language, M. Terrien de Lacouperie can throw new light on the written characters of China or on its speech, no one will rejoice more than myself; but his ignorance of how the contents of the classic are made up does not give much prospect of success in his promised translation.

In the preface to the third volume of these 'Sacred Books of the East,' containing the Shû King, Shih King, and Hsiao King, I have spoken of the Chinese terms Tî and Shang Tî, and shown how I felt it necessary to continue to render them by our word God, as I had done in all my translations of the Chinese classics since 1861. My doing so gave offence to some of the missionaries in China and others; and in June, 1880, twenty-three gentlemen addressed a letter to Professor F. Max Müller, complaining

that, in such a work edited by him, he should allow me to give my own private interpretation of the name or names in question instead of translating them or transferring them. Professor Müller published the letter which he had received, with his reply to it, in the 'Times' newspaper of Dec. 30, 1880. Since then the matter has rested, and I introduce it again here in this preface, because, though we do not meet with the name in the Yî so frequently as in the Shû and Shih, I have, as before, wherever it does occur, translated it by God. Those who object to that term say that Shang Tî might be rendered by 'Supreme Ruler' or 'Supreme Emperor,' or by 'Ruler (or Emperor) on high;' but when I examined the question, more than thirty years ago, with all possible interest and all the resources at my command, I came to the conclusions that Tî, on its first employment by the Chinese fathers, was intended to express the same concept which our fathers expressed by God, and that such has been its highest and proper application ever since. There would be little if any difference in the meaning conveyed to readers by 'Supreme Ruler' and 'God;' but when I render Tî by God and Shang Tî by the Supreme God, or, for the sake of brevity, simply by God, I am translating, and not giving a private interpretation of my own. I do it not in the interests of controversy, but as the simple expression of what to me is truth; and I am glad to know that a great majority of the Protestant missionaries in China use Tî and Shang Tî as the nearest analogue for God.

It would be tedious to mention the many critical editions and commentaries that I have used in preparing the translation. I have not had the help of able native scholars, which saved time and was otherwise valuable when I was working in the East on other classics. The want of this, however, has been more than compensated in some respects by my copy of the 'Daily Lectures on the Yî,' the full title of which is given on page xiv. The friend who purchased it for me five years ago in Canton was obliged to content himself with a second-hand copy; but I found that the

previous owner had been a ripe scholar who freely used his pencil in pursuing his studies. It was possible, from his punctuation, interlineations, and many marginal notes, to follow the exercises of his mind, patiently pursuing his search for the meaning of the most difficult passages. I am under great obligations to him; and also to the *K'au Yî Keh Kung*, the great imperial edition of the present dynasty, first published in 1715. I have generally spoken of its authors as the Khang-hsî editors. Their numerous discussions of the meaning, and ingenious decisions, go far to raise the interpretation of the *Yî* to a science.

J. L.

OXFORD,
16th March, 1882.

THE YÎ KING
OR
BOOK OF CHANGES.

THE YĪ KING

OR

BOOK OF CHANGES.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE YĪ KING FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY B.C. TO
THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

1. Confucius is reported to have said on one occasion, 'If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to the study of the YĪ, and might then escape falling into great errors¹.' The utterance is referred by the best critics to the closing period of Confucius' life, when he had returned from his long and painful wanderings among the States, and was settled again in his native Lû. By this time he was nearly seventy, and it seems strange, if he spoke seriously, that he should have thought it possible for his life to be prolonged other fifty years. So far as that specification is concerned, a corruption of the text is generally admitted. My reason for adducing the passage has simply been to prove from it the existence of a YĪ King in the time of Confucius. In the history of him by Sze-mâ K'ien it is stated that, in the closing years of his life, he became fond of the YĪ, and wrote various appendixes to it, that he read his copy of it so much that the leathern thongs (by which the tablets containing it were bound together) were thrice worn out, and that he said, 'Give me several years (more), and I should be master of the YĪ².' The ancient books on which Confucius had delighted

¹ Confucian Analects, VII, xvi.

² The Historical Records; Life of Confucius, p. 12.

to discourse with his disciples were those of History, Poetry, and Rites and Ceremonies¹; but ere he passed away from among them, his attention was much occupied also by the YĪ as a monument of antiquity, which in the prime of his days he had too much neglected.

2. *K'zien* says that Confucius wrote various appendixes to the YĪ, specifying all but two of the treatises, which go

The YĪ is now made up of the Text which Confucius saw and the Appendixes ascribed to him.

by the name of 'the Ten Appendixes,' and are, with hardly a dissentient voice, attributed to the sage. They are published along with the older Text, which is based on still older lineal figures, and are received by most Chinese readers, as well as by foreign Chinese scholars,

as an integral portion of the YĪ King. The two portions should, however, be carefully distinguished. I will speak of them as the Text and the Appendixes.

3. The YĪ happily escaped the fires of *Shin*, which proved so disastrous to most of the ancient literature of China in

The YĪ escaped the fires of *Shin*.

B.C. 213. In the memorial which the premier *Lî Sze* addressed to his sovereign, advising that the old books should be consigned to

the flames, an exception was made of those which treated of 'medicine, divination, and husbandry².' The YĪ was held to be a book of divination, and so was preserved.

In the catalogue of works in the imperial library, prepared by *Liû Hin* about the beginning of our era, there is an enumeration of those on the YĪ and its Appendixes,—the books of thirteen different authors or schools, comprehended in 294 portions of larger or smaller dimensions³. I need not follow the history and study of the YĪ into the line of the centuries since the time of *Liû Hin*. The imperial *Khang-hsi* edition of it, which appeared in 1715, contains quotations from the commentaries of 218 scholars, covering, more or less closely, the time from the second century B.C. to our seventeenth century. I may venture to say that

¹ *Analects*, VII, xvii.

² *Legge's Chinese Classics*, I, prolegomena, pp. 6-9.

³ *Books of the Earlier Han; History of Literature*, pp. 1, 2.

those 218 are hardly a tenth of the men who have tried to interpret the remarkable book, and solve the many problems to which it gives rise.

4. It may be assumed then that the Yî King, properly so called, existed before Confucius, and has come down to us as correctly as any other of the ancient books of China; and it might also be said, as correctly as any of the old

The Yî before
Confucius,
and when it
was made.

monuments of Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin literature. The question arises of how far before Confucius we can trace its existence. Of course an inquiry into this point will not include the portions or appendixes attributed to the sage himself. Attention will be called to them by and by, when I shall consider how far we are entitled, or whether we are at all entitled, to ascribe them to him. I do not doubt, however, that they belong to what may be called the Confucian period, and were produced some time after his death, probably between B.C. 450 and 350. By whomsoever they were written, they may be legitimately employed in illustration of what were the prevailing views in that age on various points connected with the Yî. Indeed, but for the guidance and hints derived from them as to the meaning of the text, and the relation between its statements and the linear figures, there would be great difficulty in making out any consistent interpretation of it.

- (i) The earliest mention of the classic is found in the Official Book of the K'âu dynasty, where it is said that, among the duties of 'the Grand Diviner,' 'he had charge of the rules for the three Yî (systems of Changes), called the Lien-shan, the Kwei-jhang, and the Yî of K'âu; that in each of them the regular (or primary) lineal figures were 8, which were multiplied, in each, till they amounted to 64.' The date of the Official Book has not been exactly ascertained. The above passage can hardly be reconciled with the opinion of the majority of Chinese critics that it was the work of the duke of K'âu, the consolidator and legislator of the dynasty so called; but I think there must have been the groundwork of it at a very early date. When that was composed or compiled, there

The Yî men-
tioned in the
Official Book
of K'âu.

was existing, among the archives of the kingdom, under the charge of a high officer, 'the YĪ of K'âu,'—what constitutes the Text of the present YĪ; the Text, that is, as distinguished from the Appendixes. There were two other YĪ, known as the Lien-shan and the Kwei-ḡhang. It would be a waste of time to try to discover the meaning of these designations. They are found in this and another passage of the Official Book; and nowhere else. Not a single trace of what they denoted remains, while we possess 'the YĪ of K'âu' complete¹.

(ii) In the Supplement of 30 K'üü-ming to 'the Spring and Autumn,' there is abundant evidence that divination by the YĪ was frequent, throughout the states of China, before the time of Con-

The YĪ men-
tioned in the
30 K'hwān.

fucius. There are at least eight narratives of such a practice, between the years B.C. 672 and 564, before he was born; and five times during his life-time the divining stalks and the book were had recourse to on occasions with which he had nothing to do. In all these cases the text of the YĪ, as we have it now, is freely quoted. The 'Spring and Autumn' commences in B.C. 722. If it extended back to the rise of the K'âu dynasty, we should, no doubt, find

¹ See the K'âu Kwan (or Lî), Book XXIV, parr. 3, 4, and 27. Biot (Le Tcheou Lî, vol. ii, pp. 70, 71) translates the former two paragraphs thus:— 'Il (Le Grand Augure) est préposé aux trois méthodes pour les changements (des lignes divinatoires). La première est appelée Liaison des montagnes (Lien-shan); la seconde, Retour et Conservation (Kwei-ḡhang); la troisième, Changements des K'âu. Pour toutes il y a huit lignes symboliques sacrées, et soixante-quatre combinaisons de ces lignes.'

Some tell us that by Lien-shan was intended Fû-hsi, and by Kwei-ḡhang Hwang Tî; others, that the former was the YĪ of the Hsiâ dynasty, and the latter that of Shang or Yin. A third set will have it that Lien-shan was a designation of Shān Nāng, between Fû-hsi and Hwang Tî. I should say myself, as many Chinese critics do say, that Lien-shan was an arrangement of the lineal

symbols in which the first figure was the present 52nd hexagram, K'ân ,

consisting of the trigram representing mountains doubled; and that Kwei-ḡhang was an arrangement where the first figure was the present 2nd hexagram,

K'hwān , consisting of the trigram representing the earth doubled,—

with reference to the disappearance and safe keeping of plants in the bosom of the earth in winter. All this, however, is only conjecture.

accounts of divination by the *Yi* interspersed over the long intervening period. For centuries before Confucius appeared on the stage of his country, the *Yi* was well known among the various feudal states, which then constituted the Middle Kingdom¹.

(iii) We may now look into one of the Appendixes for its testimony to the age and authorship of the Text. The third Appendix is the longest, and the most important². In the 49th paragraph of the second Section of it it is said:—

‘Was it not in the middle period of antiquity that the *Yi* began to flourish? Was not he who made it (or were not they who made it) familiar with anxiety and calamity?’

The highest antiquity commences, according to Chinese writers, with *Fû-hsi*, B.C. 3322; and the lowest with Confucius in the middle of the sixth century B.C. Between these is the period of middle antiquity, extending a comparatively short time, from the rise of the *Kâu* dynasty, towards the close of the twelfth century B.C., to the Confucian era. According to this paragraph it was in this period that our *Yi* was made.

The 69th paragraph is still more definite in its testimony:—

‘Was it not in the last age of the Yin (dynasty), when the virtue of *Kâu* had reached its highest point, and during the troubles between king *Wăn* and (the tyrant) *Kâu*, that (the study of) the *Yi* began to flourish? On this account the explanations (in the book) express (a feeling of) anxious apprehension, (and teach) how peril may be turned into security, and easy carelessness is sure to meet with overthrow.’

The dynasty of Yin was superseded by that of *Kâu* in B.C. 1122. The founder of *Kâu* was he whom we call king *Wăn*, though he himself never occupied the throne. The

¹ See in the *30 K'wan*, under the 22nd year of duke Kwang (B.C. 672); the 1st year of Min (661); and in his 2nd year (660); twice in the 15th year of Hsi (645); his 25th year (635); the 12th year of Hsüan (597); the 16th year of *K'iang* (575); the 9th year of Hsiang (564); his 25th year (548); the 5th year of *K'iao* (537); his 7th year (535); his 12th year (530); and the 9th year of *Äi* (486).

² That is, the third as it appears farther on in this volume in two Sections. With the Chinese critics it forms the fifth and sixth Appendixes, or ‘Wings,’ as they are termed.

troubles between him and the last sovereign of Yin reached their height in B. C. 1143, when the tyrant threw him into prison in a place called Yû-lî, identified as having been in the present district of Thang-yin, department of K'ang-teh, province of Ho-nan. Wăn was not kept long in confinement. His friends succeeded in appeasing the jealousy of his enemy, and securing his liberation in the following year. It follows that the Yî, so far as we owe it to king Wăn, was made in the year B.C. 1143 or 1142, or perhaps that it was begun in the former year and finished in the latter¹.

But the part which is thus ascribed to king Wăn is only a small portion of the Yî. A larger share is attributed to his son Tan, known as the duke of K'âu, and in it we have allusions to king Wû, who succeeded his father Wăn, and was really the first sovereign of the dynasty of K'âu². There are passages, moreover, which must be understood of events in the early years of the next reign. But the duke of K'âu died in the year B. C. 1105, the 11th of king K'iang. A few years then before that time, in the last decade of the twelfth century B.C., the Yî King, as it has come down to us, was complete³.

5. We have thus traced the text of the Yî to its authors, the famous king Wăn in the year 1143 B. C., and his equally famous son, the duke of K'âu, in between thirty and forty years later. It can thus boast of a great antiquity; but a general opinion has prevailed that it belonged to a period still more distant. Only two translations of it have been made by European scholars. The first was executed by Regis and other Roman Catholic missionaries in the beginning of last century, though it was given to the public only

The Yî is not
the most
ancient of
the Chinese
books.

great antiquity; but a general opinion has prevailed that it belonged to a period still more distant. Only two translations of it have

¹ Sze-mâ K'ien (History of the K'âu Dynasty, p. 3) relates that, 'when he was confined in Yû-lî, Wăn increased the 8 trigrams to 64 hexagrams.'

² E.g., hexagrams XVII, 1. 6; XLVI, 1. 4. Tan's authorship of the symbolism is recognised in the 30 K'awan, B. C. 540.

³ P. Regis (vol. ii, p. 379) says: 'Vel nihil vel parum errabit qui dicet opus Yî King fuisse perfectum anno quinto K'iang Wang, seu anno 1109 aut non ultra annum 1108, ante aerae Christianae initium; quod satis in rebus non omnino certis.' But the fifth year of king K'iang was B. C. 1111.

in 1834 by the late Jules Mohl, with a title commencing 'Y-King, antiquissimus Sinarum liber¹.' The language of the other European translator of it, the Rev. Canon McClatchie of Shanghâi, whose work appeared in 1876, is still more decided. The first sentence of his Introduction contains two very serious misstatements, but I have at present to do only with the former of them;—that 'the Yî King is regarded by the Chinese with peculiar veneration, . . . as being the most ancient of their classical writings.' The Shû is the oldest of the Chinese classics, and contains documents more than a thousand years earlier than king Wăn. Several pieces of the Shih King are also older than anything in the Yî; to which there can thus be assigned only the third place in point of age among the monuments of Chinese literature. Existing, however, about 3000 years ago, it cannot be called modern. Unless it be the books of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, an equal antiquity cannot be claimed for any portion of our Sacred Scriptures.

It will be well to observe here also how much older the
 The Text Text is than the Appendixes. Supposing
 much older them to be the work of Confucius, though
 than the it will appear by and by that this assumption
 Appendixes.

¹ It has been suggested that 'Antiquissimus Sinarum liber' may mean only 'A very ancient book of the Chinese,' but the first sentence of the Preface to the work commences:—'Inter omnes constat librorum Sinicorum, quos classicos vocant, primum et antiquissimum esse Y-King.'

At the end of M. De Guignes' edition of P. Gaubil's translation of the Shû, there is a notice of the Yî King sent in 1738 to the Cardinals of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide by M. Claude Visdelou, Bishop of Claudiopolis. M. De Guignes says himself, 'L' Y-King est le premier des Livres Canoniques des Chinois.' But P. Visdelou writes more guardedly and correctly:—'Pour son ancienneté, s'il en faut croire les Annales des Chinois, il a été commencé quarante-six siècles avant celui-ci. Si cela est vrai, comme toute la nation l'avoue unanimement, on peut à juste titre l'appeler le plus ancien des livres.' But he adds, 'Ce n'étoit pas proprement un livre, ni quelque chose d'approchant; c'étoit une énigme très obscure, et plus difficile cent fois à expliquer que celle du sphinx.'

P. Couplet expresses himself much to the same effect in the prolegomena (p. xviii) to the work called 'Confucius Sinarum Philosophus,' published at Paris in 1687 by himself and three other fathers of the Society of Jesus (Intorcetta, Herdritch, and Rougemont). Both they and P. Visdelou give an example of a portion of the text and its interpretation, having singularly selected the same hexagram,—the 15th, on Humility.

can be received as only partially correct, if indeed it be received at all, the sage could not have entered on their composition earlier than B.C. 483, 660 years later than the portion of the text that came from king Wăn, and nearly 630 later than what we owe to the duke of K'âu. But during that long period of between six and seven centuries changes may have arisen in the views taken by thinking men of the method and manner of the Yî; and I cannot accept the Text and the Appendixes as forming one work in any proper sense of the term. Nothing has prevented the full understanding of both, so far as parts of the latter can be understood, so much as the blending of them together, which originated with Pi Kih of the first Han dynasty. The common editions of the book have five of the Appendixes (as they are ordinarily reckoned) broken up and printed side by side with the Text; and the confusion thence arising has made it difficult, through the intermixture of incongruous ideas, for foreign students to lay hold of the meaning.

6. Native scholars have of course been well aware of the difference in time between the appearance of the Text and the Appendixes; and in the Khang-hsi edition of them the two are printed separately. Labours of native scholars on the Yî. Only now and then, however, has any critic ventured to doubt that the two parts formed one homogeneous whole, or that all the appendixes were from the style or pencil of Confucius. Hundreds of them have brought a wonderful and consistent meaning out of the Text; but to find in it or in the Appendixes what is unreasonable, or any inconsistency between them, would be to impeach the infallibility of Confucius, and stamp on themselves the brand of heterodoxy.

At the same time it is an unfair description of what they have accomplished to say, as has An imperfect description of their labours. been done lately, that since the fires of Shih, 'the foremost scholars of each generation have edited the Text (meaning both the Text and the Appendixes), and heaped commentary after commentary upon it; and one and all have arrived at the somewhat

lame conclusion that its full significance is past finding out¹. A multitude of the native commentaries are of the highest value, and have left little to be done for the elucidation of the Text; and if they say that a passage in an Appendix is 'unfathomable' or 'incalculable,' it is because their authors shrink from allowing, even to themselves, that the ancient sages intermeddled, and intermeddled unwisely, with things too high for them.

When the same writer who thus speaks of native scholars goes on to say that 'in the same way a host of European Chinese scholars have made translations of the Yî, and have, if possible, made confusion worse confounded,' he only shows how imperfectly he had made himself acquainted with the subject. 'The host of European Chinese scholars who have made translations of the Yî' amount to two,—the same two mentioned by me above on pp. 6, 7. The translation of Regis and his coadjutors² is indeed capable of improvement; but their work as a whole, and especially the prolegomena, dissertations, and notes, supply a mass of correct and valuable information. They had nearly succeeded in unravelling the confusion, and solving the enigma of the Yî.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE TEXT. THE LINEAL FIGURES AND THE EXPLANATION OF THEM.

1. Having described the Yî King as consisting of a text in explanation of certain lineal figures, and of appendixes to it, and having traced the composition of the former to

¹ See a communication on certain new views about the Yî in the 'Times' of April 20, 1880; reprinted in Trübner's American, European, and Oriental Literary Record, New Series, vol. i, pp. 125-127.

² Regis' coadjutors in the work were the Fathers Joseph de Mailla, who turned the Chinese into Latin word for word, and compared the result with the Mantâu version of the Yî; and Peter du Tartre, whose principal business was to supply the historical illustrations. Regis himself revised all their work and enlarged it, adding his own dissertations and notes. See Prospectus Operis, immediately after M. Mohl's Preface.

its authors in the twelfth century B.C., and that of the latter to between six and seven centuries later at least, I proceed to give an account of what we find in the Text, and how it is deduced from the figures.

The subject-matter of the Text may be briefly represented as consisting of sixty-four short essays, enigmatically and symbolically expressed, on important themes, mostly of a moral, social, and political character, and based on the same number of lineal figures, each made up of six lines, some of which are whole and the others divided.

The first two and the last two may serve for the present as a specimen of those figures:  ; and  .

 ¹. The Text says nothing about their origin and formation. There they are. King Wăn takes them up, one after another, in the order that suits himself, determined, evidently, by the contrast in the lines of each successive pair of hexagrams, and gives their significance, as a whole, with some indication, perhaps, of the action to be taken in the circumstances which he supposes them to symbolise, and whether that action will be lucky or unlucky. Then the duke of K'âu, beginning with the first or bottom line, expresses, by means of a symbolical or emblematical illustration, the significance of each line, with a similar indication of the good or bad fortune of action taken in connexion with it. The king's interpretation of the whole hexagram will be found to be in harmony with the combined significance of the six lines as interpreted by his son.

Both of them, no doubt, were familiar with the practice of divination which had prevailed in China for more than a thousand years, and would copy closely its methods and style. They were not divining themselves, but their words became oracles to subsequent ages, when men divined by the hexagrams, and sought by means of what was said under them to ascertain how it would be with them in the

¹ See Plate I at the end of the Introduction.

future, and learn whether they should persevere in or withdraw from the courses they were intending to pursue.

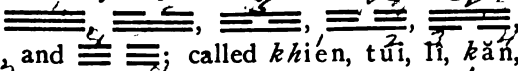
2. I will give an instance of the lessons which the lineal figures are made to teach, but before I do so, it will be

The origin of
the lineal
figures.

necessary to relate what is said of their origin, and of the rules observed in studying and interpreting them. For information on these points we must have recourse to the Appendixes; and in reply to the question by whom and in what way the figures were formed, the third, of which we made use in the last chapter, supplies us with three different answers.

(i) The 11th paragraph of Section ii says:—

‘Anciently, when the rule of all under heaven was in the hands of Páo-hsi, looking up, he contemplated the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky; and looking down, he surveyed the patterns shown on the earth. He marked the ornamental appearances on birds and beasts, and the (different) suitabilities of the soil. Near at hand, in his own person, he found things for consideration, and the same at a distance, in things in general. On this he devised the eight lineal figures of three lines each, to exhibit fully the spirit-like and intelligent operations (in nature), and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things.’

Páo-hsi is another name for Fû-hsi, the most ancient personage who is mentioned with any definiteness in Chinese history, while much that is fabulous is current about him. His place in chronology begins in B.C. 3322, 5203 years ago. He appears in this paragraph as the deviser of the eight kwâ or trigrams. The processes by which he was led to form them, and the purposes which he intended them to serve, are described, but in vague and general terms that do not satisfy our curiosity. The eight figures, however, were ; called *khiên*, *túi*, *lí*, *kǎn*, *sùn*, *khǎn*, *kǎn*, and *khwán*; and representing heaven or the sky; water, especially a collection of water as in a marsh or lake; fire, the sun, lightning; thunder; wind and wood; water, especially as in rain, the clouds, springs, streams in defiles, and the moon; a hill or mountain; and the earth. To each of these figures is assigned a certain attribute or quality which should be suggested by the

natural object it symbolises; but on those attributes we need not enter at present.

(ii) The 70th and 71st paragraphs of Section i give another account of the origin of the trigrams:—

‘In (the system of) the YĪ there is the Great Extreme, which produced the two $\hat{I}$ (Elementary Forms). These two Forms produced the four Hsiang (Emblematic Symbols); which again produced the eight Kwâ (or Trigrams). The eight Kwâ served to determine the good and evil (issues of events), and from this determination there ensued the (prosecution of the) great business of life.’

The two elementary Forms, the four emblematic Symbols, and the eight Trigrams can all be exhibited with what may be deemed certainty. A whole line (—) and a divided (— —) were the two $\hat{I}$. These two lines placed over themselves, and each of them over the other, formed the four Hsiang: $\equiv$; $\equiv$; $\equiv$; $\equiv$. The same two lines placed successively over these Hsiang, formed the eight Kwâ, exhibited above.

Who will undertake to say what is meant by ‘the Great Extreme’ which produced the two elementary Forms? Nowhere else does the name occur in the old Confucian literature. I have no doubt myself that it found its way into this Appendix in the fifth (? or fourth) century B.C. from a Tâoist source. Kû Hsi, in his ‘Lessons on the YĪ for the Young,’ gives for it the figure of a circle,—thus, $\bigcirc$; observing that he does so from the philosopher Kâu (A.D. 1017–1073)¹, and cautioning his readers against thinking that such a representation came from Fû-hsi himself. To me the circular symbol appears very unsuccessful. ‘The Great Extreme,’ it is said, ‘divided and produced two lines,—a whole line and a divided line.’ But I do not understand how this could be. Suppose it possible for the circle to unroll itself;

¹ Kâu-ze, called Kâu Tun-f and Kâu Mâu-shuh, and, still more commonly, from the rivulet near which was his favourite residence, Kâu Lien-khî. Mayers (Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 23) says:—‘He held various offices of state, and was for many years at the head of a galaxy of scholars who sought for instruction in matters of philosophy and research:—second only to Kû Hsi in literary repute.’

—we shall have one long line, ————. If this divide itself, we have two whole lines; and another division of one of them is necessary to give us the whole and the divided lines of the lineal figures. The attempt to fashion the Great Extreme as a circle must be pronounced a failure.

But when we start from the two lines as bases, the formation of all the diagrams by a repetition of the process indicated above is easy. The addition to each of the trigrams of each of the two fundamental lines produces 16 figures of four lines; dealt with in the same way, these produce 32 figures of five lines; and a similar operation with these produces the 64 hexagrams, each of which forms the subject of an essay in the text of the Yî. The lines increase in an arithmetical progression whose common difference is 1, and the figures in a geometrical progression whose common ratio is 2. This is all the mystery in the formation of the lineal figures; this, I believe, was the process by which they were first formed; and it is hardly necessary to imagine them to have come from a sage like Fû-hsî. The endowments of an ordinary man were sufficient for such a work. It was possible even to shorten the operation by proceeding at once from the trigrams to the hexagrams, according to what we find in Section i, paragraph 2 :—

‘A strong and a weak line were manipulated together (till there were the 8 trigrams), and those 8 trigrams were added each to itself and to all the others (till the 64 hexagrams were formed).’

It is a moot question who first multiplied the figures from the trigrams universally ascribed to Fû-hsî to the 64 hexagrams of the Yî. The more common view is that it was king Wăn; but K'ü Hsî, when he was questioned on the subject, rather inclined to hold that Fû-hsî had multiplied them himself, but declined to say whether he thought that their names were as old as the figures themselves, or only dated from the twelfth century B.C.¹ I will not venture to controvert

¹ K'ü-jze K'wan shû, or Digest of Works of K'ü-jze, chap. 26 (the first chapter on the Yî), art. 16.

his opinion about the multiplication of the figures, but I must think that the names, as we have them now, were from king Wăn.

✓ No Chinese writer has tried to explain why the framers stopped with the 64 hexagrams, instead of going on to
 Why the 128 figures of 7 lines, 256 of 8, 512 of 9, and
 figures were not continued so on indefinitely. No reason can be given
 after 64. for it, but the cumbrousness of the result, and
 the impossibility of dealing, after the manner of king Wăn, with such a mass of figures.

(iii) The 73rd paragraph of Section i, with but one paragraph between it and the two others which we have been considering, gives what may be considered a third account of the origin of the lineal figures :—

‘Heaven produced the spirit-like things (the tortoise and the divining plant), and the sages took advantage of them. (The operations of) heaven and earth are marked by so many changes and transformations, and the sages imitated them (by means of the YĪ). Heaven hangs out its (brilliant) figures, from which are seen good fortune and bad, and the sages made their emblematic interpretations accordingly. The Ho gave forth the scheme or map, and the Lo gave forth the writing, of (both of) which the sages took advantage.’

The words with which we have at present to do are—
 ‘The Ho (that is, the Yellow River) gave forth the Map.’ This map, according to tradition and popular belief, contained a scheme which served as a model to Fû-hsî in making his 8 trigrams. Apart from this passage in the YĪ King, we know that Confucius believed in such a map, or spoke at least as if he did¹. In the ‘Record of Rites’ it is said that ‘the map was borne by a horse²;’ and the thing, whatever it was, is mentioned in the Shû as still preserved at court, among other curiosities, in B.C. 1079³. The story of it, as now current, is this, that ‘a dragon-horse’ issued from the Yellow River, bearing on its back an arrangement of marks, from which Fû-hsî got the idea of the trigrams.

¹ Analects IX, viii.

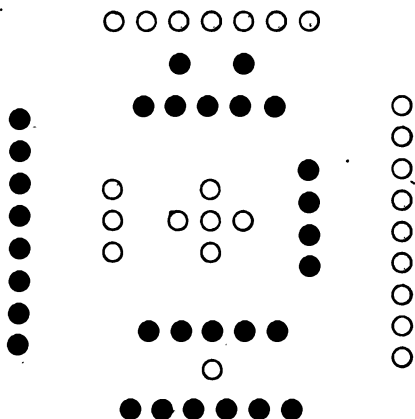
² Lî K’î VIII, iv, 16.

³ Shû V, xxii, 19.

All this is so evidently fabulous that it seems a waste of time to enter into any details about it. My reason for doing so is a wish to take advantage of the map in giving such a statement of the rules observed in interpreting the figures as is necessary in this Introduction.

The map that was preserved, it has been seen, in the eleventh century B.C., afterwards perished, and though there

The form of was much speculation about its form from the the River Map. time that the restoration of the ancient classics was undertaken in the Han dynasty, the first delineation of it given to the public was in the reign of Hui Jung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1101-1125)¹. The most approved scheme of it is the following:—



It will be observed that the markings in this scheme are small circles, pretty nearly equally divided into dark and light. All of them whose numbers are odd are light circles,—1, 3, 5, 7, 9; and all of them whose numbers are even are dark,—2, 4, 6, 8, 10. This is given as the origin of what is said in paragraphs 49 and 50 of Section i about the numbers of heaven and earth. The difference in the colour of the circles occasioned the distinction of them and of what they

¹ See Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual, pp. 56, 57.

signify into Yin and Yang, the dark and the bright, the moon-like and the sun-like; for the sun is called the Great Brightness (Thái Yang), and the moon the Great Obscurity (Thái Yin). I shall have more to say in the next chapter on the application of these names. Fû-hsî in making the trigrams, and king Wăn, if it was he who first multiplied them to the 64 hexagrams, found it convenient to use lines instead of the circles:—the whole line (——) for the bright circle (○), and the divided line (— —) for the dark (●). The first, the third, and the fifth lines in a hexagram, if they are 'correct' as it is called, should all be whole, and the second, fourth, and sixth lines should all be divided. Yang lines are strong (or hard), and Yin lines are weak (or soft). The former indicate vigour and authority; the latter, feebleness and submission. It is the part of the former to command; of the latter to obey.

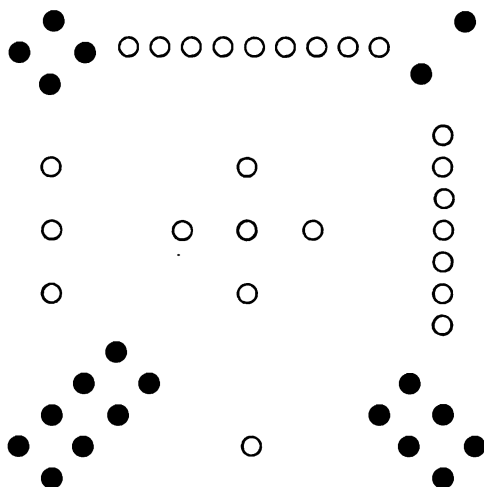
The lines, moreover, in the two trigrams that make up the hexagrams, and characterise the subjects which they represent, are related to one another by their position, and have their significance modified accordingly. The first line and the fourth, the second and the fifth, the third and the sixth are all correlates; and to make the correlation perfect the two members of it should be lines of different qualities, one whole and the other divided. And, finally, the middle lines of the trigrams, the second and fifth, that is, of the hexagrams, have a peculiar value and force. If we have a whole line (——) in the fifth place, and a divided line (— —) in the second, or vice versâ, the correlation is complete. Let the subject of the fifth be the sovereign or a commander-in-chief, according to the name and meaning of the hexagram, then the subject of the second will be an able minister or a skilful officer, and the result of their mutual action will be most beneficial and successful. It is specially important to have a clear idea of the name of the hexagram, and of the subject or state which it is intended to denote. The significance of all the lines comes thus to be of various application, and will differ in different hexagrams.

I have thus endeavoured to indicate how the lineal figures were formed, and the principal rules laid down for the interpretation of them. The details are wearying, but my position is like that of one who is called on to explain an important monument of architecture, very bizarre in its conception and execution. A plainer, simpler structure might have answered the purpose better, but the architect had his reasons for the plan and style which he adopted. If the result of his labours be worth expounding, we must not grudge the study necessary to detect his processes of thought, nor the effort and time required to bring the minds of others into sympathy with his.

My own opinion, as I have intimated, is, that the second account of the origin of the trigrams and hexagrams is the true one. However the idea of the whole and divided lines arose in the mind of the first framer, we must start from them; and then, manipulating them in the manner described, we arrive, very easily, at all the lineal figures, and might proceed to multiply them to billions. We cannot tell who devised the third account of their formation from the map or scheme on the dragon-horse of the Yellow River¹. Its object, no doubt, was to impart a supernatural character to the trigrams and produce a religious veneration for them. It may be doubted whether the scheme as it is now fashioned be the correct one,—such as it was in the *Kâu* dynasty. The paragraph where it is mentioned, goes on to say—‘The Lo produced the writing.’ This writing was a scheme of the same character as the Ho map, but on the back of a tortoise, which emerged from the river Lo, and showed it to the Great Yü, when he was engaged in his celebrated work of draining off the waters of the flood, as related in the *Shû*. To the hero sage it suggested ‘the Great Plan,’ an interesting but mystical document of the same classic, ‘a Treatise,’ according to Gaubil, ‘of Physics, Astrology, Divination, Morals, Politics, and Religion,’ the great model for the government of the

¹ Certainly it was not Confucius. See on the authorship of the Appendixes, and especially of Appendix III, in the next chapter.

kingdom. The accepted representation of this writing is the following :—



But substituting numbers for the number of marks, we have

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

This is nothing but the arithmetical puzzle, in which the numbers from 1 to 9 are arranged so as to make 15 in whatever way we add them¹. If we had the original form of 'the River Map,' we should probably find it a numerical trifle, not more difficult, not more supernatural, than this magic square.

3. Let us return to the YĪ of *K'âu*, which, as I have said above on p. 10, contains, under each of the 64 hexagrams, a brief essay of a moral, social, or political character, symbolically expressed.

¹ For this dissection, which may also be called *reductio ad absurdum*, of the Lo writing, I was indebted first to P. Regis. See his *Y-King I*, p. 60. But *K'û Hsi* also has got it in the Appendix to his 'Lessons on the YĪ for the Young.'

To understand it, it will be necessary to keep in mind the circumstances in which king Wăn addressed himself to the study of the lineal figures. The kingdom, under the sovereigns of the Yin or Shang dynasty, was utterly disorganised and demoralised. A brother of the reigning king thus described its condition :—

State of the
country in
time of king
Wăn.

‘The house of Yin can no longer exercise rule over the land. The great deeds of our founder were displayed in a former age, but through mad addiction to drink we have destroyed the effects of his virtue. The people, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws. There is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The lesser people rise up and commit violent outrages on one another. The dynasty of Yin is sinking in ruin; its condition is like that of one crossing a large stream, who can find neither ford nor bank ¹.’

This miserable state of the nation was due very much to the character and tyranny of the monarch. When the son of Wăn took the field against him, he thus denounced him in ‘a Solemn Declaration’ addressed to all the states :—

The character
of the
monarch.

‘Shâu, the king of Shang, treats all virtue with contemptuous slight, and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people. He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in a (winter-)morning; he cut out the heart of the good man ². His power has been shown in killing and murdering. His honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He neglects the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. He has discontinued the offerings

¹ The Shû IV, xi, 1, 2.

² These were well-known instances of Shâu's wanton cruelty. Observing some people one winter's day wading through a stream, he ordered their legs to be cut through at the shank-bone, that he might see the marrow which could so endure the cold. ‘The good man’ was a relative of his own, called Pi-kan. Having enraged Shâu by the sternness of his rebukes, the tyrant ordered his heart to be cut out, that he might see the structure of a sage's heart.

in the ancestral temple. He makes (cruel) contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary ingenuity to please his wife¹.—God will no longer bear with him, but with a curse is sending down his ruin².

Such was the condition of the nation, such the character of the sovereign. Meanwhile in the west of the kingdom, The lords of Kâu; and especially king Wăn. in a part of what is now the province of Shensi, lay the principality of Kâu, the lords of which had long been distinguished for their ability and virtue. Its present chief, now known to us as king Wăn, was K'hang, who had succeeded to his father in B.C. 1185. He was not only lord of Kâu, but had come to be a sort of viceroy over a great part of the kingdom. Equally distinguished in peace and war, a model of all that was good and attractive, he conducted himself with remarkable wisdom and self-restraint. Princes and people would have rejoiced to follow him to attack the tyrant, but he shrank from exposing himself to the charge of being disloyal. At last the jealous suspicion of Shâu was aroused. Wăn, as has been already stated, was thrown into prison in B.C. 1143, and the order for his death might arrive at any moment. Then it was that he occupied himself with the lineal figures.

The use of those figures—of the trigrams at least—had long been practised for the purposes of divination. The employment of the divining stalks is indicated in 'the Counsels of the Great Yü,' one of the earliest Books of the Shû³, and a whole section in 'the Great Plan,' also a Book of the Shû, and referred to the times of the Hsiâ dynasty, describes how 'doubts were to be examined' by means of the tortoise-shell and the stalks⁴. Wăn could not but be familiar with divination as an institution of his

¹ We do not know what these contrivances were. But to please his wife, the infamous Tâ-kî, Shâu had made 'the Heater' and 'the Roaster,' two instruments of torture. The latter was a copper pillar laid above a pit of burning charcoal, and made slippery; culprits were forced to walk along it.

² The Shû V, i, Sect. iii, 2, 3.

³ Shû II, ii, 18.

⁴ Shû V, iv, 20-31.

country¹. Possibly it occurred to him that nothing was more likely to lull the suspicions of his dangerous enemy than the study of the figures; and if his keepers took notice of what he was doing, they would smile at his lines, and the sentences which he appended to them.

King Wăn in prison, occupied with the lineal figures.

I like to think of the lord of K'âu, when incarcerated in Yü-li, with the 64 figures arranged before him. Each hexagram assumed a mystic meaning, and glowed with a deep significance. He made it tell him of the qualities of various objects of nature, or of the principles of human society, or of the condition, actual and possible, of the kingdom. He named the figures, each by a term descriptive of the idea with which he had connected it in his mind, and then he proceeded to set that idea forth, now with a note of exhortation, now with a note of warning. It was an attempt to restrict the follies of divination within the bounds of reason. The last but one of the Appendixes bears the name of 'Sequence of the Diagrams.' I shall have to speak of it more at length in the next chapter. I only remark at present that it deals, feebly indeed, with the names of the hexagrams in harmony with what I have said about them, and tries to account for the order in which they follow one another. It does all this, not critically as if it needed to be established, but in the way of expository statement, relating that about which there was no doubt in the mind of the author.

But all the work of prince K'ang or king Wăn in the Yi thus amounts to no more than 64 short paragraphs.

Work of the duke of K'âu on the separate lines.

We do not know what led his son Tan to enter into his work and complete it as he did. Tan was a patriot, a hero, a legislator, and a philosopher. Perhaps he took the lineal figures in hand as a tribute of filial duty. What had been done for the whole hexagram he would do for each line, and make it clear that all the six lines 'bent one way their precious influence,' and blended their rays in the globe of light which his father had made each figure give forth.

¹ In the Book of Poetry we have Wăn's grandfather (Than-fü, III, i, ode 3. 3) divining, and his son (king Wü, III, i, ode 10. 7) doing the same.

But his method strikes us as singular. Each line seemed to become living, and suggested some phenomenon in nature or some case of human experience, from which the wisdom or folly, the luckiness or unluckiness, indicated by it could be inferred. It cannot be said that the duke carried out his plan in a way likely to interest any one but a hsien shǎng who is a votary of divination, and admires the style of its oracles. According to our notions, a framer of emblems should be a good deal of a poet, but those of the Yĭ only make us think of a dryasdust. Out of more than 350, the greater number are only grotesque. We do not recover from the feeling of disappointment till we remember that both father and son had to write 'according to the trick,' after the manner of diviners, as if this lineal augury had been their profession.

4. At length I come to illustrate what I have said on the subject-matter of the Yĭ by an example. It shall be the

The seventh
hexagram.

treatment of the seventh hexagram (䷎),

which king Wǎn named Sze, meaning Hosts.

The character is also explained as meaning 'multitudes;' and in fact, in a feudal kingdom, the multitudes of the people were all liable to become its army, when occasion required, and the 'host' and the 'population' might be interchangeable terms. As Froude expresses it in the introductory chapter to his History of England, 'Every man was regimented somewhere.'

The hexagram Sze is composed of the two trigrams Khan (䷁) and Khwǎn (䷊), exhibiting waters collected on the earth; and in other symbolisms besides that of the Yĭ, waters indicate assembled multitudes of men. The waters on which the mystical Babylon sits in the Apocalypse are explained as 'peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues.' I do not positively affirm that it was by this interpretation of the trigrams that king Wǎn saw in ䷎ the feudal hosts of his country collected, for neither from him nor his son do we learn, by their direct affirmation, that they had any acquaintance with the trigrams of Fû-hsĭ. The name which he gave

the figure shows, however, that he saw in it the feudal hosts in the field. How shall their expedition be conducted that it may come to a successful issue?

Looking again at the figure, we see that it is made up of five divided lines, and of one undivided. The undivided line occupies the central place in the lower trigram,—the most important place, next to the fifth, in the whole hexagram. It will represent, in the language of the commentators, 'the lord of the whole figure;' and the parties represented by the other lines may be expected to be of one mind with him or obedient to him. He must be the leader of the hosts. If he were on high, in the fifth place, he would be the sovereign of the kingdom. This is what king Wăn says:—

'Sze indicates how (in the case which it supposes), with firmness and correctness, and (a leader of) age and experience, there will be good fortune and no error.'

This is a good auspice. Let us see how the duke of Kâu expands it.

He says:—

'The first line, divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules (for such a movement). If those (rules) be not good, there will be evil.'

We are not told what the rules for a military expedition were. Some commentators understand them of the reasons justifying the movement,—that it should be to repress and punish disorder and rebellion. Others, with more likelihood, take them to be the discipline or rules laid down to be observed by the troops. The line is divided, a weak line in a strong place, 'not correct:' this justifies the caution given in the duke's second sentence.

The Text goes on:—

'The second line, undivided, shows (the leader) in the midst of the hosts. There will be good fortune and no error. The king has thrice conveyed to him his charge.'

This does not need any amplification. The duke saw in the strong line the symbol of the leader, who enjoyed

the full confidence of his sovereign, and whose authority admitted of no opposition.

On the third line it is said :—

‘The third line, divided, shows how the hosts may possibly have many commanders :—(in such a case) there will be evil.’

The third place is odd, and should be occupied by a strong line, instead of which we have a weak line in it. But it is at the top of the lower trigram, and its subject should be in office or activity. There is suggested the idea that its subject has vaulted over the second line, and wishes to share in the command and honour of him who has been appointed sole commander-in-chief. The lesson in the previous line is made of none effect. We have a divided authority in the expedition. The result can only be evil.

On the fourth line the duke wrote :—

‘The fourth line, divided, shows the hosts in retreat : there is no error.’

The line is also weak, and victory cannot be expected ; but in the fourth place a weak line is in its correct position, and its subject will do what is right in his circumstances. He will retreat, and a retreat is for him the part of wisdom. When safely affected, where advance would be disastrous, a retreat is as glorious as victory.

Under the fifth line we read :—

‘The fifth line, divided, shows birds in the fields which it is advantageous to seize (and destroy). There will be no error. If the oldest son lead the host, and younger men be (also) in command, however firm and correct he may be, there will be evil.’

We have an intimation in this passage that only defensive war, or war waged by the rightful authority to put down rebellion and lawlessness, is right. The ‘birds in the fields’ are emblematic of plunderers and invaders, whom it will be well to destroy. The fifth line symbolises the chief authority, but here he is weak or humble, and has given all power and authority to execute judgment into the hands of the commander-in-chief, who is the oldest son ; and in the subject of line 3 we have an example of the younger men who would cause evil if allowed to share his power.

Finally, on the sixth line the duke wrote :—

‘The topmost line, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges (to the men who have distinguished themselves), appointing some to be rulers of states, and others to be chiefs of clans. But small men should not be employed (in such positions).’

The action of the hexagram has been gone through. The expedition has been conducted to a successful end. The enemy has been subdued. His territories are at the disposal of the conqueror. The commander-in-chief has done his part well. His sovereign, ‘the great ruler,’ comes upon the scene, and rewards the officers who have been conspicuous by their bravery and skill, conferring on them rank and lands. But he is warned to have respect in doing so to their moral character. Small men, of ordinary or less than ordinary character, may be rewarded with riches and certain honours; but land and the welfare of its population should not be given into the hands of any who are not equal to the responsibility of such a trust.

The above is a specimen of what I have called the essays that make up the *Yi of Kâu*. So would king Wăn and his son have had all military expeditions conducted in their country 3000 years ago. It seems to me that the principles which they lay down might find a suitable application in the modern warfare of our civilised and Christian Europe. The inculcation of such lessons cannot have been without good effect in China during the long course of its history.

Sze is a fair specimen of its class. From the other 63 hexagrams lessons are deduced, for the most part equally good and striking. But why, it may be asked, why should they be conveyed to us by such an array of lineal figures, and in such a farrago of emblematic representations? It is not for the foreigner to insist on such a question. The Chinese have not valued them the less because of the antiquated dress in which their lessons are arrayed. Hundreds of their commentators have evolved and developed their meaning with a minuteness of detail and felicity of illustration that leave nothing to be desired. It is for foreign students of Chinese to gird up their loins for the

mastery of the book instead of talking about it as mysterious and all but inexplicable.

Granting, however, that the subject-matter of the YĪ is what has been described, very valuable for its practical wisdom, but not drawn up from an abysmal deep of philosophical speculation, it may still be urged, 'But in all this we find nothing to justify the name of the book as YĪ King, the "Classic of Changes." Is there not something more, higher or deeper, in the Appendixes that have been ascribed to Confucius, whose authority is certainly not inferior to that of king Wăn, or the duke of K'âu?' To reply fully to this question will require another chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE APPENDIXES.

I. Two things have to be considered in this chapter:—the authorship of the Appendixes, and their contents. The Text is ascribed, without dissentient voice, to king Wăn, the founder of the K'âu dynasty, and his son Tan, better known as the duke of K'âu; and I have, in the preceding chapters, given reasons for accepting that view. As regards the portion ascribed to king Wăn, the evidence of the third of the Appendixes and the statement of Sze-mâ K'ien are as positive as could be desired; and as regards that ascribed to his son, there is no ground for calling in question the received tradition. The Appendixes have all been ascribed to Confucius, though not with entirely the same unanimity. Perhaps I have rather intimated my own opinion that this view cannot be sustained. I have pointed out that, even if it be true, between six and seven centuries elapsed after the Text of the classic appeared before the Appendixes were written; and I have said that, considering this fact, I cannot regard its two parts as a homogeneous whole, or as constituting one book in the ordinary acceptation of that name. Before entering on the question of the authorship, a very brief statement of the nature and number of the Appendixes will be advantageous.

✓ 2. They are reckoned to be ten, and called the Shih Yî or 'Ten Wings.' They are in reality not so many; but the

Number and
nature of the
Appendixes.

Text is divided into two sections, called the Upper and Lower, or, as we should say, the first and second, and then the commentary on each section is made to form a separate Appendix. I have found it more convenient in the translation which follows to adopt a somewhat different arrangement.

My first Appendix, in two sections, embraces the first and second 'wings,' consisting of remarks on the paragraphs by king Wăn in the two parts of the Text.

My second Appendix, in two sections, embraces the third and fourth 'wings,' consisting of remarks on the symbolism of the duke of Kâu in his explanation of the individual lines of the hexagrams.

My third Appendix, in two sections, embraces the fifth and sixth 'wings,' which bear the name in Chinese of 'Appended Sentences,' and constitute what is called by many 'the Great Treatise.' Each wing has been divided into twelve chapters of very different length, and I have followed this arrangement in my sections. This is the most important Appendix. It has less of the nature of commentary than the previous four wings. While explaining much of what is found in the Text, it diverges to the origin of the trigrams, the methods pursued in the practice of divination, the rise of many arts in the progress of civilisation, and other subjects.

My fourth Appendix, also in two sections, forms the seventh 'wing.' It is confined to an amplification of the expositions of the first and second hexagrams by king Wăn and his son, purporting to show how they may be interpreted of man's nature and doings.

My fifth Appendix is the eighth 'wing,' called 'Discourses on the Trigrams.' It treats of the different arrangement of these in respect of the seasons of the year and the cardinal points by Fû-hsi and king Wăn. It contains also one paragraph, which might seem to justify the view that there is a mythology in the Yî.

My sixth Appendix, in two sections, is the ninth 'wing,'—

'a Treatise on the Sequence of the Hexagrams,' intended to trace the connexion of meaning between them in the order in which they follow one another in the Text of king Wăn.

My seventh Appendix is the tenth 'wing,' an exhibition of the meaning of the 64 hexagrams, not taken in succession, but promiscuously and at random, as they approximate to or are opposed to one another in meaning.

3. Such are the Appendixes of the YĪ King. We have to enquire next who wrote them, and especially whether it be possible to accept the dictum that they were all written by Con-

fucius. If they have come down to us, bearing unmistakably the stamp of the mind and pencil of the great sage, we cannot but receive them with deference, not to say with reverence. If, on the contrary, it shall appear that with great part of them he had nothing to do, and that it is not certain that any part of them is from him, we shall feel entirely at liberty to exercise our own judgment on their contents, and weigh them in the balances of our reason.

None of the Appendixes, it is to be observed, bear the superscription of Confucius. There is not a single sentence in any one of them ascribing it to him. I gave in the first chapter, on p. 2, the earliest testimony that these treatises were produced by him. It is that of Sze-mâ *K'ien*, whose 'Historical Records' must have appeared about the year 100 before our era. He ascribes all the Appendixes, except the last two of them, which he does not mention at all, expressly to Confucius; and this, no doubt, was the common belief in the fourth century after the sage's death.

But when we look for ourselves into the third and fourth Appendixes—the fifth, sixth, and seventh 'wings'—both of which are specified by *K'ien*, we find it impossible to receive his statement about them. What is remarkable in both parts of the third is, the frequent occurrence of the formula, 'The Master said,' familiar to all readers of the Confucian Analects. Of course, the

The author-
ship of the
Appendixes.

There is no
superscription
of Confucius
on any of the
Appendixes.

The third
and fourth
Appendixes
evidently
not from
Confucius.

sentence following that formula, or the paragraph covered by it, was, in the judgment of the writer, in the language of Confucius; but what shall we say of the portions preceding and following? If he were the author of them, he would not thus be distinguishing himself from himself. The formula occurs in the third Appendix at least twenty-three times. Where we first meet with it, *K'ü Hsi* has a note to the effect that 'the Appendixes having been all made by Confucius, he ought not to be himself introducing the formula, "The Master said;" and that it may be presumed, wherever it occurs, that it is a subsequent addition to the Master's text.' One instance will show the futility of this attempt to solve the difficulty. The tenth chapter of Section i commences with the 59th paragraph:—

'In the *Yi* there are four things characteristic of the way of the sages. We should set the highest value on its explanations, to guide us in speaking; on its changes, for the initiation of our movements; on its emblematic figures, for definite action, as in the construction of implements; and on its prognostications, for our practice of divination.'

This is followed by seven paragraphs expanding its statements, and we come to the last one of the chapter which says,—'The Master said, "Such is the import of the statement that there are four things in the *Yi*, characteristic of the way of the sages."' I cannot understand how it could be more fully conveyed to us that the compiler or compilers of this Appendix were distinct from the Master whose words they quoted, as it suited them, to confirm or illustrate their views.

In the fourth Appendix, again, we find a similar occurrence of the formula of quotation. It is much shorter than the third, and the phrase, 'The Master said,' does not come before us so frequently; but in the thirty-six paragraphs that compose the first section we meet with it six times.

Moreover, the first three paragraphs of this Appendix are older than its compilation, which could not have taken place till after the death of Confucius, seeing it professes to quote his words. They are taken in fact from a narrative of the 30 *Kwan*, as having been spoken by a marchioness-

dowager of Lû fourteen years before Confucius was born. To account for this is a difficult task for the orthodox critics among the Chinese literati. Kû Hsi attempts to perform it in this way:—that anciently there was the explanation given in these paragraphs of the four adjectives employed by king Wăn to give the significance of the first hexagram; that it was employed by Mû Kiang of Lû; and that Confucius also availed himself of it, while the chronicler used, as he does below, the phraseology of 'The Master said,' to distinguish the real words of the sage from such ancient sayings. But who was 'the chronicler?' No one can tell. The legitimate conclusion from Kû's criticism is, that so much of the Appendix as is preceded by 'The Master said' is from Confucius,—so much and no more. I am thus obliged to come to the conclusion that Confucius had nothing to do with the composition of these two Appendixes, and that they were not put together till after his death. I have no pleasure in differing from the all but unanimous opinion of Chinese critics and commentators. What is called 'the destructive criticism' has no attractions for me; but when an opinion depends on the argument adduced to support it, and that argument turns out to be of no weight, you can no longer set your seal to this, that the opinion is true. This is the position in which an examination of the internal evidence as to the authorship of the third and fourth Appendixes has placed me. Confucius could not be their author. This conclusion weakens the

Bearing of
the conclusion
as to the third
and fourth on
the other
Appendixes.

confidence which we have been accustomed to place in the view that 'the ten wings' were to be ascribed to him unhesitatingly. The view has broken down in the case of three of them;—possibly there is no sound reason

for holding the Confucian origin of the other seven.

I cannot henceforth maintain that origin save with bated breath. This, however, can be said for the first two Appendixes in my arrangement, that there is no evidence against their being Confucian like the fatal formula, 'The Master said.' So it is with a good part of my fifth Appendix; but the concluding paragraphs of it, as well as the seventh

Appendix, and the sixth also in a less degree, seem too trivial to be the production of the great man. As a translator of every sentence both in the Text and the Appendixes, I confess my sympathy with P. Regis, when he condenses the fifth Appendix into small space, holding that the 8th and following paragraphs are not worthy to be translated. 'They contain,' he says, 'nothing but the mere enumeration of things, some of which may be called Yang, and others Yin, without any other cause for so thinking being given. Such a method of procedure would be unbecoming any philosopher, and it cannot be denied to be unworthy of Confucius, the chief of philosophers¹.'

I could not characterise Confucius as 'the chief of philosophers,' though he was a great moral philosopher, and has been since he went out and in among his disciples, the best teacher of the Chinese nation. But from the first time my attention was directed to the Yi, I regretted that he had stooped to write the parts of the Appendixes now under remark. It is a relief not to be obliged to receive them as his. Even the better treatises have no other claim to that character besides the voice of tradition, first heard nearly 400 years after his death.

4. I return to the Appendixes, and will endeavour to give a brief, but sufficient, account of their contents.

The first bears in Chinese the name of Thwan *K'wan*, 'Treatise on the Thwan,' thwan being the name given

The first Appendix. to the paragraphs in which Wăn expresses his sense of the significance of the hexagrams.

He does not tell us why he attaches to each hexagram such and such a meaning, nor why he predicates good fortune or bad fortune in connexion with it, for he speaks oracularly, after the manner of a diviner. It is the object of the writer of this Appendix to show the processes of king Wăn's thoughts in these operations, how he looked at the component trigrams with their symbolic intimations, their attributes and qualities, and their linear composition, till he could not think otherwise of the figures than he did. All these considerations are sometimes taken into account,

¹ Regis' Y-King. vol. ii, p. 576.

and sometimes even one of them is deemed sufficient. In this way some technical characters appear which are not found in the Text. The lines, for instance, and even whole trigrams are distinguished as *kang* and *zâu*, 'hard or strong' and 'weak or soft.' The phrase *Kwei-shăn*, 'spirits,' or 'spiritual beings,' occurs, but has not its physical signification of 'the contracting and expanding energies or operations of nature.' The names *Yin* and *Yang*, mentioned above on pp. 15, 16, do not present themselves.

I delineated, on p. 11, the eight trigrams of *Fû-hsi*, and gave their names, with the natural objects they are said to represent, but did not mention the attributes, the virtues, ascribed to them. Let me submit here a table of them, with those qualities, and the points of the compass to which they are referred. I must do this because king *Wăn* made a change in the geographical arrangement of them, to which reference is made perhaps in his text and certainly in this treatise. He also is said to have formed an entirely different theory as to the things represented by the trigrams, which it will be well to give now, though it belongs properly to the fifth Appendix.

FÛ-HSI'S TRIGRAMS.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							
<i>khien</i>	<i>tui</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>k'ăn</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>kh'ân</i>	<i>k'ăn</i>	<i>khw'ăn</i>
Heaven, the sky.	Water, collected as in a marsh or lake.	Fire, as in lightning; the sun.	Thunder.	The wind; wood.	Water, as in rain, clouds, springs, streams, and defiles. The moon.	Hills, or mountains.	The earth.
S.	S. E.	E.	N. E.	S. W.	W.	N. W.	N.
Untiring strength; power.	Pleasure; complacent satisfaction.	Brightness; elegance.	Moving, exciting power.	Flexibility; penetration.	Peril; difficulty.	Resting; the act of arresting.	Capaciousness; submission.

The natural objects and phenomena thus represented are found up and down in the Appendixes. It is impossible to believe that the several objects were assigned to the several figures on any principles of science, for there is no indication of science in the matter: it is difficult even, to suppose that they were assigned on any comprehensive scheme of thought. Why are tui and khân used to represent water in different conditions, while khân, moreover, represents the moon? How is sun set apart to represent things so different as wind and wood? At a very early time the Chinese spoke of 'the five elements,' meaning water, fire, wood, metal, and earth; but the trigrams were not made to indicate them, and it is the general opinion that there is no reference to them in the Yî¹.

Again, the attributes assigned to the trigrams are learned mainly from this Appendix and the fifth. We do not readily get familiar with them, nor easily accept them all. It is impossible for us to tell whether they were a part of the jargon of divination before king Wăn, or had grown up between his time and that of the author of the Appendixes.

King Wăn altered the arrangement of the trigrams so that not one of them should stand at the same point of the compass as in the ancient plan. He made them also representative of certain relations among themselves, as if they composed a family of parents and children. It will be sufficient at present to give a table of his scheme.

KING WĂN'S TRIGRAMS.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							
lî	sun	khân	kăn	khân	khien	tui	khwân
Second daughter.	Oldest daughter.	Oldest son.	Youngest son.	Second son.	Father.	Youngest daughter.	Mother.
S.	S. E.	E.	N. E.	N.	N. W.	W.	S. W.

¹ See K'ao Yî's Hâi Yü Shung Khâo, Book I, art. 3 (1790).

There is thus before us the apparatus with which the writer of the Appendix accomplishes his task. Let me select one of the shortest instances of his work. The fourteenth hexagram is , called Tâ Yû, and meaning 'Possessing in great abundance.' King Wăn saw in it the symbol of a government prosperous and realising all its proper objects; but all that he wrote on it was 'Tâ Yû (indicates) great progress and success.' Unfolding that view of its significance, the Appendix says:—

'In Tâ Yû the weak (line) has the place of honour, is grandly central, and (the strong lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes its name of "Possession of what is great." The attributes (of its constituent trigrams, *kên* and *li*) are strength and vigour, elegance and brightness. (The ruling line in it) responds to (the ruling line in the symbol of) heaven, and its actings are (consequently all) at the proper times. Thus it is that it is said to indicate great progress and success.'

In a similar way the paragraphs on all the other 63 hexagrams are gone through; and, for the most part, with success. The conviction grows upon the student that the writer has on the whole apprehended the mind of king Wăn.

I stated, on p. 32, that the name *kwei-shăn* occurs in this Appendix. It has not yet, however, received the semi-physical, semi-metaphysical signification which the comparatively modern scholars of the Sung dynasty give to it. There are two passages where it is found;—the second paragraph on *Kên*, the fifteenth hexagram, and the third on *Făng*, the fifty-fifth. By consulting them the reader will be able to form an opinion for himself. The term *kwei* denotes specially the human spirit disembodied, and *shăn* is used for spirits whose seat is in heaven. I do not see my way to translate them, when used binomially together, otherwise than by spiritual beings or spiritual agents.

Kû Hsî once had the following question suggested by the second of these passages put to him:—'Kwei-shăn is a name for the traces of making and transformation; but when it is said that (the interaction of) heaven and earth

is now vigorous and abundant, and now dull and void, growing and diminishing according to the seasons, that constitutes the traces of making and transformation; why should the writer further speak of the Kwei-shǎn?' He replied, 'When he uses the style of "heaven and earth," he is speaking of the result generally; but in ascribing it to the Kwei-shǎn, he is representing the traces of their effective interaction, as if there were men (that is, some personal agency) bringing it about¹.' This solution merely explains the language away. When we come to the fifth Appendix, we shall understand better the views of the period when these treatises were produced.

The single character shǎn is used in explaining the thwān on Kwân, the twentieth hexagram, where we read:—

'In Kwân we see the spirit-like way of heaven, through which the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them.'

The author of the Appendix delights to dwell on the changing phenomena taking place between heaven and earth, and which he attributes to their interaction; and he was penetrated evidently with a sense of the harmony between the natural and spiritual worlds. It is this sense, indeed, which vivifies both the thwān and the explanation of them.

5. We proceed to the second Appendix, which professes to do for the duke of Kâu's symbolical exposition of the several lines what the Thwān Kwan does for the entire figures. The work here, however, is accomplished with less trouble and more briefly. The whole bears the name of Hsiang Kwan, 'Treatise on the Symbols' or 'Treatise on the Symbolism (of the Yî).'

¹ See the 'Collected Comments' on hexagram 55 in the Khang-hsi edition of the Yî (App. I). 'The traces of making and transformation' mean the ever-changing phenomena of growth and decay. Our phrase 'Vestiges of Creation' might be used to translate the Chinese characters. See the remarks of the late Dr. Medhurst on the hexagrams 15 and 55 in his 'Dissertation on the Theology of the Chinese,' pp. 107-112. In hexagram 15, Canon McClatchie for kwei-shǎn gives 'gods and demons;' in hexagram 55, 'the Demon-gods.'

If there were reason to think that it came in any way from Confucius, I should fancy that I saw him sitting with a select class of his disciples around him. They read the duke's Text column after column, and the master drops now a word or two, and now a sentence or two, that illuminate the meaning. The disciples take notes on their tablets, or store his remarks in their memories, and by and by they write them out with the whole of the Text or only so much of it as is necessary. Whoever was the original lecturer, the Appendix, I think, must have grown up in this way.

It would not be necessary to speak of it at greater length, if it were not that the six paragraphs on the symbols of the duke of Kâu are always preceded by one which is called 'the Great Symbolism,' and treats of the trigrams composing the hexagram, how they go together to form the six-lined figure, and how their blended meaning appears in the institutions and proceedings of the great men and kings of former days, and of the superior men of all time. The paragraph is for the most part, but by no means always, in harmony with the explanation of the hexagram by king Wăn, and a place in the Thwan Kwan would be more appropriate to it. I suppose that, because it always begins with the mention of the two symbolical trigrams, it is made, for the sake of the symmetry, to form a part of the treatise on the Symbolism of the Yî.

I will give a few examples of the paragraphs of the Great Symbolism. The first hexagram  is formed

The Great Symbolism. by a repetition of the trigram *K'ien* , representing heaven, and it is said on it:— 'Heaven in its motion (gives) the idea of strength. The superior man, in accordance with this, nerves himself to ceaseless activity.'

The second hexagram  is formed by a repetition of the trigram *K'hwăn* , representing the earth, and it is said on it:— 'The capacious receptivity of the earth is what is denoted by *K'hwăn*. The superior man, in accordance with this, with his large virtue, supports men and things.'

The forty-fourth hexagram, called Kâu , is formed by the trigrams Sun , representing wind, and K'ien , representing heaven or the sky, and it is said on it:—'(The symbol of) wind, beneath that of the sky, forms Kâu. In accordance with this, the sovereign distributes his charges, and promulgates his announcements throughout the four quarters (of the kingdom).'

The fifty-ninth hexagram, called Hwân , is formed by the trigrams Khân , representing water, and Sun , representing wind, and it is said on it:—'(The symbol of) water and (that of wind) above it form Hwân. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, presented offerings to God, and established the ancestral temple.' The union of the two trigrams suggested to king Wăn the idea of dissipation in the alienation of men from the Supreme Power, and of the minds of parents from their children; a condition which the wisdom of the ancient kings saw could best be met by the influences of religion.

One more example. The twenty-sixth hexagram, called Tâ K'û , is formed of the trigrams K'ien, representing heaven or the sky, and K'ân , representing a mountain, and it is said on it:—'(The symbol of) heaven in the midst of a mountain forms Tâ K'û. The superior man, in accordance with this, stores largely in his memory the words of former men and their conduct, to subserve the accumulation of his virtue.' We are ready to exclaim and ask, 'Heaven, the sky, in the midst of a mountain! Can there be such a thing?' and K'û Hsi will tell us in reply, 'No, there cannot be such a thing in reality; but you can conceive it for the purpose of the symbolism.'

From this and the other examples adduced from the Great Symbolism, it is clear that, so far as its testimony bears on the subject, the trigrams of Fû-hsi did not receive their form and meaning with a deep intention that they should serve as the basis of a philosophical scheme concerning the constitution of heaven and earth and all that

is in them. In this Appendix they are used popularly, just as one

‘Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.’

The writer moralises from them in an edifying manner. There is ingenuity, and sometimes instruction also, in what he says, but there is no mystery. Chinese scholars and gentlemen, however, who have got some little acquaintance with western science, are fond of saying that all the truths of electricity, heat, light, and other branches of European physics, are in the eight trigrams. When asked how then they and their countrymen have been and are ignorant of those truths, they say that they have to learn them first from western books, and then, looking into the YĪ, they see that they were all known to Confucius more than 2000 years ago. The vain assumption thus manifested is childish; and until the Chinese drop their hallucination about the YĪ as containing all things that have ever been dreamt of in all philosophies, it will prove a stumbling-block to them, and keep them from entering on the true path of science.

6. We go on to the third Appendix in two sections, being the fifth and sixth ‘wings,’ and forming what is called ‘The Great Treatise.’ It will appear singular to the reader, as it has always done to myself, that neither in the Text, nor in the first two Appendixes, does the character called YĪ, which gives its name to the classic, once appear. It is the symbol of ‘change,’ and is formed from the character for ‘the sun’ placed over that for ‘the moon’¹. As the sun gives place to the moon, and the moon to the sun, so is change always proceeding in the phenomena of nature and the experiences of society. We meet with the character nearly fifty times in this Appendix; —applied most commonly to the Text of our classic, so that YĪ King or YĪ Shû is ‘the Classic or Book of Changes.’ It is also applied often to the changes in the lines of the

¹ 易 = 日, the sun, placed over 勿, a form of the old 月 (= 月), the moon.

figures, made by the manipulations of divination, apart from any sentence or oracle concerning them delivered by king Wăn or his son.¹ There is therefore the system of the Yî as well as the book of the Yî. The definition of the name which is given in one paragraph will suit them both:—‘Production and reproduction is what is called (the process of) change¹.’ In nature there is no vacuum. When anything is displaced, what displaces it takes the empty room. And in the lineal figures, the strong and the weak lines push each other out.

Now the remarkable thing asserted is, that the changes in the lines of the figures and the changes of external phenomena show a wonderful harmony and concurrence. We read:—

Harmony between the lines ever changing and the changes in external phenomena.

‘The Yî was made on a principle of accordance with heaven and earth, and shows us therefore, without rent or confusion, the course (of things) in heaven and earth².’

‘There is a similarity between the sage and heaven and earth; and hence there is no contrariety in him to them. His knowledge embraces all things, and his course is intended to be helpful to all under the sky; and therefore he falls into no error. He acts according to the exigency of circumstances, without being carried away by their current; he rejoices in Heaven, and knows its ordinations; and hence he has no anxieties. He rests in his own (present) position, and cherishes the spirit of generous benevolence; and hence he can love (without reserve)³.’

‘(Through the Yî) he embraces, as in a mould or enclosure, the transformations of heaven and earth without any error; by an ever-varying adaptation he completes (the nature of) all things without exception; he penetrates to a knowledge of the course of day and night (and all other correlated phenomena). It is thus that his operation is spirit-like, unconditioned by place, while the changes (which he produces) are not restricted to any form.’

One more quotation:—

‘The sage was able to survey all the complex phenomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be

¹ III, i, 29 (chap. 5. 6).

² III, i, 20 (chap. 4. 1).

³ III, i, 22.

figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character¹.'

All that is thus predicated of the sage, or ancient sages, though the writer probably had Fû-hsî in his mind, is more than sufficiently extravagant, and reminds us of the language in 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' that 'the sage, able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of heaven and earth, may with heaven and earth form a ternion².'

I quoted largely, in the second chapter, from this Appendix the accounts which it gives of the formation of the lineal figures. There is no occasion to return to that subject. Let us suppose the figures formed. They seem to have

Divination. the significance, when looked at from certain points of view, which have been determined for us by king Wăn and the duke of K'áu. But this does not amount to divination. How can the lines be made to serve this purpose? The Appendix professes to tell us.

Before touching on the method which it describes, let me observe that divination was practised in China from a very early time. I will not say 5,200 years ago, in the days of Fû-hsî, for I cannot repress doubts of his historical personality; but as soon as we tread the borders of something like credible history, we find it existing. In the Shû King, in a document that purports to be of the twenty-third century B.C.³, divination by means of the tortoise-shell is mentioned; and somewhat later we find that method continuing, and also divination by the lineal figures, manipulated by means of the stalks of a plant⁴, the *Ptarmica Sibirica*⁵, which is still cultivated on and about the grave of Confucius, where I have myself seen it growing.

The object of the divination, it should be acknowledged, was not to discover future events absolutely, as if they could be known beforehand⁶, but

¹ III, i, 38 (chap. 8. 1).

² Doctrine of the Mean, chap. xxii.

³ The Shû II, ii, 18.

⁴ The Shû V, iv, 20, 31.

⁵ See Williams' Syllabic Dictionary on the character 蓍.

⁶ Canon McClatchie (first paragraph of his Introduction) says:—'The YĪ is regarded by the Chinese with peculiar veneration . . . as containing a mine of

to ascertain whether certain schemes, and conditions of events contemplated by the consulter, would turn out luckily or unluckily. But for the actual practice the stalks of the plant were necessary; and I am almost afraid to write that this Appendix teaches that they were produced by Heaven of such a nature as to be fit for the purpose. 'Heaven,' it says, in the 73rd paragraph of Section i, quoted above on p. 14, 'Heaven produced the spirit-like things.' The things were the tortoise and the plant, and in paragraph 68, the same quality of being *shăn*, or 'spirit-like,' is ascribed to them. Occasionally, in the field of Chinese literature, we meet with doubts as to the efficacy of divination, and the folly of expecting any revelation of the character of the future from an old tortoise-shell and a handful of withered twigs¹; but when this Appendix was made, the writer had not attained to so much common sense. The stalks were to him 'spirit-like,' possessed of

knowledge, which, if it were possible to fathom it thoroughly, would, in their estimation, enable the fortunate possessor to foretell all future events.' This misstatement does not surprise me so much as that Morrison, generally accurate on such points, should say (Dictionary, Part II, i, p. 1020, on the character 易):—

'Of the odd and even numbers, the *kwâ* or lines of *Fû-hsi* are the visible signs; and it being assumed that these signs answer to the things signified, and from a knowledge of all the various combinations of numbers, a knowledge of all possible occurrences in nature may be previously known.' The whole article from which I take this sentence is inaccurately written. The language of the Appendix on the knowledge of the future given by the use of the *Yi* is often incautious, and a cursory reader may be misled; to a careful student, however, the meaning is plain. The second passage of the *Shû*, referred to above, treats of 'the Examination of Doubts,' and concludes thus:—'When the tortoise-shell and the stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be good fortune in stillness, and active operations will be unlucky.'

¹ A remarkable instance is given by *Liú K'í* (of the Ming dynasty, in the fifteenth century) in a story about *Shão Phing*, who had been marquis of *Tung-ling* in the time of *Shin*, but was degraded under *Han*. Having gone once to *Sze-mâ Ki-kû*, one of the most skilful diviners of the country, and wishing to know whether there would be a brighter future for him, *Sze-mâ* said, 'Ah! is it the way of Heaven to love any (partially)? Heaven loves only the virtuous. What intelligence is possessed by spirits? They are intelligent (only) by their connexion with men. The divining stalks are so much withered grass; the tortoise-shell is a withered bone. They are but things, and man is more intelligent than things. Why not listen to yourself instead of seeking (to learn) from things?' The whole piece is in many of the collections of *Kû Wăn*, or *Elegant Writing*.



a subtle and invisible virtue that fitted them for use in divining.

Given the stalks with such virtue, the process of manipulating them so as to form the lineal figures is described (Section i, chap. 9, parr. 49-58), but it will take the student much time and thought to master the various operations.

Formation
of the lineal
figures by the
divining
stalks.

Forty-nine stalks were employed, which were thrice manipulated for each line, so that it took eighteen manipulations to form a hexagram. The lines were determined by means of the numbers derived from the River Map or scheme. Odd numbers gave strong or undivided lines, and even numbers gave the weak or divided. An important part was played in combining the lines, and forming the hexagrams by the four emblematic symbols, to which the numbers 9, 8, 7, 6 were appropriated¹. The figures having been formed, recourse was had for their interpretation to the thwan of king Wăn, and the emblematic sentences of the duke of Kâu. This was all the part which numbers played in the divination by the YĪ, helping the operator to make up his lineal figure. An analogy has often been asserted between the numbers of the YĪ and the numbers of Pythagoras; and certainly we might make ten, and more than ten, antinomies from these Appendixes in startling agreement with the ten principia of the Pythagoreans. But if Aristotle was correct in holding that Pythagoras regarded numbers as entities, and maintained that Number was the Beginning (Principle, ἀρχή) of things, the cause of their material existence, and of their

¹ These numbers are commonly derived from the River Scheme, in the outer sides of which are the corresponding marks:— ●●●●●●, opposite to ●●; ○○○○○○, opposite to ○; ●●●●●●, opposite to ●●●; and ○○○○○○○○, opposite to ○○○. Hence the number 6 is assigned to ≡≡≡, 7 to ≡≡≡≡, 8 to ≡≡≡≡≡, and 9 to ≡≡≡≡≡≡. Hence also, in connexion with the formation of the figures by manipulation of the stalks, 9 becomes the number symbolical of the undivided line, as representing K'ien ≡≡≡≡≡≡, and 6 of the divided line, as representing Khwân ≡≡≡≡. But the late delineation of the map, as given on p. 15, renders all this uncertain, so far as the scheme is concerned. The numbers of the hsiang, however, may have been fixed, must have been fixed indeed, at an early period.

modifications and different states, then the doctrine of the philosopher of Samos was different from that of the Yi¹, in which numbers come in only as aids in divining to form the hexagrams. Of course all divination is vain, nor is the method of the Yi less absurd than any other. The Chinese themselves have given it up in all circles above those of the professional quacks, and yet their scholars continue to maintain the unfathomable science and wisdom of these appended treatises!

It is in this Appendix that we first meet with the names yin and yang², of which I have spoken briefly on pp. 15, 16. Up to this point, instead of them, the names for the two elementary forms of the lines have been kang and zâu, which I have translated by 'strong and weak,' and which also occur here ten times. The following attempt to explain these different names appears in the fifth Appendix, paragraph 4:—

'Anciently when the sages made the Yi, it was with the design that its figures should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures (of men and things), and the ordinances appointed (for them by Heaven). With this view they exhibited in them the way of heaven, calling (the lines) yin and yang; the way of earth, calling them the strong (or hard) and the weak (or soft); and the way of man, under the names of benevolence and righteousness. Each (trigram) embraced those three Powers, and being repeated, its full form consisted of six lines.'

However difficult it may be to make what is said here intelligible, it confirms what I have affirmed of the significance of the names yin and yang, as meaning bright and dark, derived from the properties of the sun and moon. We may use for these adjectives a variety of others, such as active and inactive, masculine and feminine, hot and cold, more or less analogous to them; but there arise the important questions,—Do we find yang and yin not merely used to indicate the quality of what they are applied

¹ See the account of Pythagoras and his philosophy in Lewes' History of Philosophy, pp. 18–38 (1871).

² See Section i, 24, 32, 35; Section ii, 28, 29, 30, 35.

to, but at the same time with substantival force, denoting what has the quality which the name denotes? Had the doctrine of a primary matter of an ethereal nature, now expanding and showing itself full of activity and power as yang, now contracting and becoming weak and inactive as yin:—had this doctrine become matter of speculation when this Appendix was written? The Chinese critics and commentators for the most part assume that it had. P. Regis, Dr. Medhurst, and other foreign Chinese scholars repeat their statements without question. I have sought in vain for proof of what is asserted. It took more than a thousand years after the closing of the YĪ to fashion in the Confucian school the doctrine of a primary matter. We do not find it fully developed till the era of the Sung dynasty, and in our eleventh and twelfth centuries¹. To find it in the YĪ is the logical, or rather illogical, error of putting 'the last first.' Neither creation nor cosmogony was before the mind of the author whose work I am analysing. His theme is the YĪ,—the ever-changing phenomena of nature and experience. There is nothing but this in the 'Great Treatise' to task our powers;—nothing deeper or more abstruse.

¹ As a specimen of what the ablest Sung scholars teach, I may give the remarks (from the 'Collected Comments') of Kū Kān (of the same century as Kū Hsi, rather earlier) on the 4th paragraph of Appendix V:—'In the YĪ there is the Great Extreme. When we speak of the yin and yang, we mean the air (or ether) collected in the Great Void. When we speak of the Hard and Soft, we mean that ether collected, and formed into substance. Benevolence and righteousness have their origin in the great void, are seen in the ether substantiated, and move under the influence of conscious intelligence. Looking at the one origin of all things we speak of their nature; looking at the endowments given to them, we speak of the ordinations appointed (for them). Looking at them as (divided into) heaven, earth, and men, we speak of their principle. The three are one and the same. The sages wishing that (their figures) should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures (of men and things) and the ordinances appointed (for them), called them (now) yin and yang, (now) the hard and the soft, (now) benevolence and righteousness, in order thereby to exhibit the ways of heaven, earth, and men; it is a view of them as related together. The trigrams of the YĪ contain the three Powers; and when they are doubled into hexagrams, there the three Powers unite and are one. But there are the changes and movements of their (several) ways, and therefore there are separate places for the yin and yang, and reciprocal uses of the hard and the soft.'

As in the first Appendix, so in this, the name *kwei-shǎn* occurs twice; in paragraphs 21 and 50 of Section i. In the former instance, each part of the name has its significance. *Kwei* denotes the animal soul or nature, and *Shǎn*, the intellectual soul, the union of which constitutes the living rational man. I have translated them, it will be seen, by 'the *anima* and the *animus*.' Canon McClatchie gives for them 'demons and gods;' and Dr. Medhurst said on the passage, 'The *kwei-shǎns* are evidently the expanding and contracting principles of human life. . . . The *kwei-shǎns* are brought about by the dissolution of the human frame, and consist of the expanding and ascending *shǎn*, which rambles about in space, and of the contracted and shrivelled *kwei*, which reverts to earth and nonentity¹.'

This is pretty much the same view as my own, though I would not here use the phraseology of 'expanding and contracting.' Canon McClatchie is consistent with himself, and renders the characters by 'demons and gods.'

In the latter passage it is more difficult to determine the exact meaning. The writer says, that 'by the odd numbers assigned to heaven and the even numbers assigned to earth, the changes and transformations are effected, and the spirit-like agencies kept in movement;' meaning that by means of the numbers the spirit-like lines might be formed on a scale sufficient to give a picture of all the changing phenomena, taking place, as if by a spiritual agency, in nature. Medhurst contents himself on it with giving the explanation of *K'û Hsî*, that 'the *kwei-shǎns* refer to the contractions and expandings, the recedings and approachings of the productive and completing powers of the even and odd numbers².' Canon McClatchie does not follow his translation of the former passage and give here 'demons and gods,' but we have 'the Demon-god (i.e. *Shang Ti*)³.' I shall refer to this version when considering the fifth Appendix.

¹ Dissertation on the Theology of the Chinese, pp. 111, 112.

² Theology of the Chinese, p. 122.

³ Translation of the *Yi King*, p. 312.

The single character shăn occurs more than twenty times;—used now as a substantive, now as an adjective, and again as a verb. I must refer the reader to the translation and notes for its various significance, subjoining in a note a list of the places where it occurs¹.

Shan alone.

Much more might be said on the third Appendix, for the writer touches on many other topics, antiquarian and speculative, but a review of them would help us little in the study of the leading subject of the YĪ. In passing on to the next treatise, I would only further say that the style of this and the author's manner of presenting his thoughts often remind the reader of 'the Doctrine of the Mean.' I am surprised that 'the Great Treatise' has never been ascribed to the author of that Doctrine, 3ze-sze, the grandson of Confucius, whose death must have taken place between B.C. 400 and 450.

7. The fourth Appendix, the seventh 'wing' of the YĪ, need not detain us long. As I stated on p. 27, it is confined to an exposition of the Text on the first and second hexagrams, being an attempt to show that what is there affirmed of heaven and earth may also be applied to man, and that there is an essential agreement between the qualities ascribed to them, and the benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom, which are the four constituents of his moral and intellectual nature.

The fourth
Appendix.

It is said by some of the critics that Confucius would have treated all the other hexagrams in a similar way, if his life had been prolonged, but we found special grounds for denying that Confucius had anything to do with the composition of this Appendix; and, moreover, I cannot think of any other figure that would have afforded to the author the same opportunity of discoursing about man. The style and method are after the manner of 'the Doctrine of the Mean' quite as much as those of 'the Great Treatise.' Several paragraphs, moreover, suggest to us the magniloquence of Mencius. It is said, for instance, by 3ze-sze, of

¹ Section i, 23, 32, 57, 58, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 73, 76, 81; Section ii, 11, 15, 33, 34, 41, 45.

the sage, that 'he is the equal or correlate of Heaven ¹,' and in this Appendix we have the sentiment expanded into the following:—

'The great man is he who is in harmony in his attributes with heaven and earth; in his brightness with the sun and moon; in his orderly procedure with the four seasons; and in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous with the spiritual agents. He may precede Heaven, and Heaven will not act in opposition to him; he may follow Heaven, but will act only as Heaven at the time would do. If Heaven will not act in opposition to him, how much less will man! how much less will the spiritual agents ²!'

One other passage may receive our consideration:—

'The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery ³.'

The language makes us think of the retribution of good and evil as taking place in the family, and not in the individual; the judgment is long deferred, but it is inflicted at last, lighting, however, not on the head or heads that most deserved it. Confucianism never falters in its affirmation of the difference between good and evil, and that each shall have its appropriate recompense; but it has little to say of the where and when and how that recompense will be given. The old classics are silent on the subject of any other retribution besides what takes place in time. About the era of Confucius the view took definite shape that, if the issues of good and evil, virtue and vice, did not take effect in the experience of the individual, they would certainly do so in that of his posterity. This is the prevailing doctrine among the Chinese at the present day; and one of the earliest expressions, perhaps the earliest expression, of it was in the sentence under our notice that has been copied from this Appendix into almost every moral treatise that circulates in China. A wholesome and an important truth it is, that 'the sins of parents are visited

¹ *Kung-yung* xxxi, 4.

² Section i, 34. This is the only paragraph where *kwei-shān* occurs.

³ Section ii, 5.

on their children;' but do the parents themselves escape the curse? It is to be regretted that this short treatise, the only 'wing' of the YĪ professing to set forth its teachings concerning man as man, does not attempt any definite reply to this question. I leave it, merely observing that it has always struck me as the result of an after-thought, and a wish to give to man, as the last of 'the Three Powers,' a suitable place in connexion with the YĪ. The doctrine of 'the Three Powers' is as much out of place in Confucianism as that of 'the Great Extreme.' The treatise contains several paragraphs interesting in themselves, but it adds nothing to our understanding of the Text, or even of the object of the appended treatises, when we try to look at them as a whole.

8. It is very different with the fifth of the Appendixes,
The fifth Appendix. which is made up of 'Remarks on the Trigrams.' It is shorter than the fourth, consisting of only 22 paragraphs, in some of which the author rises to a height of thought reached nowhere else in these treatises, while several of the others are so silly and trivial, that it is difficult, not to say impossible, to believe that they are the production of the same man. We find in it the earlier and later arrangement of the trigrams,—the former, that of Fû-hsi, and the latter, that of king Wăn; their names and attributes; the work of God in nature, described as a progress through the trigrams; and finally a distinctive, but by no means exhaustive, list of the natural objects, symbolised by them.

It commences with the enigmatic declaration that 'Anciently, when the sages made the YĪ,' (that is, the lineal
First paragraph. figures, and the system of divination by them), 'in order to give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences, they produced (the rules for the use of) the divining plant.' Perhaps this means no more than that the lineal figures were made to 'hold the mirror up to nature,' so that men by the study of them would understand more of the unseen and spiritual operations, to which the phenomena around them were owing, than they could otherwise do.

The author goes on to speak of the Fû-hsi trigrams, and passes from them to those of king Wăn in paragraph 8. That and the following two are very remarkable; but before saying anything of them, I will go on to the 14th, which is the only passage that affords any ground for saying that there is a mythology in the Yî. It says:—

‘*Khien* is (the symbol of) heaven, and hence is styled father. *Khwan* is (the symbol of) earth, and hence is styled mother. *Kăn* (shows) the first application (of *khwan* to *khien*), resulting in getting (the first of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence we call it the oldest son. *Sun* (shows) a first application (of *khien* to *khwan*), resulting in getting (the first of) its female (or divided lines), and hence we call it the oldest daughter. *Khân* (shows) a second application (of *khwan* to *khien*), and *Lî* a second (of *khien* to *khwan*), resulting in the second son and second daughter. In *Kăn* and *Tui* we have a third application (of *khwan* to *khien* and of *khien* to *khwan*), resulting in the youngest son and youngest daughter.’

From this language has come the fable of a marriage between *Khien* and *Khwan*, from which resulted the six other trigrams, considered as their three sons and three daughters; and it is not to be wondered at, if some men of active and ill-regulated imaginations should see Noah and his wife in those two primary trigrams, and in the others their three sons and the three sons’ wives. Have we not in both cases an ogdoad? But I have looked in the paragraph in vain for the notion of a marriage-union between heaven and earth.

It does not treat of the genesis of the other six trigrams by the union of the two, but is a rude attempt to explain their forms when they were once existing¹. According to the idea of changes, *Khien* and *Khwan* are continually varying their forms by their interaction. As here represented, the

¹ This view seems to be in accordance with that of Wû K’ang (of the Yüan dynasty), as given in the ‘Collected Comments’ of the Khang-hsi edition. The editors express their approval of it in preference to the interpretation of K’ü Hsi, who understood the whole to refer to the formation of the lineal figures, the ‘application’ being ‘the manipulation of the stalks to find the proper line.’

other trigrams are not 'produced'¹ by a marriage-union, but from the application, literally the seeking, of one of them—of *Khwăn* as much as of *K'ien*—addressed to the other².

This way of speaking of the trigrams, moreover, as father and mother, sons and daughters, is not so old as *Fû-hsi*; nor have we any real proof that it originated with king *Wăn*. It is not of 'the highest antiquity.' It arose some time in 'middle antiquity,' and was known in the era of the Appendixes; but it had not prevailed then, nor has it prevailed since, to discredit and supersede the older nomenclature. We are startled when we come on it in the place which it occupies. And there it stands alone. It is not entitled to more attention than the two paragraphs that precede it, or the eight that follow it, none of which were thought by P. Regis worthy to be translated. I have just said that it stands 'alone.' Its existence, however, seems to me to be supposed in the fourth chapter, paragraphs 28–30, of the third Appendix, Section ii; but there only the trigrams of 'the six children' are mentioned, and nothing is said of 'the parents.' *K'ăn*, *khân*, and *k'ăn* are referred to as being yang, and sun, *lî*, and *tui* as being yin. What is said about them is trifling and fanciful.

Leaving the question of the mythology of the *YĪ*, of which I am myself unable to discover a trace, I now call attention to paragraphs 8–10, where the author speaks of the work of God in nature in all the year as a progress through the trigrams, and as being effected by His Spirit. The description assumes the peculiar arrangement of the trigrams, ascribed to king *Wăn*, and which I have exhibited above, on page 33³. Father Regis adopts the general view

Operation of
God in nature
throughout
the year.

¹ But the Chinese term *Shăng* 生, often rendered 'produced,' must not be pressed, so as to determine the method of production, or the way in which one thing comes from another.

² The significance of the mythological paragraph is altogether lost in Canon McClatchie's version:—'*K'ien* is Heaven, and hence he is called Father; *Khwăn* is Earth, and hence she is called Mother; *K'ăn* is the first male, and hence he is called the eldest son,' &c. &c.

³ The reader will understand the difference in the two arrangements better by a reference to the circular representations of them on Plate III.

of Chinese critics that Wăn purposely altered the earlier and established arrangement, as a symbol of the disorganisation and disorder into which the kingdom had fallen¹. But it is hard to say why a man did something more than 3000 years ago, when he has not himself said anything about it. So far as we can judge from this Appendix, the author thought that king Wăn altered the existing order and position of the trigrams with regard to the cardinal points, simply for the occasion,—that he might set forth vividly his ideas about the springing, growth, and maturity in the vegetable kingdom from the labours of spring to the cessation from toil in winter. The marvel is that in doing this he brings God upon the scene, and makes Him in the various processes of nature the ‘all and in all.’

The 8th paragraph says :—

‘God comes forth in Kăn (to his producing work) ; He brings (His processes) into full and equal action in Sun ; they are manifested to one another in Lî ; the greatest service is done for Him in Khwăn ; He rejoices in Tui ; He struggles in K’hen ; He is comforted and enters into rest in Khân ; and he completes (the work of) the year in Kăn.’

God is here named Tî, for which P. Regis gives the Latin ‘Supremus Imperator,’ and Canon McClatchie, after him, ‘the Supreme Emperor.’ I contend that ‘God’ is really the correct translation in English of Tî ; but to render it here by ‘Emperor’ would not affect the meaning of the paragraph. Kû Hsi says that ‘by Tî is intended the Lord and Governor of heaven ;’ and Khung Ying-tâ, about five centuries earlier than Kû, quotes Wang Pî, who died A.D.

¹ E. g. I, 23, 24 :—‘Observant etiam philosophi (lib. 15 Sinicæ philosophiæ Sing-lî) principem Wăn-wang antiquum octo symbolorum, unde aliae figurae omnes perdent, ordinem invertisse ; quo ipsa imperii suis temporibus subversio graphice exprimi poterat, mutatis e naturali loco, quem genesis dederat, iis quatuor figuris, quae rerum naturalium pugnis ac dissociationibus, quas posterior labentis anni pars afferre solet, velut in antecessum, repræsentandis idoneae videbantur ; v. g. si symbolum  Lî, ignis, supponatur loco symboli  Khân, aquae, utriusque elementi inordinatio principi visa est non minus apta ad significandas ruinas et clades reipublicae male ordinatae, quam naturales ab hieme aut imminente aut saeviente rerum generatorum corruptiones.’ See also pp. 67, 68.

249, to the effect that 'Tî is the lord who produces (all) things, the author of prosperity and increase.'

I must refer the reader to the translation in the body of the volume for the 9th paragraph, which is too long to be introduced here. As the 8th speaks directly of God, the 9th, we are told, 'speaks of all things following Him, from spring to winter, from the east to the north, in His progress throughout the year.' In words strikingly like those of the apostle Paul, when writing his Epistle to the Romans, Wan *K'ung-jung* (of the Khang-hsi period) and his son, in their admirable work called, 'A New Digest of Collected Explanations of the Yî King,' say :—'God (Himself) cannot be seen ; we see Him in the things (which He produces).' The first time I read these paragraphs with some understanding, I thought of Thomson's Hymn on the Seasons, and I have thought of it in connexion with them a hundred times since. Our English poet wrote :—

'These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
Are but the varied God. The rolling year
Is full of Thee. Forth in the pleasing spring
Thy beauty walks, Thy tenderness and love.
Then comes Thy glory in the summer months,
With light and heat refulgent. Then Thy sun
Shoots full perfection through the swelling year.
Thy bounty shines in autumn unconfined,
And spreads a common feast for all that lives.
In winter awful Thou!'

Prudish readers have found fault with some of Thomson's expressions, as if they savoured of pantheism. The language of the Chinese writer is not open to the same captious objection. Without poetic ornament, or swelling phrase of any kind, he gives emphatic testimony to God as renewing the face of the earth in spring, and not resting till He has crowned the year with His goodness.

And there is in the passage another thing equally wonderful. The 10th paragraph commences :—'When we speak of Spirit, we mean the subtle presence (and operation of God) with all things ;' and the writer goes on to illustrate this sentiment from the action and influences symbolised

by the six 'children,' or minor trigrams,—water and fire, thunder and wind, mountains and collections of water. K'ü Hsi says, that there is that in the paragraph which he does not understand. Some Chinese scholars, however, have not been far from descrying the light that is in it. Let Liang Yin, of our fourteenth century, be adduced as an example of them. He says:—'The spirit here simply means God. God is the personality (literally, the body or substantiality) of the Spirit; the Spirit is God in operation. He who is lord over and rules all things is God; the subtle presence and operation of God with all things is by His Spirit.' The language is in fine accord with the definition of shān or spirit, given in the 3rd Appendix, Section i, 32.

I wish that the Treatise on the Trigrams had ended with the 10th paragraph. The writer had gradually risen to a noble elevation of thought from which he plunges
 Concluding paragraphs. into a slough of nonsensical remarks which it would be difficult elsewhere to parallel. I have referred on p. 31 to the judgment of P. Regis about them. He could not receive them as from Confucius, and did not take the trouble to translate them, and transfer them to his own pages. My plan required me to translate everything published in China as a part of the Yî King; but I have given my reasons for doubting whether any portion of these Appendixes be really from Confucius. There is nothing that could better justify the supercilious disregard with which the classical literature of China is frequently treated than to insist on the concluding portion of this treatise as being from the pencil of its greatest sage. I have dwelt at some length on the 14th paragraph, because of its mythological semblance; but among the eight paragraphs that follow it, it would be difficult to award the palm for silliness. They are descriptive of the eight trigrams, and each one enumerates a dozen or more objects of which its subject is symbolical. The writer must have been fond of and familiar with horses. K'ien, the symbol properly of heaven, suggests to him the idea of a good horse; an old horse; a lean horse; and a piebald. K'ăn, the symbol of thunder, suggests the

idea of a good neigher; of the horse with white hind-legs; of the prancing horse; and of one with a white star in his forehead. Khân, the symbol of water, suggests the idea of the horse with an elegant spine; of one with a high spirit; of one with a drooping head; and of one with a shambling step. The reader will think he has had enough of these symbolisings of the trigrams. I cannot believe that the earlier portions and this concluding portion of the treatise were by the same author. If there were any evidence that paragraphs 8 to 10 were by Confucius, I should say that they were worthy, even more than worthy, of him; what follows is mere drivel. Horace's picture faintly portrays the inconsistency between the parts:—

'Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.'

In reviewing the second of these Appendixes, I was led to speak of the original significance of the trigrams, in opposition to the views of some Chinese who pretend that they can find in them the physical truths discovered by the researches of western science. May I not say now, after viewing the phase of them presented in these paragraphs, that they were devised simply as aids to divination, and partook of the unreasonableness and uncertainty belonging to that?

9. The sixth Appendix is the Treatise on the Sequence of the Hexagrams, to which allusion has been made more

The sixth Appendix. than once. It is not necessary to dwell on it at length. King Wăn, it has been seen, gave a name to each hexagram, expressive of the idea—some moral, social, or political truth—which he wished to set forth by means of it; and this name enters very closely into its interpretation. The author of this treatise endeavours to explain the meaning of the name, and also the sequence of the figures, or how it is that the idea of the one leads on to that of the next. Yet the reader must not expect to find in the 64 a chain 'of linked sweetness long drawn out.' The connexion between any two is generally sufficiently close; but on the whole the essays, which I have said they form, resemble 'a heap of orient pearls at random strung.' The changeableness of human

affairs is a topic never long absent from the writer's mind. He is firmly persuaded that 'the fashion of the world passeth away.' Union is sure to give place to separation, and by and by that separation will issue in re-union.

There is nothing in the treatise to suggest anything about its authorship; and as the reader will see from the notes, we are perplexed occasionally by meanings given to the names that differ from the meanings in the Text.

10. The last and least Appendix is the seventh, called

The seventh Appendix. 34 Kwâ Kwan, or 'Treatise on the Lineal Figures taken promiscuously,'—not with regard to any sequence, but as they approximate, or are opposed, to one another in meaning. It is in rhyme, moreover, and this, as much as the meaning, determined, no doubt, the grouping of the hexagrams. The student will learn nothing of value from it; it is more a 'jeu d'esprit' than anything else.

THE YÎ KING.

TEXT. SECTION I.

I. THE *KHIEN* HEXAGRAM.



Explanation of the entire figure by king Wăn.

Khien (represents) what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm.

Explanation of the separate lines by the duke of *Kâu*.

1. In the first (or lowest) line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon lying hid (in the deep). It is not the time for active doing.

2. In the second line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon appearing in the field. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

3. In the third line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the superior man active and vigilant all the day, and in the evening still careful and apprehensive. (The position is) dangerous, but there will be no mistake.

4. In the fourth line, undivided, (we see its subject as the dragon looking) as if he were leaping up, but still in the deep. There will be no mistake.

5. In the fifth line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon on the wing in the sky. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

6. In the sixth (or topmost) line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon exceeding the proper limits. There will be occasion for repentance.

7. (The lines of this hexagram are all strong and undivided, as appears from) the use of the number nine. If the host of dragons (thus) appearing were to divest themselves of their heads, there would be good fortune.

The Text under each hexagram consists of one paragraph by king Wăn, explaining the figure as a whole, and of six (in the case of hexagrams 1 and 2, of seven) paragraphs by the duke of Kâu, explaining the individual lines. The explanatory notices introduced above to this effect will not be repeated. A double space will be used to mark off the portion of king Wăn from that of his son.

Each hexagram consists of two of the trigrams of Fû-hsi, the lower being called 'the inner,' and the one above 'the outer.' The lines, however, are numbered from one to six, commencing with the lowest. To denote the number of it and of the sixth line, the terms for 'commencing' and 'topmost' are used. The intermediate lines are simply 'second,' 'third,' &c. As the lines must be either whole or divided, technically called strong and weak, yang and yin, this distinction is indicated by the application to them of the numbers nine and six. All whole lines are nine, all divided lines, six.

Two explanations have been proposed of this application of these numbers. The K'ien trigram, it is said, contains 3 strokes (☰), and the Khwăn 6 (☷). But the yang contains the yin in itself, and its representative number will be 3+6=9, while the yin, not containing the yang, will only have its own number or 6. This explanation, entirely arbitrary, is now deservedly abandoned. The other is based on the use of the 'four Hsiang,' or emblematic figures (☰ the great or old yang, ☱ the young yang, ☷ the old yin, and ☴ the young yin). To these are assigned (by what process is unimportant for our present purpose) the numbers 9, 8, 7, 6. They were 'the old yang,' represented by 9, and 'the old yin,' represented by 6, that, in the manipulation of the stalks to form new diagrams, determined the changes of figure; and so 9 and 6 came to be used as the

II. THE KHWĀN HEXAGRAM.



Khwān (represents) what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and having the firmness of a mare. When the superior man (here

names of a yang line and a yin line respectively. This explanation is now universally acquiesced in. The nomenclature of first nine, nine two, &c., or first six, six two, &c., however, is merely a jargon; and I have preferred to use, instead of it, in the translation, in order to describe the lines, the names 'undivided' and 'divided.'

I. Does king Wān ascribe four attributes here to *K'ien*, or only two? According to Appendix IV, always by Chinese writers assigned to Confucius, he assigns four, corresponding to the principles of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge in man's nature. *K'ü Hsi* held that he assigned only two, and that we should translate, 'greatly penetrating,' and 'requires to be correct and firm,' two responses in divination. Up and down throughout the Text of the 64 hexagrams, we often find the characters thus coupled together. Both interpretations are possible. I have followed what is accepted as the view of Confucius. It would take pages to give a tithe of what has been written in justification of it, and to reconcile it with the other.

'The dragon' is the symbol employed by the duke of *K'au* to represent 'the superior man' and especially 'the great man,' exhibiting the virtues or attributes characteristic of heaven. The creature's proper home is in the water, but it can disport itself on the land, and also fly and soar aloft. It has been from the earliest time the emblem with the Chinese of the highest dignity and wisdom, of sovereignty and sagehood, the combination of which constitutes 'the great man.' One emblem runs through the lines of many of the hexagrams as here.

But the dragon appears in the sixth line as going beyond the proper limits. The ruling-sage has gone through all the sphere in which he is called on to display his attributes; it is time for him to relax. The line should not be always pulled tight; the bow should not be always kept drawn. The unchanging use

intended) has to make any movement, if he take the initiative, he will go astray; if he follow, he will find his (proper) lord. The advantageousness will be seen in his getting friends in the south-west, and losing friends in the north-east. If he rest in correctness and firmness, there will be good fortune.

1. In the first line, divided, (we see its subject) treading on hoarfrost. The strong ice will come (by and by).

2. The second line, divided, (shows the attribute of) being straight, square, and great. (Its operation), without repeated efforts, will be in every respect advantageous.

3. The third line, divided, (shows its subject) keeping his excellence under restraint, but firmly maintaining it. If he should have occasion to engage in the king's service, though he will not claim the success (for himself), he will bring affairs to a good issue.

4. The fourth line, divided, (shows the symbol of) a sack tied up. There will be no ground for blame or for praise.

5. The fifth line, divided, (shows) the yellow lower garment. There will be great good fortune.

of force will give occasion for repentance. The moral meaning found in the line is that 'the high shall be abased.'

The meaning given to the supernumerary paragraph is the opposite of that of paragraph 6. The 'host of dragons without their heads' would give us the next hexagram, or *Kh wăn*, made up of six divided lines. Force would have given place to submission, and haughtiness to humility; and the result would be good fortune. Such at least is the interpretation of the paragraph given in a narrative of the *30-Kwan* under B. C. 513. For further explanation of the duke of *Kâu's* meaning, see Appendixes II and IV.

6. The sixth line, divided, (shows) dragons fighting in the wild. Their blood is purple and yellow.

7. (The lines of this hexagram are all weak and divided, as appears from) the use of the number six. If those (who are thus represented) be perpetually correct and firm, advantage will arise.

II. The same attributes are here ascribed to Khwān, as in the former hexagram to *Khien*;—but with a difference. The figure, made up of six divided lines, expresses the ideal of subordination and docility. The superior man, represented by it, must not take the initiative; and by following he will find his lord,—the subject, that is of *Khien*. Again, the correctness and firmness is defined to be that of 'a mare,' 'docile and strong,' but a creature for the service of man. That it is not the sex of the animal which the writer has chiefly in mind is plain from the immediate mention of the superior man, and his lord.

That superior man will seek to bring his friends along with himself to serve his ruler. But according to the arrangement of the trigrams by king Wān, the place of Khwān is in the south-west, while the opposite quarter is occupied by the yang trigram Kān, as in Figure 2, Plate III. All that this portion of the *Thwan* says is an instruction to the subject of the hexagram to seek for others of the same principles and tendencies with himself to serve their common lord. But in quietness and firmness will be his strength.

The symbolism of the lines is various. Paragraph 2 presents to us the earth itself, according to the Chinese conception of it, as a great cube. To keep his excellence under restraint, as in paragraph 3, is the part of a minister or officer, seeking not his own glory, but that of his ruler. Paragraph 4 shows its subject exercising a still greater restraint on himself than in paragraph 3. There is an interpretation of the symbolism of paragraph 5 in a narrative of the 30 *Kwan*, under the 12th year of duke *Khāo*, B.C. 530. 'Yellow' is one of the five 'correct' colours, and the colour of the earth. 'The lower garment' is a symbol of humility.
 The fifth line is the seat of honour. If its occupant possess the qualities indicated, he will be greatly fortunate.

See the note on the sixth line of hexagram 1. What is there said to be 'beyond the proper limits' takes place here 'in the wild.' The humble subject of the divided line is transformed into a

III. THE KUN HEXAGRAM.



Kun (indicates that in the case which it presupposes) there will be great progress and success, and the advantage will come from being correct and firm. (But) any movement in advance should not be (lightly) undertaken. There will be advantage in appointing feudal princes.

1. The first line, undivided, shows the difficulty (its subject has) in advancing. It will be advantageous for him to abide correct and firm; advantageous (also) to be made a feudal ruler.

2. The second line, divided, shows (its subject) distressed and obliged to return; (even) the horses of her chariot (also) seem to be retreating. (But) not by a spoiler (is she assailed), but by one who seeks her to be his wife. The young lady maintains her firm correctness, and declines a union. After ten years she will be united, and have children.

3. The third line, divided, shows one following the deer without (the guidance of) the forester, and only finding himself in the midst of the forest. The superior man, acquainted with the secret risks, thinks it better to give up the chase. If he went forward, he would regret it.

dragon, and fights with the true dragon, the subject of the undivided line. They fight and bleed, and their blood is of the colour proper to heaven or the sky, and the colour proper to the earth. Paragraph 7 supposes that the hexagram *Khwân* should become changed into *Khien*;—the result of which would be good.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows (its subject as a lady), the horses of whose chariot appear in retreat. She seeks, however, (the help of) him who seeks her to be his wife. Advance will be fortunate; all will turn out advantageously.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the difficulties in the way of (its subject's) dispensing the rich favours that might be expected from him. With firmness and correctness there will be good fortune in small things; (even) with them in great things there will be evil.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows (its subject) with the horses of his chariot obliged to retreat, and weeping tears of blood in streams.

III. The character called *Kun* is pictorial, and was intended to show us how a plant struggles with difficulty out of the earth, rising gradually above the surface. This difficulty, marking the first stages in the growth of a plant, is used to symbolise the struggles that mark the rise of a state out of a condition of disorder, consequent on a great revolution. The same thing is denoted by the combination of the trigrams that form the figure;—as will be seen in the notes on it under Appendix II.

I have introduced within parentheses, in the translation, the words 'in the case which the hexagram presupposes.' It is necessary to introduce them. King Wăn and his son wrote, as they did in every hexagram, with reference to a particular state of affairs which they had in mind. This was the unspoken text which controlled and directed all their writing; and the student must try to get hold of this, if he would make his way with comfort and success through the *Yî*. Wăn saw the social and political world around him in great disorder, hard to be remedied. But he had faith in himself and the destinies of his House. Let there be prudence and caution, with unswerving adherence to the right; let the government of the different states be entrusted to good and able men:—then all would be well.

The first line is undivided, showing the strength of its subject. He will be capable of action, and his place in the trigram of mobility will the more dispose him to it. But above him is the

IV. THE MĂNG HEXAGRAM.



Măng (indicates that in the case which it presupposes) there will be progress and success. I do not (go and) seek the youthful and inexperienced,

trigram of peril; and the lowest line of that, to which especially he must look for response and co-operation, is divided and weak. Hence arise the ideas of difficulty in advancing, the necessity of caution, and the advantage of his being clothed with authority.

To the subject of the second line, divided, advance is still more difficult. He is weak in himself; he is pressed by the subject of the strong line below him. But happily that subject, though strong, is correct; and above in the fifth line, in the place of authority, is the strong one, union with whom and the service of whom should be the objects pursued. All these circumstances suggested to the duke of *Kâu* the idea of a young lady, sought in marriage by a strong wooer, when marriage was unsuitable, rejecting him, and finally, after ten years, marrying a more suitable, the only suitable, match for her.

The third line is divided, not central, and the number of its place is appropriate to the occupancy of a strong line. All these things should affect the symbolism of the line. But the outcome of the whole hexagram being good, the superior man sees the immediate danger and avoids it.

The subject of the fourth line, the first of the upper trigram, has recourse to the strong suitor of line 1, the first of the lower trigram; and with his help is able to cope with the difficulties of the position, and go forward.

The subject of the fifth line is in the place of authority, and should show himself a ruler, dispensing benefits on a great scale. But he is in the very centre of the trigram denoting perilousness, and line 2, which responds to 5, is weak. Hence arises the symbolism, and great things should not be attempted.

The sixth line is weak; the third responding to it is also weak; it is at the extremity of peril; the game is up. What can remain for its subject in such a case but terror and abject weeping?

but he comes and seeks me. When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him. If he apply a second and third time, that is troublesome; and I do not instruct the troublesome. There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, (has respect to) the dispelling of ignorance. It will be advantageous to use punishment (for that purpose), and to remove the shackles (from the mind). But going on in that way (of punishment) will give occasion for regret.

2. The second line, undivided, (shows its subject) exercising forbearance with the ignorant, in which there will be good fortune; and admitting (even the goodness of women, which will also be fortunate. (He may be described also as) a son able to (sustain the burden of) his family.

3. The third line, divided, (seems to say) that one should not marry a woman whose emblem it might be, for that, when she sees a man of wealth, she will not keep her person from him, and in no wise will advantage come from her.

4. The fourth line, divided, (shows its subject as if) bound in chains of ignorance. There will be occasion for regret.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject as a simple lad without experience. There will be good fortune.

6. In the topmost line, undivided, we see one smiting the ignorant (youth). But no advantage

will come from doing him an injury. Advantage would come from warding off injury from him.

IV. As *K'un* shows us plants struggling from beneath the surface, *Mãng* suggests to us the small and undeveloped appearance which they then present; and hence it came to be the symbol of youthful inexperience and ignorance. The object of the hexagram is to show how such a condition should be dealt with by the parent and ruler, whose authority and duty are represented by the second and sixth, the two undivided lines. All between the first and last sentences of the *Thwan* must be taken as an oracular response received by the party divining on the subject of enlightening the youthful ignorant. This accounts for its being more than usually enigmatical, and for its being partly rhythmical. See Appendix I, in loc.

The subject of the first line, weak, and at the bottom of the figure, is in the grossest ignorance. Let him be punished. If punishment avail to loosen the shackles and manacles from the mind, well; if not, and punishment be persevered with, the effect will be bad.

On the subject of the second line, strong, and in the central place, devolves the task of enlightening the ignorant; and we have him discharging it with forbearance and humility. In proof of his generosity, it is said that 'he receives,' or learns from, even weak and ignorant women. He appears also as 'a son' taking the place of his father.

The third line is weak, and occupies an odd place belonging properly to an undivided line; nor is its place in the centre. All these things give the subject of it so bad a character.

The fourth line is far from both the second and sixth, and can get no help from its correlate,—the first line, weak as itself. What good can be done with or by the subject of it?

The fifth line is in the place of honour, and has for its correlate the strong line in the second place. Being weak in itself, it is taken as the symbol of a simple lad, willing to be taught.

The topmost line is strong, and in the highest place. It is natural, but unwise, in him to use violence in carrying on his educational measures. A better course is suggested to him.

V. THE HSÜ HEXAGRAM.



Hsü intimates that, with the sincerity which is declared in it, there will be brilliant success. With firmness there will be good fortune; and it will be advantageous to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject waiting in the distant border. It will be well for him constantly to maintain (the purpose thus shown), in which case there will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject waiting on the sand (of the mountain stream). He will (suffer) the small (injury of) being spoken (against), but in the end there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject in the mud (close by the stream). He thereby invites the approach of injury.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject waiting in (the place of) blood. But he will get out of the cavern.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject waiting amidst the appliances of a feast. Through his firmness and correctness there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject entered into the cavern. (But) there are three guests coming, without being urged, (to his help).

If he receive them respectfully, there will be good fortune in the end.

V. Hsü means waiting. Strength confronted by peril might be expected to advance boldly and at once to struggle with it; but it takes the wiser plan of waiting till success is sure. This is the lesson of the hexagram. That 'sincerity is declared in it' is proved from the fifth line in the position of honour and authority, central, itself undivided and in an odd place. In such a case, nothing but firm correctness is necessary to great success.

'Going through a great stream,' an expression frequent in the Yî, may mean undertaking hazardous enterprises, or encountering great difficulties, without any special reference; but more natural is it to understand by 'the great stream' the Yellow river, which the lords of Kâu must cross in a revolutionary movement against the dynasty of Yin and its tyrant. The passage of it by king Wû, the son of Wăn in B.C. 1122, was certainly one of the greatest deeds in the history of China. It was preceded also by long 'waiting,' till the time of assured success came.

'The border' under line 1 means the frontier territory of the state. There seems no necessity for such a symbolism. 'The sand' and 'the mud' are appropriate with reference to the watery defile; but it is different with 'the border.' The subject of the line appears at work in his distant fields, not thinking of anything but his daily work; and he is advised to abide in that state and mind.

'The sand' of paragraph 2 suggests a nearer approach to the defile, but its subject is still self-restrained and waiting. I do not see what suggests the idea of his suffering from 'the strife of tongues.'

In paragraph 3 the subject is on the brink of the stream. His advance to that position has provoked resistance, which may result in his injury.

Line 4 has passed from the inner to the upper trigram, and entered on the scene of danger and strife;—'into the place of blood.' Its subject is 'weak and in the correct place for him;' he therefore retreats and escapes from the cavern, where he was engaged with his enemy.

Line 5 is strong and central, and in its correct place, being that of honour. All good qualities therefore belong to the subject of it, who has triumphed, and with firmness will triumph still more.

Line 6 is weak, and has entered deeply into the defile and its caverns. What will become of its subject? His correlate is the

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VI. THE SUNG HEXAGRAM.



Sung intimates how, though there is sincerity in one's contention, he will yet meet with opposition and obstruction; but if he cherish an apprehensive caution, there will be good fortune, while, if he must prosecute the contention to the (bitter) end, there will be evil. It will be advantageous to see the great man; it will not be advantageous to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject not perpetuating the matter about which (the contention is). He will suffer the small (injury) of being spoken against, but the end will be fortunate.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject unequal to the contention. If he retire and keep concealed (where) the inhabitants of his city are (only) three hundred families, he will fall into no mistake.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject keeping in the old place assigned for his support, and firmly correct. Perilous as the position is, there will be good fortune in the end. Should he per-

strong line 3 below, which comes with its two companions to his help. If they are respectfully received, that help will prove effectual. P. Regis tries to find out a reference in these 'three guests' to three princes who distinguished themselves by taking part with K'âu in its struggle with Yin or Shang; see vol. i, pp. 279-282. I dare not be so confident of any historical reference.

chance engage in the king's business, he will not (claim the merit of) achievement.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject unequal to the contention. He returns to (the study of Heaven's) ordinances, changes (his wish to contend), and rests in being firm and correct. There will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject contending;—and with great good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows how its subject may have the leathern belt conferred on him (by the sovereign), and thrice it shall be taken from him in a morning.

VI. We have strength in the upper trigram, as if to regulate and control the lower, and peril in that lower as if looking out for an opportunity to assail the upper; or, as it may be represented, we have one's self in a state of peril matched against strength from without. All this is supposed to give the idea of contention or strife. But the undivided line in the centre of *Khân* is emblematic of sincerity, and gives a character to the whole figure. An individual, so represented, will be very wary, and have good fortune; but strife is bad, and if persevered in even by such a one, the effect will be evil. The fifth line, undivided, in an odd place, and central, serves as a representative of 'the great man,' whose agency is sure to be good; but the topmost line being also strong, and with its two companions, riding as it were, on the trigram of peril, its action is likely to be too rash for a great enterprise. See the treatise on the *Thwan*, in loc.

The subject of line 1 is weak and at the bottom of the figure. He may suffer a little in the nascent strife, but will let it drop; and the effect will be good.

Line 2 represents one who is strong, and has the rule of the lower trigram;—he has the mind for strife, and might be expected to engage in it. But his strength is weakened by being in an even place, and he is no match for his correlate in line 5, and therefore retreats. A town or city with only three hundred families is said

VII. THE SZE HEXAGRAM.



Sze indicates how, in the case which it supposes, with firmness and correctness, and (a leader of) age

to be very small. That the subject of the line should retire to so insignificant a place is further proof of his humility.

Line 3 is weak and in an odd place. Its subject therefore is not equal to strive, but withdraws from the arena. Even if forced into it, he will keep himself in the background;—and be safe. 'He keeps in the old place assigned for his support' is, literally, 'He eats his old virtue;' meaning that he lives in and on the appanage assigned to him for his services.

Line 4 is strong, and not in the centre; so that we are to conceive of its subject as having a mind to strive. But immediately above it is line 5, the symbol of the ruler, and with him it is hopeless to strive; immediately below is 3, weak, and out of its proper place, incapable of maintaining a contention. Its proper correlate is the lowest line, weak, and out of its proper place, from whom little help can come. Hence its subject takes the course indicated, which leads to good fortune.

Line 5 has every circumstance in favour of its subject.

Line 6 is strong and able to contend successfully; but is there to be no end of striving? Persistence in it is sure to end in defeat and disgrace. The contender here might receive a reward from the king for his success; but if he received it thrice in a morning, thrice it would be taken from him again. As to the nature of the reward here given, see on the Li K'i, X, ii, 32.

P. Regis explains several of the expressions in the Text, both in the Thwan and the Hsiang, from the history of king Wăn and his son king Wû. Possibly his own circumstances may have suggested to Wăn some of the Thwan; and his course in avoiding a direct collision with the tyrant Shâu, and Wû's subsequent exploits may have been in the mind of the duke of K'âu. Some of the sentiments, however, cannot be historically explained. They are general protests against all contention and strife.

and experience, there will be good fortune and no error.

1. The first line, divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules (for such a movement). If these be not good, there will be evil.

2. The second line, undivided, shows (the leader) in the midst of the host. There will be good fortune and no error. The king has thrice conveyed to him the orders (of his favour).

3. The third line, divided, shows how the host may, possibly, have many inefficient leaders. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the host in retreat. There is no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows birds in the fields, which it will be advantageous to seize (and destroy). In that case there will be no error. If the oldest son leads the host, and younger men (idly occupy offices assigned to them), however firm and correct he may be, there will be evil.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges, (appointing some) to be rulers of states, and others to undertake the headship of clans; but small men should not be employed (in such positions).

VII. The conduct of military expeditions in a feudal kingdom, and we may say, generally, is denoted by the hexagram Sze. Referring to Appendixes I and II for an explanation of the way in which the combination of lines in it is made out to suggest the idea of an army, and that idea being assumed, it is easy to see how the undivided line in the second place should be interpreted of the general, who is responded to by the divided line in the fifth and royal place. Thus entire trust is reposed in him. He is strong

VIII. THE PĬ HEXAGRAM.



PĬ indicates that (under the conditions which it supposes) there is good fortune. But let (the principal party intended in it) re-examine himself, (as if)

and correct, and his enterprises will be successful. He is denominated *kang zǎn*, 'an old, experienced man.'

'The rules,' it is said, 'are twofold;—first, that the war be for a ✓ righteous end; and second, that the manner of conducting it, ✓ especially at the outset, be right.' But how this and the warning in the conclusion should both follow from the divided line being in the first place, has not been sufficiently explained.

How line 2 comes to be the symbol of the general in command of the army has been shown above on the Thwan. The orders of the king thrice conveyed to him are to be understood of his appointment to the command, and not of any rewards conferred on him as a tribute to his merit. Nor is stress to be laid on the 'thrice.' 'It does not mean that the appointment came to him three times; but that it was to him exclusively, and with the entire confidence of the king.'

The symbolism of line 3 is very perplexing. P. Regis translates it:—'*Milites videntur deponere sarcinas in curribus. Male.*' Canon McClatchie has:—'Third-six represents soldiers as it were lying dead in their baggage carts, and is unlucky.' To the same effect was my own translation of the paragraph, nearly thirty years ago. But the third line, divided, cannot be forced to have such an indication. The meaning I have now given is more legitimate, taken character by character, and more in harmony with the scope of the hexagram. The subject of line 2 is the one proper leader of the host. But line 3 is divided and weak, and occupies the place of a strong line, as if its subject had perversely jumped over two, and perched himself above it to take the command. This interpretation also suits better in the 5th paragraph.

Line 4 is weak and not central; and therefore 'to retreat' is

by divination, whether his virtue be great, unintermitting, and firm. If it be so, there will be no error. Those who have not rest will then come to him; and with those who are (too) late in coming it will be ill.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject seeking by his sincerity to win the attachment of his object. There will be no error. Let (the breast) be full of sincerity as an earthenware vessel is of its contents, and it will in the end bring other advantages.

2. In the second line, divided, we see the movement towards union and attachment proceeding from the inward (mind). With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. In the third line, divided, we see its subject seeking for union with such as ought not to be associated with.

4. In the fourth line, divided, we see its subject

natural for its subject. But its place is even, and proper for a divided line; and the retreat will be right in the circumstances.

In line 5 we seem to have an intimation of the important truth that only defensive war, or war waged by the rightful authority to put down rebellion and lawlessness, is right. 'The birds in the fields' symbolise parties attacking for plunder. The fifth line symbolises the chief authority,—the king, who is weak, or humble, and in the centre, and cedes the use of all his power to the general symbolised by line 2. The subject of 2 is 'the oldest son.' Those of three and four are supposed to be 'the younger brother and son,' that is, the younger men, who would cause evil if admitted to share the command.

The lesson on the topmost line is true and important, but the critics seem unable to deduce it from the nature of the line, as divided and in the sixth place.

seeking for union with the one beyond himself. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, affords the most illustrious instance of seeking union and attachment. (We seem to see in it) the king urging his pursuit of the game (only) in three directions, and allowing the escape of all the animals before him, while the people of his towns do not warn one another (to prevent it). There will be good fortune.

6. In the topmost line, divided, we see one seeking union and attachment without having taken the first step (to such an end). There will be evil.

VIII. The idea of union between the different members and classes of a state, and how it can be secured, is the subject of the hexagram Pī. The whole line occupying the fifth place, or that of authority, in the hexagram, represents the ruler to whom the subjects of all the other lines offer a ready submission. According to the general rules for the symbolism of the lines, the second line is the correlate of the fifth; but all the other lines are here made subject to that fifth;—which is also a law of the Yi, according to the ‘Daily Lecture.’ To me it has the suspicious look of being made for the occasion. The harmony of union, therefore, is to be secured by the sovereign authority of one; but he is warned to see to it that his virtue be what will beseem his place, and subjects are warned not to delay to submit to him.

Where does the ‘sincerity’ predicated of the subject of line 1 come from? The ‘earthenware vessel’ is supposed to indicate its plain, unadorned character; but there is nothing in the position and nature of the line, beyond the general idea in the figure, to suggest the attribute.

Line 2 is the proper correlate of 5. Its position in the centre of the inner or lower trigram agrees with the movement of its subject as proceeding from the inward mind.

Line 3 is weak, not in the centre, nor in its correct place. The lines above and below it are both weak. All these things are supposed to account for what is said on it.

‘The one beyond himself’ in line 4 is the ruler or king, who is

IX. THE HSIÃO KHŪ HEXAGRAM.



Hsiao Khū indicates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and success. (We see) dense clouds, but no rain coming from our borders in the west.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject returning and pursuing his own course. What mistake should he fall into? There will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject, by the attraction (of the former line), returning (to the proper course). There will be good fortune.

the subject of 5, and with whom union ought to be sought. The divided line, moreover, is in a place proper to it. If its subject be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

The subject of line 5 is the king, who must be the centre of union. The ancient kings had their great hunting expeditions in the different seasons; and that of each season had its peculiar rules. But what is stated here was common to all. When the beating was completed, and the shooting was ready to commence, one side of the enclosure into which the game had been driven was left open and unguarded;—a proof of the royal benevolence, which did not want to make an end of all the game. So well known and understood is this benevolence of the model king of the hexagram, that all his people try to give it effect. Thus the union contemplated is shown to be characterised by mutual confidence and appreciation in virtue and benevolence.

A weak line being in the 6th place, which is appropriate to it, its subject is supposed to be trying to promote union among and with the subjects of the lines below. It is too late. The time is past. Hence it is symbolised as 'without a head,' that is, as not having taken the first step, from which its action should begin, and go on to the end.

3. The third line, undivided, suggests the idea of a carriage, the strap beneath which has been removed, or of a husband and wife looking on each other with averted eyes.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity. The danger of bloodshed is thereby averted, and his (ground for) apprehension dismissed. There will be no mistake.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity, and drawing others to unite with him. Rich in resources, he employs his neighbours (in the same cause with himself).

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows how the rain has fallen, and the (onward progress) is stayed; —(so) must we value the full accumulation of the virtue (represented by the upper trigram). But a wife (exercising restraint), however firm and correct she may be, is in a position of peril, (and like) the moon approaching to the full. If the superior man prosecute his measures (in such circumstances), there will be evil.

IX. The name Hsião K'ü is interpreted as meaning 'small restraint.' The idea of 'restraint' having once been determined on as that to be conveyed by the figure, it is easily made out that the restraint must be small, for its representative is the divided line in the fourth place; and the check given by that to all the undivided lines cannot be great. Even if we suppose, as many critics do, that all the virtue of that upper trigram Sun is concentrated in its first line, the attribute ascribed to Sun is that of docile flexibility, which cannot long be successful against the strength emblemized by the lower trigram K'ien. The restraint therefore is small, and in the end there will be 'progress and success.'

The second sentence of the Thwan contains indications of the place, time, and personality of the writer which it seems possible to ascertain. The fief of K'au was the western portion of the

X. THE LI HEXAGRAM.



(Li suggests the idea of) one treading on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him. There will be progress and success.

kingdom of Yin or Shang, the China of the twelfth century B. C., the era of king Wăn. Rain coming and moistening the ground is the cause of the beauty and luxuriance of the vegetable world, and the emblem of the blessings flowing from good training and good government. Here therefore in the west, the hereditary territory of the house of K'âu, are blessings which might enrich the whole kingdom; but they are somehow restrained. The dense clouds do not empty their stores.

P. Regis says:—‘To declare openly that no rain fell from the heavens long covered with dense clouds over the great tract of country, which stretched from the western border to the court and on to the eastern sea, was nothing else but leaving it to all thoughtful minds to draw the conclusion that the family of Wăn was as worthy of the supreme seat as that of Shâu, the tyrant, however ancient, was unworthy of it (vol. i, p. 356).’ The intimation is not put in the Text, however, so clearly as by P. Regis.

Line 1 is undivided, the first line of K'ien, occupying its proper place. Its subject, therefore, notwithstanding the check of line 4, resumes his movement, and will act according to his strong nature, and go forward.

Line 2 is also strong, and though an even place is not appropriate to it, that place being central, its subject will make common cause with the subject of line 1; and there will be good fortune.

Line 3, though strong, and in a proper place, yet not being in the centre, is supposed to be less able to resist the restraint of line 4; and hence it has the ill omens that are given.

The subject of line 4, one weak line against all the strong lines of the hexagram, might well expect wounds, and feel apprehension in trying to restrain the others; but it is in its proper place; it is the first line also of Sun, whose attribute is docile flexibility.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject treading his accustomed path. If he go forward, there will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject treading the path that is level and easy;—a quiet and solitary man, to whom, if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows a one-eyed man (who thinks he) can see; a lame man (who thinks he) can walk well; one who treads on the tail of a tiger and is bitten. (All this indicates) ill fortune. We have a (mere) bravo acting the part of a great ruler.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject treading on the tail of a tiger. He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the resolute tread of its subject. Though he be firm and correct, there will be peril.

6. The sixth line, undivided, tells us to look at (the whole course) that is trodden, and examine the

The strong lines are moved to sympathy and help, and 'there is no mistake.'

Line 5 occupies the central place of Sun, and converts, by the sincerity of its subject, 4 and 6 into its neighbours, who suffer themselves to be used by it, and effect their common object.

In line 6, the idea of the hexagram has run its course. The harmony of nature is restored. The rain falls, and the onward march of the strong lines should now stop. But weakness that has achieved such a result, if it plume itself on it, will be in a position of peril; and like the full moon, which must henceforth wane. Let the superior man, when he has attained his end, remain in quiet.

presage which that gives. If it be complete and without failure, there will be great good fortune.

X. The character giving its name to the hexagram plays an important part also in the symbolism; and this may be the reason why it does not, as the name, occupy the first place in the Thwan. Looking at the figure, we see it is made up of the trigrams Tui, representing a marsh, and *K'ien*, representing the sky. Tui is a yin trigram, and its top line is divided. Below *K'ien*, the great symbol of strength, it may readily suggest the idea of treading on a tiger's tail, which was an old way of expressing what was hazardous (Shû V, xxv, 2). But what suggests the statement that 'the tiger does not bite the treader?' The attribute of Tui is pleased satisfaction. Of course such an attribute could not be predicated of one who was in the fangs of a tiger. The coming scatheless out of such danger further suggests the idea of 'progress and success' in the course which king Wăn had in his mind. And according to Appendix VI, that course was 'propriety,' the observance of all the rules of courtesy. On these, as so many stepping-stones, one may tread safely amid scenes of disorder and peril.

Line 1 is an undivided line in an odd place; giving us the ideas of activity, firmness, and correctness. One so characterised will act rightly.

Line 2 occupies the middle place of the trigram, which is supposed to symbolise a path cut straight and level along the hill-side, or over difficult ground. Line 5 is not a proper correlate, and hence the idea of the subject of 2 being 'a quiet and solitary man.'

Line 3 is neither central nor in an even place, which would be proper to it. But with the strength of will which the occupant of an odd place should possess, he goes forward with the evil results so variously emblemed. The editors of the imperial edition, in illustration of the closing sentence, refer to Analects VII, x.

Line 4 is in contiguity with 5, whose subject is in the place of authority; but he occupies the place proper to a weak or divided line, and hence he bethinks himself, and goes softly.

Beneath the symbolism under line 5, lies the principle that the most excellent thing in 'propriety' is humility. And the subject of the line, which is strong and central, will not be lacking in this, but bear in mind that the higher he is exalted, the greater may be his fall.

XI. THE THÂI HEXAGRAM.



In Thái (we see) the little gone and the great come. (It indicates that) there will be good fortune, with progress and success.

1. The first line, undivided, suggests the idea of grass pulled up, and bringing with it other stalks with whose roots it is connected. Advance (on the part of its subject) will be fortunate.

2. The second line, undivided, shows one who can bear with the uncultivated, will cross the Ho without a boat, does not forget the distant, and has no (selfish) friendships. Thus does he prove himself acting in accordance with the course of the due Mean.

3. The third line, undivided, shows that, while there is no state of peace that is not liable to be disturbed, and no departure (of evil men) so that they shall not return, yet when one is firm and correct, as he realises the distresses that may arise, he will commit no error. There is no occasion for sadness at the certainty (of such recurring changes); and in this mood the happiness (of the present) may be (long) enjoyed.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject fluttering (down);—not relying on his own rich

What is said on line 6 is good, but is only a truism. The whole course has been shown; if every step has been right and appropriate, the issue will be very good.

resources, but calling in his neighbours. (They all come) not as having received warning, but in the sincerity (of their hearts).

5. The fifth line, divided, reminds us of (king) Tî-yî's (rule about the) marriage of his younger sister. By such a course there is happiness and there will be great good fortune.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows us the city wall returned into the moat. It is not the time to use the army. (The subject of the line) may, indeed, announce his orders to the people of his own city; but however correct and firm he may be, he will have cause for regret.

XI. The language of the Thwan has reference to the form of Thâi, with the three strong lines of K'ien below, and the three weak lines of Khwân above. The former are 'the great,' active and vigorous; the latter are 'the small,' inactive and submissive. But where have the former 'come' from, and whither are the latter 'gone?' In many editions of the Yî beneath the hexagram of Thâi here, there appears that of Kwei Mei, the 54th in order () which becomes Thâi, if the third and fourth lines exchange places. But in the notes on the Thwan, in the first Appendix, on hexagram 6, I have spoken of the doctrine of 'changing figures,' and intimated my disbelief of it. The different hexagrams arose necessarily by the continued manipulation of the undivided and divided lines, and placing them each over itself and over the other. When king Wân wrote these Thwan, he was taking the 64 hexagrams, as they were ready to his hand, and not forming one from another by any process of divination. The 'gone' and 'come' are merely equivalent to 'below' and 'above,' in the lower trigram or in the upper.

A course in which the motive forces are represented by the three strong, and the opposing by the three weak lines, must be progressive and successful. Thâi is called the hexagram of the first month of the year, the first month of the natural spring, when for six months, through the fostering sun and genial skies, the processes of growth will be going on.

XII. THE PHÏ HEXAGRAM.



In Phï there is the want of good understanding between the (different classes of) men, and its indication is unfavourable to the firm and correct

The symbolism of paragraph 1 is suggested by the three strong lines of *K'ien* all together, and all possessed by the same instinct to advance. The movement of the first will be supported by that of the others, and be fortunate.

The second line is strong, but in an even place. This is supposed to temper the strength of its subject; which is expressed by the first of his characteristics. But the even place is the central; and it is responded to by a proper correlate in the fifth line above. Hence come all the symbolism of the paragraph and the auspice of good fortune implied in it.

Beneath the symbolism in paragraph 3 there lies the persuasion of the constant change that is taking place in nature and in human affairs. As night succeeds to day, and winter to summer, so calamity may be expected to follow prosperity, and decay the flourishing of a state. The third is the last of the lines of *K'ien*, by whose strength and activity the happy state of *Thâi* has been produced. Another aspect of things may be looked for; but by firmness and correctness the good estate of the present may be long continued.

According to the treatise on the *Thwan*, the subjects of the fourth and other upper lines are not 'the small returning' as opponents of the strong lines below, as is generally supposed; but as the correlates of those lines, of one heart and mind with them to maintain the state of *Thâi*, and giving them, humbly but readily, all the help in their power.

Ti-yî, the last sovereign but one of the Yin dynasty, reigned from B.C. 1191 to 1155; but what was the history of him and his sister here referred to we do not know. P. Regis assumes that he gave his sister in marriage to the lord of *K'âu*, known in subse-

course of the superior man. We see in it the great gone and the little come.

1. The first line, divided, suggests the idea of grass pulled up, and bringing with it other stalks with whose roots it is connected. With firm correctness (on the part of its subject), there will be good fortune and progress.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject patient and obedient. To the small man (comporting himself so) there will be good fortune. If the great man (comport himself) as the distress and obstruction require, he will have success.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject ashamed of the purpose folded (in his breast).

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject acting in accordance with the ordination (of Heaven), and committing no error. His companions will come and share in his happiness.

5. In the fifth line, undivided, we see him who

quent time as king Wăn, and that she was the famous Thai-sze ;—contrary to all the evidence I have been able to find on the subject. According to *Khăng-ze*, Tî-yî was the first to enact a law that daughters of the royal house, in marrying princes of the states, should be in subjection to them, as if they were not superior to them in rank. Here line 5, while occupying the place of dignity and authority in the hexagram, is yet a weak line in the place of a strong one ; and its subject, accordingly, humbly condescends to his strong and proper correlate in line 2.

The course denoted by Thâi has been run ; and will be followed by one of a different and unhappy character. The earth dug from the moat had been built up to form a protecting wall ; but it is now again fallen into the ditch. War will only aggravate the evil ; and however the ruler may address good proclamations to himself and the people of his capital, the coming evil cannot be altogether averted.

brings the distress and obstruction to a close,—the great man and fortunate. (But let him say), 'We may perish! We may perish!' (so shall the state of things become firm, as if) bound to a clump of bushy mulberry trees.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the overthrow (and removal of) the condition of distress and obstruction. Before this there was that condition. Hereafter there will be joy.

XII. The form of Phï, it will be seen, is exactly the opposite of that of Thâi. Much of what has been said on the interpretation of that will apply to this, or at least assist the student in making out the meaning of its symbolism. Phï is the hexagram of the seventh month. Genial influences have done their work, the processes of growth are at an end. Henceforth increasing decay must be looked for.

Naturally we should expect the advance of the subject of the first of the three weak lines to lead to evil; but if he set himself to be firm and correct, he will bring about a different issue.

Patience and obedience are proper for the small man in all circumstances. If the great man in difficulty yet cherish these attributes, he will soon have a happy issue out of the distress.

The third line is weak. Its place is odd, and therefore for it incorrect. Its subject would vent his evil purpose, but has not strength to do so. He is left therefore to the shame which he ought to feel without a word of warning. Does the ming of the fourth line mean 'the ordination of Heaven,' as Kû Hsî thinks; or the orders of the ruler, as K'häng-ze says? Whichever interpretation be taken (and some critics unite the two), the action of the subject of the line, whose strength is tempered by the even position, will be good and correct, and issue in success and happiness.

The strong line in the fifth, (its correct), place, brings the distress and obstruction to a close. Yet its subject—the ruler in the hexagram—is warned to continue to be cautious in two lines of rhyme:—

'And let him say, "I die! I die!"

So to a bushy clump his fortune he shall tie."

There is an end of the condition of distress. It was necessary that condition should give place to its opposite; and the strong line in the topmost place fitly represents the consequent joy.

XIII. THE THUNG Zǎn HEXAGRAM.



Thung Zǎn (or 'Union of men') appears here (as we find it) in the (remote districts of the) country, indicating progress and success. It will be advantageous to cross the great stream. It will be advantageous to maintain the firm correctness of the superior man.

1. The first line, undivided, (shows the representative of) the union of men just issuing from his gate. There will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, (shows the representative of) the union of men in relation with his kindred. There will be occasion for regret.

3. The third line, undivided, (shows its subject) with his arms hidden in the thick grass, and at the top of a high mound. (But) for three years he makes no demonstration.

4. The fourth line, undivided, (shows its subject) mounted on the city wall; but he does not proceed to make the attack (he contemplates). There will be good fortune.

5. In the fifth line, undivided, (the representative of) the union of men first wails and cries out, and then laughs. His great host conquers, and he (and the subject of the second line) meet together.

6. The topmost line, undivided, (shows the repre-

sentative of) the union of men in the suburbs. There will be no occasion for repentance.

XIII. Thung Z'ân describes a condition of nature and of the state opposite to that of Phî. There was distress and obstruction; here is union. But the union must be based entirely on public considerations, without taint of selfishness.

The strong line in the fifth, its correct, place, occupies the most important position, and has for its correlate the weak second line, also in its correct place. The one divided line is naturally sought after by all the strong lines. The upper trigram is that of heaven, which is above; the lower is that of fire, whose tendency is to mount upwards. All these things are in harmony with the idea of union. But the union must be free from all selfish motives, and this is indicated by its being in the remote districts of the country, where people are unsophisticated, and free from the depraving effects incident to large societies. A union from such motives will cope with the greatest difficulties; and yet a word of caution is added.

Line 1 emblems the first attempts at union. It is strong, but in the lowest place; and it has no proper correlate above. There is, however, no intermixture of selfishness in it.

Lines 2 and 5 are proper correlates, which fact suggests in this hexagram the idea of their union being limited and partial, and such as may afford ground for blame.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place; but it has not a proper correlate in 6. This makes its subject more anxious to unite with 2; but 2 is devoted to its proper correlate in 5, of whose strength 3 is afraid, and takes the measures described. His abstaining so long, however, from any active attempt, will save him from misfortune.

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place, which weakens its subject. He also would fain make an attempt on 2; but he is afraid, and does not carry his purpose into effect.

Line 5 is strong, in an odd, and the central place; and would fain unite with 2, which indeed is the proper correlate of its subject. But 3 and 4 are powerful foes that oppose the union. Their opposition makes him weep; but he collects his forces, defeats them, and effects his purpose.

The union reaches to all within the suburbs, and is not yet universal; but still there is no cause for repentance.

XIV. THE TÂ YÛ HEXAGRAM.



Tâ Yû indicates that, (under the circumstances which it implies), there will be great progress and success.

1. In the first line, undivided, there is no approach to what is injurious, and there is no error. Let there be a realisation of the difficulty (and danger of the position), and there will be no error (to the end).

2. In the second line, undivided, we have a large waggon with its load. In whatever direction advance is made, there will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows us a feudal prince presenting his offerings to the Son of Heaven. A small man would be unequal (to such a duty).

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject keeping his great resources under restraint. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the sincerity of its subject reciprocated by that of all the others (represented in the hexagram). Let him display a proper majesty, and there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject with help accorded to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune, advantage in every respect.

XIV. Tâ Yû means 'Great Havings;' denoting in a kingdom a state of prosperity and abundance, and in a family or individual, a

XV. THE *KHIEN* HEXAGRAM.

K'ien indicates progress and success. The superior man, (being humble as it implies), will have a (good) issue (to his undertakings).

1. The first line, divided, shows us the superior man who adds humility to humility. (Even) the great

state of opulence. The danger threatening such a condition arises from the pride which it is likely to engender. But everything here is against that issue. Apart from the symbolism of the trigrams, we have the place of honour occupied by a weak line, so that its subject will be humble; and all the other lines, strong as they are, will act in obedient sympathy. There will be great progress and success.

Line 1, though strong, is at the lowest part of the figure, and has no correlate above. No external influences have as yet acted injuriously on its subject. Let him do as directed, and no hurtful influence will ever affect him.

The strong line 2 has its proper correlate in line 5, the ruler of the figure, and will use its strength in subordination to his humility. Hence the symbolism.

Line 3 is strong, and in the right (an odd) place. The topmost line of the lower trigram is the proper place for a feudal lord. The subject of this will humbly serve the condescending ruler in line 5. A small man, having the place without the virtue, would give himself airs.

Line 4 is strong, but the strength is tempered by the position, which is that of a weak line. Hence he will do no injury to the mild ruler, to whom he is so near.

Line 5 symbolises the ruler. Mild sincerity is good in him, and affects his ministers and others. But a ruler must not be without an awe-inspiring majesty.

Even the topmost line takes its character from 5. The strength of its subject is still tempered, and Heaven gives its approval.

stream may be crossed with this, and there will be good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognised. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows the superior man of (acknowledged) merit. He will maintain his success to the end, and have good fortune.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one, whose action would be in every way advantageous, stirring up (the more) his humility.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one who, without being rich, is able to employ his neighbours. He may advantageously use the force of arms. All his movements will be advantageous.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognised. The subject of it will with advantage put his hosts in motion; but (he will only) punish his own towns and state.

XV. An essay on humility rightly follows that on abundant possessions. The third line, which is a whole line amid five others divided, occupying the topmost place in the lower trigram, is held by the Khang-hsî editors and many others to be 'the lord of the hexagram,' the representative of humility, strong, but abasing itself. There is nothing here in the text to make us enter farther on the symbolism of the figure. Humility is the way to permanent success.

A weak line, at the lowest place of the figure, is the fitting symbol of the superior man adding humility to humility.

Line 2 is weak, central, and in its proper place, representing a humility that has 'crowded;' that is, has proclaimed itself.

Line 3 is strong, and occupies an odd (its proper) place. It is 'the lord of the hexagram,' to whom all represented by the lines above and below turn.

Line 4 is weak and in its proper position. Its subject is sure to

XVI. THE YÜ HEXAGRAM.



Yü indicates that, (in the state which it implies), feudal princes may be set up, and the hosts put in motion, with advantage.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject proclaiming his pleasure and satisfaction. There will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one who is firm as a rock. (He sees a thing) without waiting till it has come to pass; with his firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows one looking up (for favours), while he indulges the feeling of pleasure and satisfaction. If he would understand!—If he be late in doing so, there will indeed be occasion for repentance.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows him from whom the harmony and satisfaction come. Great

be successful and prosperous, but being so near the fifth line, he should still use the greatest precaution.

All men love and honour humility, in itself and without the adjuncts which usually command obedience and respect. Hence his neighbours follow the ruler in the fifth line, though he may not be very rich or powerful. His humility need not keep him from asserting the right, even by force of arms.

The subject of the sixth line, which is weak, is outside the game, so to speak, that has been played out. He will use force, but only within his own sphere and to assert what is right. He will not be aggressive.

is the success which he obtains. Let him not allow suspicions to enter his mind, and thus friends will gather around him.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one with a chronic complaint, but who lives on without dying.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with darkened mind devoted to the pleasure and satisfaction (of the time); but if he change his course even when (it may be considered as) completed, there will be no error.

XVI. The Yü hexagram denoted to king Wán a condition of harmony and happy contentment throughout the kingdom, when the people rejoiced in and readily obeyed their sovereign. At such a time his appointments and any military undertakings would be hailed and supported. The fourth line, undivided, is the lord of the figure, and being close to the fifth or place of dignity, is to be looked on as the minister or chief officer of the ruler. The ruler gives to him his confidence; and all represented by the other lines yield their obedience.

Line 1 is weak, and has for its correlate the strong 4. Its subject may well enjoy the happiness of the time. But he cannot contain himself, and proclaims, or boasts of, his satisfaction;—which is evil.

Line 2, though weak, is in its correct position, the centre, moreover, of the lower trigram. Quietly and firmly its subject is able to abide in his place, and exercise a far-seeing discrimination. All is indicative of good fortune.

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place. Immediately below line 4, its subject keeps looking up to the lord of the figure, and depends on him, thinking of doing nothing, but how to enjoy himself. The consequence will be as described, unless he speedily change.

The strong subject of line 4 is the agent to whom the happy condition is owing; and it is only necessary to caution him to maintain his confidence in himself and his purpose, and his adherents and success will continue.

Line 5 is in the ruler's place; but it is weak, and he is in danger of being carried away by the lust of pleasure. Moreover, proximity to the powerful minister represented by 4 is a source of danger.

XVII. THE SUI HEXAGRAM.



Sui indicates that (under its conditions) there will be great progress and success. But it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. There will (then) be no error.

1. The first line, undivided, shows us one changing the object of his pursuit; but if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune. Going beyond (his own) gate to find associates, he will achieve merit.

2. The second line, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the little boy, and lets go the man of age and experience.

3. The third line, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the man of age and experience, and lets go the little boy. Such following will get what it seeks; but it will be advantageous to adhere to what is firm and correct.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows us one followed and obtaining (adherents). Though he be firm and correct, there will be evil. If he be sincere (however) in his course, and make that evident, into what error will he fall?

Hence he is represented as suffering from a chronic complaint, but nevertheless he does not die. See Appendix II on the line.

Line 6, at the very top or end of the hexagram, is weak, and its subject is all but lost. Still even for him there is a chance of safety, if he will but change.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows us (the ruler) sincere in (fostering all) that is excellent. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows us (that sincerity) firmly held and clung to, yea, and bound fast. (We see) the king with it presenting his offerings on the western mountain.

XVII. Sui symbolises the idea of following. It is said to follow Yü, the symbol of harmony and satisfaction. Where there are these conditions men are sure to follow; nor will they follow those in whom they have no complacency. The hexagram includes the cases where one follows others, and where others follow him; and the auspice of great progress and success is due to this flexibility and applicability of it. But in both cases the following must be guided by a reference to what is proper and correct. See the notes on the Thwan and the Great Symbolism.

Line 1 is strong, and lord of the lower trigram. The weak lines ought to follow it; but here it is below them, in the lowest place of the figure. This gives rise to the representation of one changing his pursuit. Still through the native vigour indicated by the line being strong, and in its correct place, its subject will be fortunate. Going beyond his gate to find associates indicates his public spirit, and superiority to selfish considerations.

Line 2 is weak. Its proper correlate is the strong 5; but it prefers to cleave to the line below, instead of waiting to follow 5. Hence the symbolism of the text, the bad omen of which needs not to be mentioned.

Line 3 is also weak, but it follows the strong line above it and leaves line 1, reversing the course of 2;—with a different issue. It is weak, however, and 4 is not its proper correlate; hence the conclusion of the paragraph is equivalent to a caution.

Line 4 is strong, and in the place of a great minister next the ruler in 5. But his having adherents may be injurious to the supreme and sole authority of that ruler, and only a sincere loyalty will save him from error and misfortune.

Line 5 is strong, and in its correct place, with 2 as its proper correlate; thus producing the auspicious symbolism.

The issue of the hexagram is seen in line 6; which represents the ideal of following, directed by the most sincere adherence to

XVIII. THE KŪ HEXAGRAM.



Kū indicates great progress and success (to him who deals properly with the condition represented by it). There will be advantage in (efforts like that of) crossing the great stream. (He should weigh well, however, the events of) three days before the turning point, and those (to be done) three days after it.

1. The first line, divided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. If he be an (able) son, the father will escape the blame of having erred. The position is perilous, but there will be good fortune in the end.

2. The second line, undivided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his mother. He should not (carry) his firm correctness (to the utmost).

3. The third line, undivided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. There may be some small occasion for repentance, but there will not be any great error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows (a son) viewing

what is right. This influence not only extends to men, but also to spiritual beings. 'The western hill' is mount *K'hi*, at the foot of which was the original settlement of the house of *K'au*, in B.C. 1325. The use of the name 'king' here brings us down from Wăn into the time of king Wû at least.

indulgently the troubles caused by his father. If he go forward, he will find cause to regret it.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. He obtains the praise of using (the fit instrument for his work).

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows us one who does not serve either king or feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit prefers (to attend to) his own affairs.

XVIII. In the 6th Appendix it is said, 'They who follow another are sure to have services (to perform), and hence Sui is followed by Kû.' But Kû means the having painful or troublesome services to do. It denotes here a state in which things are going to ruin, as if through poison or venomous worms; and the figure is supposed to describe the arrest of the decay and the restoration to soundness and vigour, so as to justify its auspice of great progress and success. To realise such a result, however, great efforts will be required, as in crossing the great stream; and a careful consideration of the events that have brought on the state of decay, and the measures to be taken to remedy it is also necessary. See Appendix I on the 'three days.'

The subject of line 1, and of all the other lines, excepting perhaps 6, appears as a son. Yet the line itself is of the yin nature, and the trigram in which it plays the principal part is also yin. Line 2 is strong, and of the yang nature, with the yin line 5 as its proper correlate. In line 2, 5 appears as the mother; but its subject there is again a son, and the upper trigram altogether is yang. I am unable to account for these things. As is said in the note of Regis on line 2:—'*Haec matris filique denominatio ad has lineas mere translatitia est, et, ut ait commentarius vulgaris, ad explicationem sententiarum eas pro matre et filio supponere dicendum est. Nec ratio reddetur si quis in utroque hoc nomine mysterium quaerat. Cur enim aliis in figuris lineae nunc regem, nunc vassallum, jam imperii administrum, mox summum armorum praefectum referre dicantur? Accommodantur scilicet lineae ad verba sententiae et verba sententiae ad sensum, quemadmodum faciendum de methodis libri Shih King docet Mencius, V, i, ode 4. 2.*'

We must leave this difficulty. Line 1 is weak, and its correlate 4 is also weak. What can its subject do to remedy the state of decay? But the line is the first of the figure, and the decay is not

XIX. THE LIN HEXAGRAM.



Lin (indicates that under the conditions supposed in it) there will be great progress and success, while it will be advantageous to be firmly correct. In the eighth month there will be evil.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject advancing in company (with the subject of the

yet great. By giving heed to the cautions in the Text, he will accomplish what is promised.

The ruler in line 5 is represented by a weak line, while 2 is strong. Thus the symbolism takes the form of a son dealing with the prevailing decay induced somehow by his mother. But a son must be very gentle in all his intercourse with his mother, and especially so, when constrained by a sense of duty to oppose her course. I do not think there is anything more or better to be said here. The historical interpretation adopted by Regis and his friends, that the father here is king Wăn, the mother Thái-sze, and the son king Wû, cannot be maintained. I have searched, but in vain, for the slightest Chinese sanction of it, and it would give to Kû the meaning of misfortunes endured, instead of troubles caused.

Line 3 is strong, and not central, so that its subject might well go to excess in his efforts. But this tendency is counteracted by the line's place in the trigram Sun, often denoting lowly submission.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place, which intensifies that weakness. Hence comes the caution against going forward.

The weak line 5, as has been said, is the seat of the ruler; but its proper correlate is the strong 2, the strong siding champion minister, to whom the work of the hexagram is delegated.

Line 6 is strong, and has no proper correlate below. Hence it suggests the idea of one outside the sphere of action, and taking no part in public affairs, but occupied with the culture of himself.

second line). Through his firm correctness there will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject advancing in company (with the subject of the first line). There will be good fortune; (advancing) will be in every way advantageous.

3. The third line, divided, shows one well pleased (indeed) to advance, (but whose action) will be in no way advantageous. If he become anxious about it (however), there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one advancing in the highest mode. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the advance of wisdom, such as befits the great ruler. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the advance of honesty and generosity. There will be good fortune, and no error.

XIX. In Appendix VI Lin is explained as meaning 'great.' The writer, having misunderstood the meaning of the previous Kâ, sub-joins—'He who performs such services may become "great."' But Lin denotes the approach of authority,—to inspect, to comfort, or to rule. When we look at the figure, we see two strong undivided lines advancing on the four weak lines above them, and thence follows the assurance that their action will be powerful and successful. That action must be governed by rectitude, however, and by caution grounded on the changing character of all conditions and events. The meaning of the concluding sentence is given in Appendix I as simply being—that, 'the advancing power will decay in no long time.' Lû K'ân-k'hi (Ming dynasty) says:—'The sun (or the day) is the symbol of what is Yang; and the moon is the symbol of what is Yin. Eight is the number of the second of the four emblematic figures (the smaller Yin), and seven is the number of the third of them (the smaller Yang). Hence to indicate the period of the coming of what is Yin, we use the phrase, "the eighth month;" and to indicate the period of the coming of what is

XX. THE KWÂN HEXAGRAM.



Kwân shows (how he whom it represents should be like) the worshipper who has washed his hands, but not (yet) presented his offerings ;—with sincerity

Yang, we use the phrase, “the seventh day.” The Khang-hsi editors say that this is the best explanation of the language of the Text that can be given :—‘The Yang numbers culminate in 9, the influence then receding and producing the 8 of the smaller Yin. The Yin numbers culminate in 6, and the next advance produces the 7 of the smaller Yang ; so that 7 and 8 are the numbers indicating the first birth of what is Yin and what is Yang.’ ‘If we go to seek,’ they add, ‘any other explanation of the phraseology of the Text, and such expressions as “3 days,” “3 years,” “10 years,” &c., we make them unintelligible.’ Lin is the hexagram of the twelfth month.

Line 1 is a strong line in its proper place. The danger is that its subject may be more strong than prudent, hence the caution in requiring firm correctness.

Line 2, as strong, should be in an odd place ; but this is more than counterbalanced by the central position, and its correlate in line 5.

Line 3 is weak, and neither central, nor in its correct position. Hence its action will not be advantageous ; but being at the top of the trigram Tui, which means being pleased, its subject is represented as ‘well pleased to advance.’ Anxious reflection will save him from error.

Line 4, though weak, is in its proper place, and has for its correlate the strong 1. Hence its advance is ‘in the highest style.’

Line 5 is the position of the ruler. It is weak, but being central, and having for its correlate the strong and central 2, we have in it a symbol of authority distrustful of itself, and employing fit agents ;—characteristic of the wise ruler.

Line 6 is the last of the trigram Khwân, the height therefore of docility. Line 2 is not its correlate, but it belongs to the Yin to seek for the Yang ; and it is so emphatically in this case. Hence the characteristic and issue as assigned.

and an appearance of dignity (commanding reverent regard).

1. The first line, divided, shows the looking of a lad;—not blamable in men of inferior rank, but matter for regret in superior men.

2. The second line, divided, shows one peeping out from a door. It would be advantageous if it were (merely) the firm correctness of a female.

3. The third line, divided, shows one looking at (the course of) his own life, to advance or recede (accordingly).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one contemplating the glory of the kingdom. It will be advantageous for him, being such as he is, (to seek) to be a guest of the king.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject contemplating his own life(-course). A superior man, he will (thus) fall into no error.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject contemplating his character to see if it be indeed that of a superior man. He will not fall into error.

XX. The Chinese character Kwân, from which this hexagram is named, is used in it in two senses. In the Thwan, the first paragraph of the treatise on the Thwan, and the paragraph on the Great Symbolism, it denotes showing, manifesting; in all other places it denotes contemplating, looking at. The subject of the hexagram is the sovereign and his subjects, how he manifests himself to them, and how they contemplate him. The two upper, undivided, lines belong to the sovereign; the four weak lines below them are his subjects,—ministers and others who look up at him. Kwân is the hexagram of the eighth month.

In the Thwan king Wân symbolises the sovereign by a worshipping when he is most solemn in his religious service, at the commencement of it, full of sincerity and with a dignified carriage.

Line 1 is weak, and in the lowest place, improper also for it;—

XXI. THE SHIH HO HEXAGRAM.



Shih Ho indicates successful progress (in the condition of things which it supposes). It will be advantageous to use legal constraints.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one with his feet in the stocks and deprived of his toes. There will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, shows one biting through the soft flesh, and (going on to) bite off the nose. There will be no error.

the symbol of a thoughtless lad, who cannot see far, and takes only superficial views.

Line 2 is also weak, but in its proper place, showing a woman, living retired, and only able to peep as from her door at the subject of the fifth line. But ignorance and retirement are proper in a woman.

Line 3, at the top of the lower trigram Khwăn, and weak, must belong to a subject of the utmost docility, and will wish to act only according to the exigency of time and circumstances.

Line 4, in the place proper to its weakness, is yet in immediate proximity to 5, representing the sovereign. Its subject is moved accordingly, and stirred to ambition.

Line 5 is strong, and in the place of the ruler. He is a superior man, but this does not relieve him from the duty of self-contemplation or examination.

There is a slight difference in the 6th paragraph from the 5th, which can hardly be expressed in a translation. By making a change in the punctuation, however, the different significance may be brought out. Line 6 is strong, and should be considered out of the work of the hexagram, but its subject is still possessed by the spirit of its idea, and is led to self-examination.

3. The third line, divided, shows one gnawing dried flesh, and meeting with what is disagreeable. There will be occasion for some small regret, but no (great) error.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows one gnawing the flesh dried on the bone, and getting the pledges of money and arrows. It will be advantageous to him to realise the difficulty of his task and be firm,—in which case there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one gnawing at dried flesh, and finding the yellow gold. Let him be firm and correct, realising the peril (of his position). There will be no error.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows one wearing the cangue, and deprived of his ears. There will be evil.

XXI. Shih Ho means literally 'Union by gnawing.' We see in the figure two strong lines in the first and last places, while all the others, with the exception of the fourth, are divided. This suggests the idea of the jaws and the mouth between them kept open by something in it. Let that be gnawed through and the mouth will close and the jaws come together. So in the body politic. Remove the obstacles to union, and high and low will come together with a good understanding. And how are those obstacles to be removed? By force, emblemed by the gnawing; that is, by legal constraints. And these are sure to be successful. The auspice of the figure is favourable. There will be success.

Lines 1 and 6 are much out of the game or action described in the figure. Hence they are held to represent parties receiving punishment, while the other lines represent parties inflicting it. The punishment in line 1 is that of the stocks, administered for a small offence, and before crime has made much way. But if the 'depriving' of the toes is not merely keeping them in restraint, but cutting them off, as the Chinese character suggests, the punishment appears to a western reader too severe.

Line 2 is weak, appropriately therefore in an even place, and it is central besides. The action therefore of its subject should

XXII. THE PĪ HEXAGRAM.



Pī indicates that there should be free course (in what it denotes). There will be little advantage (however) if it be allowed to advance (and take the lead).

be effective; and this is shown by the 'biting through the soft flesh,' an easy thing. Immediately below, however, is a strong offender represented by the strong line, and before he will submit it is necessary to 'bite off his nose;' for punishment is the rule;—it must be continued and increased till the end is secured.

Line 3 is weak, and in an even place. The action of its subject will be ineffective; and is emblemized by the hard task of gnawing through dried flesh, and encountering, besides, what is distasteful and injurious in it. But again comes in the consideration that here punishment is the rule, and the auspice is not all bad.

Of old, in a civil case, both parties, before they were heard, brought to the court an arrow (or a bundle of arrows), in testimony of their rectitude, after which they were heard; in a criminal case, they in the same way deposited each thirty pounds of gold, or some other metal. See the Official Book of Kau, 27. 14, 15. The subject of the fourth line's getting those pledges indicates his exercising his judicial functions; and what he gnaws through indicates their difficulty. Moreover, though the line is strong, it is in an even place; and hence comes the lesson of caution.

The fifth line represents 'the lord of judgment.' As it is a weak line, he will be disposed to leniency; and his judgments will be correct. This is declared by his finding the 'yellow metal;' for yellow is one of the five 'correct' colours. The position is in the centre and that of rule; but the line being weak, a caution is given, as under the previous line.

The action of the figure has passed, and still we have, in the subject of line 6, one persisting in wrong, a strong criminal, wearing the cangue, and deaf to counsel. Of course the auspice is evil.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one adorning (the way of) his feet. He can discard a carriage and walk on foot.

2. The second line, divided, shows one adorning his beard.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject with the appearance of being adorned and bedewed (with rich favours). But let him ever maintain his firm correctness, and there will be good fortune.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one looking as if adorned, but only in white. As if (mounted on) a white horse, and furnished with wings, (he seeks union with the subject of the first line), while (the intervening third pursues), not as a robber, but intent on a matrimonial alliance.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject adorned by (the occupants of) the heights and gardens. He bears his roll of silk, small and slight. He may appear stingy; but there will be good fortune in the end.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows one with white as his (only) ornament. There will be no error.

XXII. The character Pî is the symbol of what is ornamental and of the act of adorning. As there is ornament in nature, so should there be in society; but its place is secondary to that of what is substantial. This is the view of king Wân in his Thwan. The symbolism of the separate lines is sometimes fantastic.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. It is at the very bottom of the hexagram, and is the first line of Lî, the trigram for fire or light, and suggesting what is elegant and bright. Its subject has nothing to do but to attend to himself. Thus he cultivates—adorns—himself in his humble position; but if need be, righteousness requiring it, he can give up every luxury and indulgence.

XXIII. THE PO HEXAGRAM.



Po indicates that (in the state which it symbolises) it will not be advantageous to make a movement in any direction whatever.

Line 2 is weak and in its proper place, but with no proper correlate above. The strong line 3 is similarly situated. These two lines therefore keep together, and are as the beard and the chin. Line 1 follows 2. What is substantial commands and rules what is merely ornamental.

Line 3 is strong, and between two weak lines, which adorn it, and bestow their favours on it. But this happy condition is from the accident of place. The subject of the line must be always correct and firm to ensure its continuance.

Line 4 has its proper correlate in 1, from whose strength it should receive ornament, but 2 and the strong 3 intervene and keep them apart, so that the ornament is only white, and of no bright colour. Line 4, however, is faithful to 1, and earnest for their union. And finally line 3 appears in a good character, and not with the purpose to injure, so that the union of 1 and 4 takes place. All this is intended to indicate how ornament recognises the superiority of solidity. Compare the symbolism of the second line of *K'un* (3), and that of the topmost line of *Khwei* (38).

Line 5 is in the place of honour, and has no proper correlate in 2. It therefore associates with the strong 6, which is symbolised by the heights and gardens round a city, and serving both to protect and to beautify it. Thus the subject of the line receives adorning from without, and does not of itself try to manifest it. Moreover, in his weakness, his offerings of ceremony are poor and mean. But, as Confucius said, 'In ceremonies it is better to be sparing than extravagant.' Hence that stinginess does not prevent a good auspice.

Line 6 is at the top of the hexagram. Ornament has had its course, and here there is a return to pure, 'white,' simplicity. Substantiality is better than ornament.

1. The first line, divided, shows one overturning the couch by injuring its legs. (The injury will go on to) the destruction of (all) firm correctness, and there will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one overthrowing the couch by injuring its frame. (The injury will go on to) the destruction of (all) firm correctness, and there will be evil.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject among the overthrowers; but there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject having overthrown the couch, and (going to injure) the skin (of him who lies on it). There will be evil.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows (its subject leading on the others like) a string of fishes, and (obtaining for them) the favour that lights on the inmates of the palace. There will be advantage in every way.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject (as) a great fruit which has not been eaten. The superior man finds (the people again) as a chariot carrying him. The small men (by their course) overthrow their own dwellings.

XXIII. Po is the symbol of falling or of causing to fall, and may be applied, both in the natural and political world, to the process of decay, or that of overthrow. The figure consists of five divided lines, and one undivided, which last thus becomes the prominent and principal line in the figure. Decay or overthrow has begun at the bottom of it, and crept up to the top. The hexagram is that of the ninth month, when the beauty and glory of summer have disappeared, and the year is ready to fall into the arms of sterile winter. In the political world, small men have gradually displaced good men and great, till but one remains; and the lesson for him is to wait. The power operating against him is

XXIV. THE FÜ HEXAGRAM.



Fü indicates that there will be free course and progress (in what it denotes). (The subject of it) finds no one to distress him in his exits and

too strong; but the fashion of political life passes away. If he wait, a change for the better will shortly appear.

The lesser symbolism is chiefly that of a bed or couch with its occupant. The idea of the hexagram requires this occupant to be overthrown, or at least that an attempt be made to overthrow him. Accordingly the attempt in line 1 is made by commencing with the legs of the couch. The symbolism goes on to explain itself. The object of the evil worker is the overthrow of all firm correctness. Of course there will be evil.

Line 2 is to the same effect as 1; only the foe has advanced from the legs to the frame of the couch.

Line 3 also represents an overthrewer; but it differs from the others in being the correlate of 6. The subject of it will take part with him. His association is with the subject of 6, and not, as in the other weak lines, with one of its own kind.

From line 4 the danger is imminent. The couch has been overthrown. The person of the occupant is at the mercy of the destroyers.

With line 5 the symbolism changes. The subject of 5 is 'lord of all the other weak lines,' and their subjects are at his disposal. He and they are represented as fishes, following one another as if strung together. All fishes come under the category of yin. Then the symbolism changes again. The subject of 5, representing and controlling all the yin lines, is loyal to the subject of the yang sixth line. He is the rightful sovereign in his palace, and 5 leads all the others there to enjoy the sovereign's favours.

We have still different symbolism under line 6. Its strong subject, notwithstanding the attempts against him, survives, and acquires fresh vigour. The people again cherish their sovereign, and the plotters have wrought to their own overthrow.

entrances; friends come to him, and no error is committed. He will return and repeat his (proper) course. In seven days comes his return. There will be advantage in whatever direction movement is made.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject returning (from an error) of no great extent, which would not proceed to anything requiring repentance. There will be great good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows the admirable return (of its subject). There will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows one who has made repeated returns. The position is perilous, but there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject moving right in the centre (among those represented by the other divided lines), and yet returning alone (to his proper path).

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the noble return of its subject. There will be no ground for repentance.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject all astray on the subject of returning. There will be evil. There will be calamities and errors. If with his views he put the hosts in motion, the end will be a great defeat, whose issues will extend to the ruler of the state. Even in ten years he will not be able to repair the disaster.

XXIV. Fû symbolises the idea of returning, coming back or over again. The last hexagram showed us inferior prevailing over superior men, all that is good in nature and society yielding before what is bad. But change is the law of nature and society. When decay has reached its climax, recovery will begin to take place. In Po we had one strong topmost line, and five weak lines below

XXV. THE WŪ WANG HEXAGRAM.



Wū Wang indicates great progress and success, while there will be advantage in being firm and

it; here we have one strong line, and five weak lines above it. To illustrate the subject from what we see in nature,—Po is the hexagram of the ninth month, in which the triumph of cold and decay in the year is nearly complete. It is complete in the tenth month, whose hexagram is Khwăn ; then follows our hexagram Fû, belonging to the eleventh month, in which was the winter solstice when the sun turned back in his course, and moved with a constant regular progress towards the summer solstice. In harmony with these changes of nature are the changes in the political and social state of a nation. There is nothing in the Yî to suggest the hope of a perfect society or kingdom that cannot be moved.

The strong bottom line is the first of K'ăn, the trigram of movement, and the upper trigram is Khwăn, denoting docility and capacity. The strong returning line will meet with no distressing obstacle, and the weak lines will change before it into strong, and be as friends. The bright quality will be developed brighter and brighter from day to day, and month to month.

The sentence, 'In seven days comes his return,' occasions some perplexity. If the reader will refer to hexagrams 44, 33, 12, 20, 23, and 2, he will see that during the months denoted by those figures, the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, the yin lines have gradually been prevailing over the yang, until in Khwăn (2) they have extruded them entirely from the lineal figure. Then comes our Fû, as a seventh figure, in which the yang line begins to reassert itself, and from which it goes on to extrude the yin lines in their turn. Explained therefore of the months of the year, we have to take a day for a month. And something analogous—we cannot say exactly what—must have place in society and the state.

correct. If (its subject and his action) be not correct, he will fall into errors, and it will not be advantageous for him to move in any direction.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject free from all insincerity. His advance will be accompanied with good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows one who reaps without having ploughed (that he might reap), and gathers the produce of his third year's fields without having cultivated them the first year for that end. To such a one there will be advantage in whatever direction he may move.

3. The third line, divided, shows calamity happening to one who is free from insincerity;—as in

The concluding auspice or oracle to him who finds this Fû by divination is what we might expect.

The subject of line 1 is of course the undivided line, meaning here, says *Khǎng-ze*, 'the way of the superior man.' There must have been some deviation from that, or 'returning' could not be spoken of.

Line 2 is in its proper place, and central; but it is weak. This is more than compensated for, however, by its adherence to line 1, the fifth line not being a proper correlate. Hence the return of its subject is called excellent or admirable.

Line 3 is weak, and in the uneven place of a strong line. It is the top line, moreover, of the trigram whose attribute is movement. Hence the symbolism; but any evil issue may be prevented by a realisation of danger and by caution.

Line 4 has its proper correlate in 1; different from all the other weak lines; and its course is different accordingly.

Line 5 is in the central place of honour, and the middle line of *Khwān*, denoting docility. Hence its auspice.

Line 6 is weak; and being at the top of the hexagram, when its action of returning is all concluded, action on the part of its subject will lead to evils such as are mentioned. 'Ten years' seems to be a round number, signifying a long time, as in hexagram 3. 2.

the case of an ox that has been tied up. A passer by finds it (and carries it off), while the people in the neighbourhood have the calamity (of being accused and apprehended).

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows (a case) in which, if its subject can remain firm and correct, there will be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows one who is free from insincerity, and yet has fallen ill. Let him not use medicine, and he will have occasion for joy (in his recovery).

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject free from insincerity, yet sure to fall into error, if he take action. (His action) will not be advantageous in any way.

XXV. Wang is the symbol of being reckless, and often of being insincere; Wŭ Wang is descriptive of a state of entire freedom from such a condition; its subject is one who is entirely simple and sincere. The quality is characteristic of the action of Heaven, and of the highest style of humanity. In this hexagram we have an essay on this noble attribute. An absolute rectitude is essential to it. The nearer one comes to the ideal of the quality, the more powerful will be his influence, the greater his success. But let him see to it that he never swerve from being correct.

The first line is strong; at the commencement of the inner trigram denoting movement, the action of its subject will very much characterise all the action set forth, and will itself be fortunate.

Line 2 is weak, central, and in its correct place. The quality may be predicated of it in its highest degree. There is an entire freedom in its subject from selfish or mercenary motive. He is good simply for goodness' sake. And things are so constituted that his action will be successful.

But calamity may also sometimes befall the best, and where there is this freedom from insincerity; and line 3 being weak, and in the place of an even line, lays its subject open to this misfortune. 'The people of the neighbourhood' are of course entirely innocent.

Line 4 is the lowest in the trigram of strength, and 1 is not a

XXVI. THE TÂ KHÔ HEXAGRAM.



Under the conditions of Tâ Khô it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. (If its subject do not seek to) enjoy his revenues in his own family (without taking service at court), there will be good fortune. It will be advantageous for him to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject in a position of peril. It will be advantageous for him to stop his advance.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a carriage with the strap under it removed.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject urging his way with good horses. It will be advantageous for him to realise the difficulty (of his course), and to be firm and correct, exercising himself daily in his charioteering and methods of defence;

proper correlate, nor is the fourth the place for a strong line. Hence the paragraph must be understood as a caution.

Line 5 is strong, in the central place of honour, and has its proper correlate in 2. Hence its subject must possess the quality of the hexagram in perfection. And yet he shall be sick or in distress. But he need not be anxious. Without his efforts a way of escape for him will be opened.

Line 6 is at the top of the hexagram, and comes into the field when the action has run its course. He should be still, and not initiate any fresh movement.

then there will be advantage in whatever direction he may advance.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the young bull, (and yet) having the piece of wood over his horns. There will be great good fortune.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the teeth of a castrated hog. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject (as) in command of the firmament of heaven. There will be progress.

XXVI. *Khû* has two meanings. It is the symbol of restraint, and of accumulation. What is repressed and restrained accumulates its strength and increases its volume. Both these meanings are found in the treatise on the *Thwan*; the exposition of the Great Symbolism has for its subject the accumulation of virtue. The different lines are occupied with the repression or restraint of movement. The first three lines receive that repression, the upper three exercise it. The accumulation to which all tends is that of virtue; and hence the name of Tâ *Khû*, 'the Great Accumulation.'

What the *Thwan* teaches, is that he who goes about to accumulate his virtue must be firm and correct, and may then, engaging in the public service, enjoy the king's grace, and undertake the most difficult enterprises.

Line 1 is subject to the repression of 4, which will be increased if he try to advance. It is better for him to halt.

Line 2 is liable to the repression of 5, and stops its advance of itself, its subject having the wisdom to do so through its position in the central place. The strap below, when attached to the axle, made the carriage stop; he himself acts that part.

Line 3 is the last of *Khien*, and responds to the sixth line, the last of *Kăn*, above. But as they are both strong, the latter does not exert its repressive force. They advance rapidly together; but the position is perilous for 3. By firmness and caution, however, its subject will escape the peril, and the issue will be good.

The young bull in line 4 has not yet got horns. The attaching to their rudiments the piece of wood to prevent him from goring is an instance of extraordinary precaution; and precaution is always good.

XXVII. THE Î HEXAGRAM.



Î indicates that with firm correctness there will be good fortune (in what is denoted by it). We must look at what we are seeking to nourish, and by the exercise of our thoughts seek for the proper aliment.

1. The first line, undivided, (seems to be thus addressed), 'You leave your efficacious tortoise, and look at me till your lower jaw hangs down.' There will be evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows one looking downwards for nourishment, which is contrary to what is proper; or seeking it from the height (above), advance towards which will lead to evil.

3. The third line, divided, shows one acting contrary to the method of nourishing. However firm he may be, there will be evil. For ten years let him not take any action, (for) it will not be in any way advantageous.

A boar is a powerful and dangerous animal. Let him be castrated, and though his tusks remain, he cares little to use them. Here line 5 represents the ruler in the hexagram, whose work is to repress the advance of evil. A conflict with the subject of the strong second line in its advance would be perilous; but 5, taking early precaution, reduces it to the condition of the castrated pig. Not only is there no evil, but there is good fortune.

The work of repression is over, and the strong subject of line 6 has now the amplest scope to carry out the idea of the hexagram in the accumulation of virtue.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows one looking downwards for (the power to) nourish. There will be good fortune. Looking with a tiger's downward unwavering glare, and with his desire that impels him to spring after spring, he will fall into no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one acting contrary to what is regular and proper; but if he abide in firmness, there will be good fortune. He should not, (however, try to) cross the great stream.

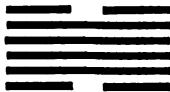
6. The sixth line, undivided, shows him from whom comes the nourishing. His position is perilous, but there will be good fortune. It will be advantageous to cross the great stream.

XXVII. ǀ is the symbol of the upper jaw, and gives name to the hexagram; but the whole figure suggests the appearance of the mouth. There are the two undivided lines at the bottom and top, and the four divided lines between them. The first line is the first in the trigram *K'ān*, denoting movement; and the sixth is the third in *K'ān*, denoting what is solid. The former is the lower jaw, part of the mobile chin; and the other the more fixed upper jaw. The open lines are the cavity of the mouth. As the name of the hexagram, ǀ denotes nourishing,—one's body or mind, one's self or others. The nourishment in both the matter and method will differ according to the object of it; and every one must determine what to employ and do in every case by exercising his own thoughts, only one thing being premised,—that in both respects the nourishing must be correct, and in harmony with what is right. The auspice of the whole hexagram is good.

The first line is strong, and in its proper place; its subject might suffice for the nourishing of himself, like a tortoise, which is supposed to live on air, without more solid nourishment. But he is drawn out of himself by desire for the weak 4, his proper correlate, at whom he looks till his jaw hangs down, or, as we say, his mouth waters. Hence the auspice is bad. The symbolism takes the form of an expostulation addressed, we must suppose, by the fourth line to the first.

The weak 2, insufficient for itself, seeks nourishment first from

XXVIII. THE TÂ KWO HEXAGRAM.



Tâ Kwo suggests to us a beam that is weak. There will be advantage in moving (under its conditions) in any direction whatever; there will be success.

1. The first line, divided, shows one placing mats of the white mào grass under things set on the ground. There will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a decayed

the strong line below, which is not proper, and then from the strong 6, not its proper correlate, and too far removed. In either case the thing is evil.

Line 3 is weak, in an odd place; and as it occupies the last place in the trigram of movement, all that quality culminates in its subject. Hence he considers himself sufficient for himself, without any help from without, and the issue is bad.

With line 4 we pass into the upper trigram. It is next to the ruler's place in 5 moreover, and bent on nourishing and training all below. Its proper correlate is the strong 1; and though weak in himself, its subject looks with intense desire to the subject of that for help; and there is no error.

The subject of line 5 is not equal to the requirements of his position; but with a firm reliance on the strong 6, there will be good fortune. Let him not, however, engage in the most difficult undertakings.

The topmost line is strong, and 5 relies on its subject; but being penetrated with the idea of the hexagram, he feels himself in the position of master or tutor to all under heaven. The task is hard and the responsibility great; but realising these things, he will prove himself equal to them.

willow producing shoots, or an old husband in possession of his young wife. There will be advantage in every way.

3. The third line, undivided, shows a beam that is weak. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows a beam curving upwards. There will be good fortune. If (the subject of it) looks for other (help but that of line one), there will be cause for regret.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows a decayed willow producing flowers, or an old wife in possession of her young husband. There will be occasion neither for blame nor for praise.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with extraordinary (boldness) wading through a stream, till the water hides the crown of his head. There will be evil, but no ground for blame.

XXVIII. Very extraordinary times require very extraordinary gifts in the conduct of affairs in them. This is the text on which king Wăn and his son discourse after their fashion in this hexagram. What goes, in their view, to constitute anything extraordinary is its greatness and difficulty. There need not be about it what is not right.

Looking at the figure we see two weak lines at the top and bottom, and four strong lines between them, giving us the idea of a great beam unable to sustain its own weight. But the second and fifth lines are both strong and in the centre; and from this and the attributes of the component trigrams a good auspice is obtained.

Line 1 being weak, and at the bottom of the figure, and of the trigram Sun, which denotes flexibility and humility, its subject is distinguished by his carefulness, as in the matter mentioned; and there is a good auspice.

Line 2 has no proper correlate above. Hence he inclines to the weak 1 below him; and we have the symbolism of the line. An

XXIX. THE KHAN HEXAGRAM.



Khan, here repeated, shows the possession of sincerity, through which the mind is penetrating. Action (in accordance with this) will be of high value.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject in the double defile, and (yet) entering a cavern within it. There will be evil.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject

old husband with a young wife will yet have children; the action of the subject of 2 will be successful.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place. Its subject is confident in his own strength, but his correlate in 6 is weak. Alone, he is unequal to the extraordinary strain on him, and has for his symbol the weak beam.

Line 4 is near 5, the ruler's place. On its subject devolves the duty of meeting the extraordinary exigency of the time; but he is strong; and, the line being in an even place, his strength is tempered. He will be equal to his task. Should he look out for the help of the subject of 1, that would affect him with another element of weakness; and his action would give cause for regret.

Line 5 is strong and central. Its subject should be equal to achieve extraordinary merit. But he has no proper correlate below, and as 2 inclined to 1, so does this to 6. But here the willow only produces flowers, not shoots;—its decay will soon reappear. An old wife will have no children. If the subject of the line is not to be condemned as that of 3, his action does not deserve praise.

The subject of 6 pursues his daring course, with a view to satisfy the extraordinary exigency of the time, and benefit all under the sky. He is unequal to the task, and sinks beneath it; but his motive modifies the judgment on his conduct.

in all the peril of the defile. He will, however, get a little (of the deliverance) that he seeks.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject, whether he comes or goes (= descends or ascends), confronted by a defile. All is peril to him and unrest. (His endeavours) will lead him into the cavern of the pit. There should be no action (in such a case).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject (at a feast), with (simply) a bottle of spirits, and a subsidiary basket of rice, while (the cups and bowls) are (only) of earthenware. He introduces his important lessons (as his ruler's) intelligence admits. There will in the end be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the water of the defile not yet full, (so that it might flow away); but order will (soon) be brought about. There will be no error.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject bound with cords of three strands or two strands, and placed in the thicket of thorns. But in three years he does not learn the course for him to pursue. There will be evil.

XXIX. The trigram Khan, which is doubled to form this hexagram, is the lineal symbol of water. Its meaning, as a character, is 'a pit,' 'a perilous cavity, or defile;' and here and elsewhere in the Yî it leads the reader to think of a dangerous defile, with water flowing through it. It becomes symbolic of danger, and what the authors of the Text had in mind was to show how danger should be encountered, its effect on the mind, and how to get out of it.

The trigram exhibits a strong central line, between two divided lines. The central represented to king Wăn the sincere honesty and goodness of the subject of the hexagram, whose mind was sharpened and made penetrating by contact with danger, and who

XXX. THE LI HEXAGRAM.



Li indicates that, (in regard to what it denotes), it will be advantageous to be firm and correct, and that thus there will be free course and success.

acted in a manner worthy of his character. It is implied, though the Thwan does not say it, that he would get out of the danger.

Line 1 is weak, at the bottom of the figure, and has no correlate above, no helper, that is, beyond itself. All these things render the case of its subject hopeless. He will by his efforts only involve himself more deeply in danger.

Line 2 is strong, and in the centre. Its subject is unable, indeed, to escape altogether from the danger; but he does not involve himself more deeply in it like the subject of 1, and obtains some ease.

Line 3 is weak, and occupies the place of a strong line. Its subject is in an evil case.

Line 4 is weak, and will get no help from its correlate in 1. Its subject is not one who can avert the danger threatening himself and others. But his position is close to that of the ruler in 5, whose intimacy he cultivates with an unostentatious sincerity, symbolled by the appointments of the simple feast, and whose intelligence he cautiously enlightens. In consequence, there will be no error.

The subject of line 5 is on the eve of extrication and deliverance. The waters of the defile will ere long have free vent and disappear, and the ground will be levelled and made smooth. The line is strong, in a proper place, and in the place of honour.

The case of the subject of line 6 is hopeless. When danger has reached its highest point, there he is, represented by a weak line, and with no proper correlate below. The 'thicket of thorns' is taken as a metaphor for a prison; but if the expression has a history, I have been unable to find it.

Let (its subject) also nourish (a docility like that of) the cow, and there will be good fortune.

1. The first line, undivided, shows one ready to move with confused steps. But he treads at the same time reverently, and there will be no mistake.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject in his place in yellow. There will be great good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject in a position like that of the declining sun. Instead of playing on his instrument of earthenware, and singing to it, he utters the groans of an old man of eighty. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the manner of its subject's coming. How abrupt it is, as with fire, with death, to be rejected (by all)!

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject as one with tears flowing in torrents, and groaning in sorrow. There will be good fortune.

XXX. LĪ is the name of the trigram representing fire and light, and the sun as the source of both of these. Its virtue or attribute is brightness, and by a natural metaphor intelligence. But LĪ has also the meaning of inhering in, or adhering to, being attached to. Both these significations occur in connexion with the hexagram, and make it difficult to determine what was the subject of it in the minds of the authors. If we take the whole figure as expressing the subject, we have, as in the treatise on the Thwan, 'a double brightness,' a phrase which is understood to denominate the ruler. If we take the two central lines as indicating the subject, we have weakness, dwelling with strength above and below. In either case there are required from the subject a strict adherence to what is correct, and a docile humility. On the second member of the Thwan K'hang-ze says:—'The nature of the ox is docile, and that of the cow is much more so. The subject of the hexagram adhering closely to

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows the king employing its subject in his punitive expeditions. Achieving admirable (merit), he breaks (only) the chiefs (of the rebels). Where his prisoners were not their associates, he does not punish. There will be no error.

what is correct, he must be able to act in obedience to it, as docile as a cow, and then there will be good fortune.'

Line 1 is strong, and at the bottom of the trigram for fire, the nature of which is to ascend. Its subject therefore will move upwards, and is in danger of doing so coarsely and vehemently. But the lowest line has hardly entered into the action of the figure, and this consideration operates to make him reverently careful of his movements; and there is no error.

Line 2 is weak, and occupies the centre. Yellow is one of the five correct colours, and here symbolises the correct course to which the subject of the line adheres.

Line 3 is at the top of the lower trigram, whose light may be considered exhausted, and suggests the symbol of the declining sun. The subject of the line should accept the position, and resign himself to the ordinary amusements which are mentioned, but he groans and mourns instead. His strength interferes with the lowly contentment which he should cherish.

The strength of line 4, and its being in an even place, make its subject appear in this unseemly manner, disastrous to himself.

Line 5 is in the place of honour, and central. But it is weak, as is its correlate. Its position between the strong 4 and 6 fills its subject with anxiety and apprehension, that express themselves as is described. But such demonstrations are a proof of his inward adherence to right and his humility. There will be good fortune.

Line 6, strong and at the top of the figure, has the intelligence denoted by its trigrams in the highest degree, and his own proper vigour. Through these his achievements are great, but his generous consideration is equally conspicuous, and he falls into no error.

TEXT. SECTION II.

XXXI. THE HSIEN HEXAGRAM.



Hsien indicates that, (on the fulfilment of the conditions implied in it), there will be free course and success. Its advantageousness will depend on the being firm and correct, (as) in marrying a young lady. There will be good fortune.

1. The first line, divided, shows one moving his great toes.

2. The second line, divided, shows one moving the calves of his leg. There will be evil. If he abide (quiet in his place), there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows one moving his thighs, and keeping close hold of those whom he follows. Going forward (in this way) will cause regret.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows that firm correctness which will lead to good fortune, and prevent all occasion for repentance. If its subject be unsettled in his movements, (only) his friends will follow his purpose.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows one moving the flesh along the spine above the heart. There will be no occasion for repentance.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows one moving his jaws and tongue.

XXXI. With the 31st hexagram commences the Second Section of the Text. It is difficult to say why any division of the hexagrams should be made here, for the student tries in vain to discover any continuity in the thoughts of the author that is now broken. The First Section does not contain a class of subjects different from those which we find in the Second. That the division was made, however, at a very early time, appears from the sixth Appendix on the Sequence of the Hexagrams, where the writer sets forth an analogy between the first and second figures, representing heaven and earth, as the originators of all things, and this figure and the next, representing (each of them) husband and wife, as the originators of all the social relations. This, however, is far from carrying conviction to my mind. The division of the Text of the YĪ into two sections is a fact of which I am unable to give a satisfactory account.

Hsien, as explained in the treatise on the Thwan, has here the meaning of mutual influence, and the duke of Kâu, on the various lines, always uses Kan for it in the sense of 'moving' or 'influencing to movement or action.' This is to my mind the subject of the hexagram considered as an essay,—'Influence; the different ways of bringing it to bear, and their issues.'

The Chinese character called hsien is 咸, the graphic symbol for 'all, together, jointly.' Kan, the symbol for 'influencing,' has hsien in it as its phonetic constituent (though the changes in pronunciation make it hard for an English reader to appreciate this), with the addition of hsin, the symbol for 'the heart.' Thus 感 kan, 'to affect or influence,' = 咸 + 心; and it may have been that while the name or word was used with the significance of 'influencing,' the 心 was purposely dropt from it, to indicate the most important element in the thing,—the absence of all purpose or motive. I venture to think that this would have been a device worthy of a diviner.

With regard to the idea of husband and wife being in the teaching of the hexagram, it is derived from the more recent symbolism of the eight trigrams ascribed to king Wăn, and exhibited on p. 33 and plate III. The more ancient usage of them is given in the paragraph on the Great Symbolism of Appendix II. The figure consists of Kăn (☵), 'the youngest son,' and over it Tui (☱), 'the youngest daughter.' These are in 'happy union.'

XXXII. THE HǎNG HEXAGRAM.



Hǎng indicates successful progress and no error (in what it denotes). But the advantage will come from being firm and correct; and movement in any direction whatever will be advantageous.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject deeply (desirous) of long continuance. Even with firm

No influence, it is said, is so powerful and constant as that between husband and wife; and where these are young, it is especially active. Hence it is that Hsien is made up of Kǎn and Tui. All this is to me very doubtful. I can dimly apprehend why the whole line (——) was assumed as the symbol of strength and authority, and the broken line as that of weakness and submission. Beyond this I cannot follow Fô-hsi in his formation of the trigrams; and still less can I assent to the more recent symbolism of them ascribed to king Wǎn.

Coming now to the figure, and its lines, the subject is that of mutual influence; and the author teaches that that influence, correct in itself, and for correct ends, is sure to be effective. He gives an instance,—the case of a man marrying a young lady, the regulations for which have been laid down in China from the earliest times with great strictness and particularity. Such influence will be effective and fortunate.

Line 1 is weak, and at the bottom of the hexagram. Though 4 be a proper correlate, yet the influence indicated by it must be ineffective. However much a man's great toes may be moved, that will not enable him to walk.

The calves cannot move of themselves. They follow the moving of the feet. The moving of them indicates too much anxiety to move. Line 2, moreover, is weak. But it is also the central line, and if its subject abide quiet, till he is acted on from above, there will be good fortune.

Neither can the thighs move of themselves. The attempt to

correctness there will be evil; there will be no advantage in any way.

2. The second line, undivided, shows all occasion for repentance disappearing.

3. The third line, undivided, shows one who does not continuously maintain his virtue. There are those who will impute this to him as a disgrace. However firm he may be, there will be ground for regret.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows a field where there is no game.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject continuously maintaining the virtue indicated by it. In a wife this will be fortunate; in a husband, evil.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject exciting himself to long continuance. There will be evil.

move them is inauspicious. Its subject, however, the line being strong, and in an odd place, will wish to move, and follows the subject of 4, which is understood to be the seat of the mind. He exercises his influence therefore with a mind and purpose, which is not good.

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place. It is the seat of the mind. Its subject therefore is warned to be firm and correct in order to a good issue. If he be wavering and uncertain, his influence will not extend beyond the circle of his friends.

The symbolism of line 5 refers to a part of the body behind the heart, and is supposed therefore to indicate an influence, ineffective indeed, but free from selfish motive, and not needing to be repented of.

Line 6 is weak, and in an even place. It is the topmost line also of the trigram of satisfaction. Its influence by means of speech will only be that of loquacity and flattery, the evil of which needs not to be pointed out.

XXXII. The subject of this hexagram may be given as perseverance in well doing, or in continuously acting out the law of one's

XXXIII. THE THUN HEXAGRAM.



Thun indicates successful progress (in its circumstances). To a small extent it will (still) be advantageous to be firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, shows a retiring tail. The position is perilous. No movement in any direction should be made.

being. The sixth Appendix makes it a sequel of the previous figure. As that treats, it is said, of the relation between husband and wife, so this treats of the continuous observance of their respective duties. Hsien, we saw, is made up of K'an, the symbol of the youngest son, and Tui, the symbol of the youngest daughter, attraction and influence between the sexes being strongest in youth. Häng consists of Sun, 'the oldest daughter,' and K'an, the oldest son. The couple are more staid. The wife occupies the lower place; and the relation between them is marked by her submission. This is sound doctrine, especially from a Chinese point of view; but I doubt whether such application of his teaching was in the mind of king Wän. Given two parties, an inferior and superior in correlation. If both be continuously observant of what is correct, the inferior being also submissive, and the superior firm, good fortune and progress may be predicated of their course.

Line 1 has a proper correlate in 4; but between them are two strong lines; and it is itself weak. These two conditions are against its subject receiving much help from the subject of 4. He should be quiet, and not forward for action.

Line 2 is strong, but in the place of a weak line. Its position, however, being central, and its subject holding fast to the due mean, the unfavourable condition of an even place is more than counteracted.

Line 3 is strong, and in its proper place; but being beyond the centre of the trigram, its subject is too strong, and coming under

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject holding (his purpose) fast as if by a (thong made from the) hide of a yellow ox, which cannot be broken.

3. The third line, undivided, shows one retiring but bound,—to his distress and peril. (If he were to deal with his binders as in) nourishing a servant or concubine, it would be fortunate for him.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring notwithstanding his likings. In a superior man this will lead to good fortune; a small man cannot attain to this.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring in an admirable way. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject retiring in a noble way. It will be advantageous in every respect.

the attraction of his correlate in 6, he is supposed to be ready to abandon his place and virtue. He may try to be firm and correct, but circumstances are adverse to him.

Line 4 is strong in the place of a weak line, and suggests the symbolism of the duke of Kâu.

The weak 5th line responds to the strong 2nd, and may be supposed to represent a wife conscious of her weakness, and docilely submissive; which is good. A husband, however, and a man generally, has to assert himself, and lay down the rule of what is right.

In line 6 the principle of perseverance has run its course; the motive power of K'án is exhausted. The line itself is weak. The violent efforts of its subject can only lead to evil.

XXXIII. Thun is the hexagram of the sixth month; the yin influence is represented by two weak lines, and has made good its footing in the year. The figure thus suggested to king Wán the growth of small and unprincipled men in the state, before whose advance superior men were obliged to retire. This is the theme of his essay,—how, 'when small men multiply and increase in power,

XXXIV. THE TÂ KWANG HEXAGRAM.



Tâ Kwang indicates that (under the conditions which it symbolises) it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

the necessity of the time requires superior men to withdraw before them.' Yet the auspice of Thun is not all bad. By firm correctness the threatened evil may be arrested to a small extent.

'A retiring tail' seems to suggest the idea of the subject of the lines hurrying away, which would only aggravate the evil and danger of the time.

'His purpose' in line 2 is the purpose to withdraw. The weak 2 responds correctly to the strong 5, and both are central. The purpose therefore is symbolised as in the text. The 'yellow' colour of the ox is introduced because of its being 'correct,' and of a piece with the central place of the line.

Line 3 has no proper correlate in 6; and its subject allows himself to be entangled and impeded by the subjects of 1 and 2. He is too familiar with them, and they presume, and fetter his movements;—compare Analects, 17. 25. He should keep them at a distance.

Line 4 has a correlate in 1, and is free to exercise the decision belonging to its subject. The line is the first in *K'ien*, symbolic of strength.

In the Shû IV, v, Section 2. 9, the worthy Î Yin is made to say, 'The minister will not for favour or gain continue in an office whose work is done;' and the Khang-hsi editors refer to his words as an illustration of what is said on line 5. It has its correlate in 2, and its subject carries out the purpose to retire 'in an admirable way.'

Line 6 is strong, and with no correlate to detain it in 3. Its subject vigorously and happily carries out the idea of the hexagram.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject manifesting his strength in his toes. But advance will lead to evil,—most certainly.

2. The second line, undivided, shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows, in the case of a small man, one using all his strength; and in the case of a superior man, one whose rule is not to do so. Even with firm correctness the position would be perilous. (The exercise of strength in it might be compared to the case of) a ram butting against a fence, and getting his horns entangled.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows (a case in which) firm correctness leads to good fortune, and occasion for repentance disappears. (We see) the fence opened without the horns being entangled. The strength is like that in the wheel-spokes of a large waggon.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows one who loses his ram(-like strength) in the ease of his position. (But) there will be no occasion for repentance.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows (one who may be compared to) the ram butting against the fence, and unable either to retreat, or to advance as he would fain do. There will not be advantage in any respect; but if he realise the difficulty (of his position), there will be good fortune.

XXXIV. The strong lines predominate in *Tâ Kwang*. It suggested to king Wăn a state or condition of things in which there was abundance of strength and vigour. Was strength alone enough for the conduct of affairs? No. He saw also in the figure that which suggested to him that strength should be held in subordination to the idea of right, and exerted only in harmony with it.

XXXV. THE 3IN HEXAGRAM.



In 3in we see a prince who secures the tranquility (of the people) presented on that account with numerous horses (by the king), and three times in a day received at interviews.

This is the lesson of the hexagram, as sententiously expressed in the Thwan.

Line 1 is strong, in its correct place, and also the first line in *K'ien*, the hexagram of strength, and the first line in *Tâ Kwang*. The idea of the figure might seem to be concentrated in it; and hence we have it symbolised by 'strength in the toes,' or 'advancing.' But such a measure is too bold to be undertaken by one in the lowest place, and moreover there is no proper correlate in 4. Hence comes the evil auspice.

Line 2 is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place, instead of being excited by it, as might be feared. Then the place is that in the centre. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

Line 3 is strong, and in its proper place. It is at the top moreover of *K'ien*. A small man so symbolled will use his strength to the utmost; but not so the superior man. For him the position is beyond the safe middle, and he will be cautious; and not injure himself, like the ram, by exerting his strength.

Line 4 is still strong, but in the place of a weak line; and this gives occasion to the cautions with which the symbolism commences. The subject of the line going forward thus cautiously, his strength will produce good effects, such as are described.

Line 5 is weak, and occupies a central place. Its subject will cease therefore to exert his strength; but this hexagram does not forbid the employment of strength, but would only control and

1. The first line, divided, shows one wishing to advance, and (at the same time) kept back. Let him be firm and correct, and there will be good fortune. If trust be not reposed in him, let him maintain a large and generous mind, and there will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject with the appearance of advancing, and yet of being sorrowful. If he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune. He will receive this great blessing from his grandmother.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject trusted by all (around him). All occasion for repentance will disappear.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject with the appearance of advancing, but like a marmot. However firm and correct he may be, the position is one of peril.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows how all occasion for repentance disappears (from its subject). (But) let him not concern himself about whether he shall fail or succeed. To advance will be fortunate, and in every way advantageous.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows one advancing his horns. But he only uses them to punish the (rebellious people of his own) city. The position

direct it. All that is said about him is that he will give no occasion for repentance.

Line 6 being at the top of *K'ān*, the symbol of movement, and at the top of *T'ā K'wang*, its subject may be expected to be active in exerting his strength; and through his weakness, the result would be as described. But he becomes conscious of his weakness, reflects and rests, and good fortune results, as he desists from the prosecution of his unwise efforts.

is perilous, but there will be good fortune. (Yet) however firm and correct he may be, there will be occasion for regret.

XXXV. The Thwan of this hexagram expresses its subject more fully and plainly than that of any of the previous thirty-four. It is about a feudal prince whose services to the country have made him acceptable to his king. The king's favour has been shown to him by gifts and personal attentions such as form the theme of more than one ode in the Shih; see especially III, iii, 7. The symbolism of the lines dimly indicates the qualities of such a prince. 3in means 'to advance.' Hexagrams 46 and 53 agree with this in being called by names that indicate progress and advance. The advance in 3in is like that of the sun, 'the shining light, shining more and more to the perfect day.'

Line 1 is weak, and in the lowest place, and its correlate in 4 is neither central nor in its correct position. This indicates the small and obstructed beginnings of his subject. But by his firm correctness he pursues the way to good fortune; and though the king does not yet believe in him, he the more pursues his noble course.

Line 2 is weak, and its correlate in 5 is also weak. Its subject therefore has still to mourn in obscurity. But his position is central and correct, and he holds on his way, till success comes ere long. The symbolism says he receives it 'from his grandmother;' and readers will be startled by the extraordinary statement, as I was when I first read it. Literally the Text says 'the king's mother,' as P. Regis rendered it,—'*Istam magnam felicitatem a matre regis recipit.*' He also tries to give the name a historical reference;—to Thâi-Kiang, the grandmother of king Wăn; Thâi-Zân, his mother; or to Thâi-sze, his wife, and the mother of king Wû and the duke of Kâu, all famous in Chinese history, and celebrated in the Shih. But 'king's father' and 'king's mother' are well-known Chinese appellations for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother.' This is the view given on the passage, by K'iang-ze, K'ü Hsi, and the Khang-hsi editors, the latter of whom, indeed, account for the use of the name, instead of 'deceased mother,' which we find in hexagram 62, by the regulations observed in the ancestral temple. These authorities, moreover, all agree in saying that the name points us to line 5, the correlate of 2, and 'the lord of the hexagram.' Now the subject of line 5 is the sovereign, who at length acknowledges the worth of the feudal lord, and gives him

XXXVI. THE MING Ĩ HEXAGRAM.



Ming Ĩ indicates that (in the circumstances which it denotes) it will be advantageous to realise the

the great blessing. The 'New Digest of Comments on the Yi (1686),' in its paraphrase of the line, has, 'He receives at last this great blessing from the mild and compliant ruler.' I am not sure that 'motherly king' would not be the best and fairest translation of the phrase.

Canon McClatchie has a very astonishing note on the name, which he renders 'Imperial Mother' (p. 164):—'That is, the wife of Imperial Heaven (Juno), who occupies the "throne of the diagram," viz. the fifth stroke, which is soft and therefore feminine. She is the Great Ancestress of the human race. See Imp. Ed. vol. iv, Sect. v, p. 25, Com.' Why such additions to the written word?

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place; but the subjects of 1 and 2 are possessed by the same desire to advance as the subject of this. A common trust and aim possess them; and hence the not unfavourable auspice.

Line 4 is strong, but it is in an even place, nor is it central. It suggests the idea of a marmot (? or rat), stealthily advancing. Nothing could be more opposed to the ideal of the feudal lord in the hexagram.

In line 5 that lord and his intelligent sovereign meet happily. He holds on his right course, indifferent as to results, but things are so ordered that he is, and will continue to be, crowned with success.

Line 6 is strong, and suggests the idea of its subject to the last continuing his advance, and that not only with firm correctness, but with strong force. The 'horns' are an emblem of threatening strength, and though he uses them only in his own state, and against the rebellious there, that such a prince should have any occasion to use force is matter for regret.

difficulty (of the position), and maintain firm correctness.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Í, flying, but with drooping wings. When the superior man (is revolving) his going away, he may be for three days without eating. Wherever he goes, the people there may speak (derisively of him).

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Í, wounded in the left thigh. He saves himself by the strength of a (swift) horse; and is fortunate.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Í, hunting in the south, and taking the great chief (of the darkness). He should not be eager to make (all) correct (at once).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject (just) entered into the left side of the belly (of the dark land). (But) he is able to carry out the mind appropriate (in the condition indicated by) Ming Í, quitting the gate and courtyard (of the lord of darkness).

5. The fifth line, divided, shows how the count of K'í fulfilled the condition indicated by Ming Í. It will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the case where there is no light, but (only) obscurity. (Its subject) had at first ascended to (the top of) the sky; his future shall be to go into the earth.

XXXVI. In this hexagram we have the representation of a good and intelligent minister or officer going forward in the service of his country, notwithstanding the occupancy of the throne by a weak

XXXVII. THE *KIÀ ZĀN* HEXAGRAM.

For (the realisation of what is taught in) *K'ia Zăn*, (or for the regulation of the family), what is

and unsympathising sovereign. Hence comes its name of Ming Ī, or 'Intelligence Wounded,' that is, injured and repressed. The treatment of the subject shows how such an officer will conduct himself, and maintain his purpose. The symbolism of the figure is treated of in the same way in the first and second Appendixes. Appendix VI merely says that the advance set forth in 35 is sure to meet with wounding, and hence 3in is followed by Ming Ī.

Line 1 is strong, and in its right place;—its subject should be going forward. But the general signification of the hexagram supposes him to be wounded. The wound, however, being received at the very commencement of its action, is but slight. And hence comes the emblem of a bird hurt so as to be obliged to droop its wings. The subject then appears directly as 'the superior man.' He sees it to be his course to desist from the struggle for a time, and is so rapt in the thought that he can fast for three days and not think of it. When he does withdraw, opposition follows him; but it is implied that he holds on to his own good purpose.

Line 2 is weak, but also in its right place, and central; giving us the idea of an officer, obedient to duty and the right. His wound in the left thigh may impede his movements, but does not disable him. He finds means to save himself, and maintains his good purpose.

Line 3, strong and in a strong place, is the topmost line of the lower trigram. It responds also to line 6, in which the idea of the sovereign, emblemed by the upper trigram, is concentrated. The lower trigram is the emblem of light or brightness, the idea of which again is expressed by the south, to which we turn when we look at the sun in its meridian height. Hence the subject of the

most advantageous is that the wife be firm and correct.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject establishing restrictive regulations in his household. Occasion for repentance will disappear.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject taking nothing on herself, but in her central place attending to the preparation of the food. Through her firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject (treating) the members of the household with stern severity. There will be occasion for repentance, there will be peril, (but) there will (also) be good fortune. If the wife and children were to be smirking and chattering, in the end there would be occasion for regret.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject

line becomes a hunter pursuing his game, and successfully. The good officer will be successful in his struggle; but let him not be over eager to put all things right at once.

Line 4 is weak, but in its right place. K'ü Hsi says he does not understand the symbolism, as given in the Text. The translation indicates the view of it commonly accepted. The subject of the line evidently escapes from his position of danger with little damage.

Line 5 should be the place of the ruler or sovereign in the hexagram; but 6 is assigned as that place in Ming I. The officer occupying 5, the centre of the upper trigram, and near to the sovereign, has his ideal in the count of K'ü, whose action appears in the Shü, III, pp. 123, 127, 128. He is a historical personage.

Line 6 sets forth the fate of the ruler, who opposes himself to the officer who would do him good and intelligent service. Instead of becoming as the sun, enlightening all from the height of the sky, he is as the sun hidden below the earth. I can well believe that the writer had the last king of Shang in his mind.

enriching the family. There will be great good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the influence of the king extending to his family. There need be no anxiety; there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity and arrayed in majesty. In the end there will be good fortune.

XXXVII. *K'ia Z'an*, the name of the hexagram, simply means 'a household,' or 'the members of a family.' The subject of the essay based on the figure, however, is the regulation of the family, effected mainly by the co-operation of husband and wife in their several spheres, and only needing to become universal to secure the good order of the kingdom. The important place occupied by the wife in the family is seen in the short sentence of the *Thwan*. That she be firm and correct, and do her part well, is the first thing necessary to its regulation.

Line 1 is strong, and in a strong place. It suggests the necessity of strict rule in governing the family. Regulations must be established, and their observance strictly insisted on.

Line 2 is weak, and in the proper place for it,—the centre, moreover, of the lower trigram. It fitly represents the wife, and what is said on it tells us of her special sphere and duty; and that she should be unassuming in regard to all beyond her sphere; always being firm and correct. See the *Shih*, III, 350.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place. If the place were central, the strength would be tempered; but the subject of the line, in the topmost place of the trigram, may be expected to exceed in severity. But severity is not a bad thing in regulating a family;—it is better than laxity and indulgence.

Line 4 is weak, and in its proper place. The wife is again suggested to us, and we are told, that notwithstanding her being confined to the internal affairs of the household, she can do much to enrich the family.

The subject of the strong fifth line appears as the king. This may be the husband spoken of as also a king; or the real king whose merit is revealed first in his family, as often in the *Shih*, where king *W'an* is the theme. The central place here tempers the display of the strength and power.

XXXVIII. THE KHWEI HEXAGRAM.



Khwei indicates that, (notwithstanding the condition of things which it denotes), in small matters there will (still) be good success.

1. The first line, undivided, shows that (to its subject) occasion for repentance will disappear. He has lost his horses, but let him not seek for them; —they will return of themselves. Should he meet with bad men, he will not err (in communicating with them).

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject happening to meet with his lord in a bye-passage. There will be no error.

3. In the third line, divided, we see one whose carriage is dragged back, while the oxen in it are pushed back, and he is himself subjected to the shaving of his head and the cutting off of his nose. There is no good beginning, but there will be a good end.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject solitary amidst the (prevailing) disunion. (But) he meets with the good man (represented by the first

Line 6 is also strong, and being in an even place, the subject of it might degenerate into stern severity, but he is supposed to be sincere, complete in his personal character and self-culture, and hence his action will only lead to good fortune.

line), and they blend their sincere desires together. The position is one of peril, but there will be no mistake.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows that (to its subject) occasion for repentance will disappear. With his relative (and minister he unites closely and readily) as if he were biting through a piece of skin. When he goes forward (with this help), what error can there be?

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject solitary amidst the (prevailing) disunion. (In the subject of the third line, he seems to) see a pig bearing on its back a load of mud, (or fancies) there is a carriage full of ghosts. He first bends his bow against him, and afterwards unbends it, (for he discovers) that he is not an assailant to injure, but a near relative. Going forward, he shall meet with (genial) rain, and there will be good fortune.

XXXVIII. Khwei denotes a social state in which division and mutual alienation prevail, and the hexagram teaches how in small matters this condition may be healed, and the way prepared for the cure of the whole system. The writer or writers of Appendixes I and II point out the indication in the figure of division and disunion according to their views. In Appendix VI those things appear as a necessary sequel to the regulation of the family; while it is impossible to discover any allusion to the family in the Text.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. A successful course might be auspiced for its subject; but the correlate in line 4 is also strong; and therefore disappointment and repentance are likely to ensue. In the condition, however, indicated by Khwei, where people have a common virtue, they will help one another. Through the good services of 4, the other will not have to repent. His condition may be emblemized by a traveller's loss of his horses, which return to him of themselves.

Should he meet with bad men, however, let him not shrink from them. Communication with them will be of benefit. His good

XXXIX. THE KIEN HEXAGRAM.



In (the state indicated by) *Kien* advantage will be found in the south-west, and the contrary in the north-east. It will be advantageous (also) to meet

may overcome their evil, and at least it will help to silence their slanderous tongues.

Line 5 is weak, and its subject is the proper correlate of the strong 2. They might meet openly; but for the separation and disunion that mark the time. A casual, as it were a stolen, interview, as in a bye-lane or passage, however will be useful, and may lead on to a better understanding.

Line 3 is weak, where it ought to be strong. Its correlate, however, in 6 is strong, and the relation between them might seem what it ought to be. But the weak 3 is between the strong lines in 2 and 4; and in a time of disunion there ensue the checking and repulsion emblemized in the Text. At the same time the subject of line 6 inflicts on that of 3 the punishments which are mentioned. It is thus bad for 3 at first, but we are told that in the end it will be well with him; and this will be due to the strength of the sixth line. The conclusion grows out of a conviction in the mind of the author that what is right and good is destined to triumph over what is wrong and bad. Disorder shall in the long run give place to order, and disunion to union.

Line 4 has no proper correlate, and might seem to be solitary. But, as we saw on line 1, in this hexagram, correlates of the same class help each other. Hence the subjects of 4 and 1, meeting together, work with good will and success.

The place of 5 is odd, but the line itself is weak, so that there might arise occasion for repentance. But the strong 2 is a proper correlate to the weak 5. Five being the sovereign's place, the subject of 2 is styled the sovereign's relative, of the same surname

with the great man. (In these circumstances), with firmness and correctness, there will be good fortune.

1. From the first line, divided, we learn that advance (on the part of its subject) will lead to (greater) difficulties, while remaining stationary will afford ground for praise.

2. The second line, divided, shows the minister of the king struggling with difficulty on difficulty, and not with a view to his own advantage.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject advancing, (but only) to (greater) difficulties. He remains stationary, and returns (to his former associates).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject advancing, (but only) to (greater) difficulties. He remains stationary, and unites (with the subject of the line above).

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject struggling with the greatest difficulties, while friends are coming to help him.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject going forward, (only to increase) the difficulties,

with him, and head of some branch of the descendants of the royal house. It is as easy for 5, so supported, to deal with the disunion of the time, as to bite through a piece of skin.

Line 6 is an even place, and yet the line is strong;—what can its subject effect? He looks at 3, which, as weak, is a proper correlate; but he looks with the evil eye of disunion. The subject of 3 appears no better than a filthy pig, nor more real than an impossible carriage-load of ghosts. He bends his bow against him, but he unbends it, discovering a friend in 3, as 1 did in 4, and 5 in 2. He acts and with good luck, comparable to the falling rain, which results from the happy union of the yang and yin in nature.

while his remaining stationary will be (productive of) great (merit). There will be good fortune, and it will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

XXXIX. *K'ien* is the symbol for incompetency in the feet and legs, involving difficulty in walking; hence it is used in this hexagram to indicate a state of the kingdom which makes the government of it an arduous task. How this task may be successfully performed, now by activity on the part of the ruler, and now by a discreet inactivity:—this is what the figure teaches, or at least gives hints about. For the development of the meaning of the symbolic character from the structure of the lineal figure, see Appendixes I and II.

The *Thwan* seems to require three things—attention to place, the presence of the great man, and the firm observance of correctness—in order to cope successfully with the difficulties of the situation. The first thing is enigmatically expressed, and the language should be compared with what we find in the *Thwan* of hexagrams 2 and 40. Referring to Figure 2, in Plate III, we find that, according to *Wăn*'s arrangement of the trigrams, the south-west is occupied by *Khwăn* (䷞), and the north-east by *K'ân* (䷊). The former represents the campaign country; the latter, the mountainous region. The former is easily traversed and held; the latter, with difficulty. The attention to place thus becomes transformed into a calculation of circumstances; those that promise success in an enterprise, which should be taken advantage of, and those that threaten difficulty and failure, which should be shunned.

This is the generally accepted view of this difficult passage. The *Khang-hsi* editors have a view of their own. I have been myself inclined to find less symbolism in it, and to take the south-west as the regions in the south and west of the kingdom, which we know from the *Shih* were more especially devoted to *Wăn* and his house, while the strength of the kings of *Shang* lay in the north and east.

'The idea of "the great man," Mencius's "minister of Heaven," is illustrated by the strong line in the fifth place, having for its correlate the weak line in 2. But favourableness of circumstances and place, and the presence of the great man do not dispense from the observance of firm correctness. Throughout these essays of the *Yi* this is always insisted on.

XL. THE KIEH HEXAGRAM.



In (the state indicated by) *Kieh* advantage will be found in the south-west. If no (further) operations be called for, there will be good fortune in coming back (to the old conditions). If some operations be called for, there will be good fortune in the early conducting of them.

1. The first line, divided, shows that its subject will commit no error.

Line 1 is weak, whereas it ought to be strong as being in an odd place. If its subject advance, he will not be able to cope with the difficulties of the situation, but be overwhelmed by them. Let him wait for a more favourable time.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place. Its correlation with the strong 5, and consequent significance, are well set forth.

Line 3 is strong, and in a place of strength; but its correlate in 6 is weak, so that the advance of its subject would be unsupported. He waits therefore for a better time, and cherishes the subjects of the two lines below, who naturally cling to him.

Line 4 is weak, and, though in its proper place, its subject could do little of himself. He is immediately below the king or great man, however, and cultivates his loyal attachment to him, waiting for the time when he shall be required to act.

Line 5 is the king, the man great and strong. He can cope with the difficulties, and the subjects of 2 and the other lines of the lower trigram give their help.

The action of the hexagram is over; where can the weak 6 go forward to? Let him abide where he is, and serve the great man immediately below him. So shall he also be great;—in meritorious action at least.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject catch, in hunting, three foxes, and obtain the yellow (= golden) arrows. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows a porter with his burden, (yet) riding in a carriage. He will (only) tempt robbers to attack him. However firm and correct he may (try to) be, there will be cause for regret.

4. (To the subject of) the fourth line, undivided, (it is said), 'Remove your toes. Friends will (then) come, between you and whom there will be mutual confidence.'

5. The fifth line, divided, shows (its subject), the superior man (=the ruler), executing his function of removing (whatever is injurious to the idea of the hexagram), in which case there will be good fortune, and confidence in him will be shown even by the small men.

6. In the sixth line, divided, we see a feudal prince (with his bow) shooting at a falcon on the top of a high wall, and hitting it. (The effect of his action) will be in every way advantageous.

XL. *K'ieh* is the symbol of loosing,—untying a knot or unravelling a complication; and as the name of this hexagram, it denotes a condition in which the obstruction and difficulty indicated by the preceding *K'ien* have been removed. The object of the author is to show, as if from the lines of the figure, how this new and better state of the kingdom is to be dealt with. See what is said on the *Thwan* of *K'ien* for 'the advantage to be found in the south-west.' If further active operations be not necessary to complete the subjugation of the country, the sooner things fall into their old channels the better. The new masters of the kingdom should not be anxious to change all the old manners and ways. Let them do, as the duke of *K'âu* actually did do with the subjugated people of Shang. If

XLI. THE SUN HEXAGRAM.



In (what is denoted by) Sun, if there be sincerity (in him who employs it), there will be great good fortune :—freedom from error ; firmness and correctness that can be maintained ; and advantage in every

further operations be necessary, let them be carried through without delay. Nothing is said in the Thwan about the discountenancing and removal of small men,—unworthy ministers or officers ; but that subject appears in more than one of the lines.

There is a weak line, instead of a strong, in the first place ; but this is compensated for by its strong correlate in 4.

K'ü Hsi says he does not understand the symbolism under line 2. The place is even, but the line itself is strong ; the strength therefore is modified or tempered. And 2 is the correlate of the ruler in 5. We are to look to its subject therefore for a minister striving to realise the idea of the hexagram, and pacify the subdued kingdom. He becomes a hunter, and disposes of unworthy men, represented by 'the three foxes.' He also gets the yellow arrows,—the instruments used in war or in hunting, whose colour is 'correct,' and whose form is 'straight.' His firm correctness will be good.

Line 3 is weak, when it should be strong ; and occupying, as it does, the topmost place of the lower trigram, it suggests the symbolism of a porter in a carriage. People will say, 'How did he get there ? The things cannot be his own.' And robbers will attack and plunder him. The subject of the line cannot protect himself, nor accomplish anything good.

What is said on the fourth line appears in the form of an address to its subject. The line is strong in an even place, and 1, its correlate, is weak in an odd place. Such a union will not be productive of good. In the symbolism 1 becomes the toe of the subject of 4. How the friend or friends, who are to come to him on the removal of this toe, are represented, I do not perceive.

Line 5 is weak in an odd place ; but the place is that of the ruler, to whom it belongs to perfect the idea of the hexagram by

movement that shall be made. In what shall this (sincerity in the exercise of Sun) be employed? (Even) in sacrifice two baskets of grain, (though there be nothing else), may be presented.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject suspending his own affairs, and hurrying away (to help the subject of the fourth line). He will commit no error, but let him consider how far he should contribute of what is his (for the other).

2. The second line, undivided, shows that it will be advantageous for its subject to maintain a firm correctness, and that action on his part will be evil. He can give increase (to his correlate) without taking from himself.

3. The third line, divided, shows how of three men walking together, the number is diminished by one; and how one, walking, finds his friend.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject diminishing the ailment under which he labours by making (the subject of the first line) hasten (to his help), and make him glad. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows parties adding to (the stores of) its subject ten pairs of tortoise shells, and accepting no refusal. There will be great good fortune.

removing all that is contrary to the peace and good order of the kingdom. It will be his duty to remove especially all the small men represented by the divided lines, which he can do with the help of his strong correlate in 2. Then even the small men will change their ways, and repair to him.

Line 6 is the highest line in the figure, but not the place of the ruler. Hence it appears as occupied by a feudal duke, who carries out the idea of the figure against small men, according to the symbolism employed.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject giving increase to others without taking from himself. There will be no error. With firm correctness there will be good fortune. There will be advantage in every movement that shall be made. He will find ministers more than can be counted by their clans.

XLI. The interpretation of this hexagram is encompassed with great difficulties. Sun is the symbol for the idea of diminishing or diminution; and what is said in Appendix I has made it to be accepted as teaching the duty of the subject to take of what is his and contribute to his ruler, or the expenses of the government under which he lives; in other words, readily and cheerfully to pay his taxes. P. Regis says, 'Sun seu (vectigalis causa) minuere . . . est valde utile;' and Canon McClatchie in translating Appendix I has:—'Diminishing (by taxation for instance) . . . is very lucky.' Possibly, king Wăn may have seen in the figures the subject of taxation; but the symbolism of his son takes a much wider range. My own reading of the figure and Text comes near to the view of K'hang-ze, that 'every diminution and repression of what we have in excess to bring it into accordance with right and reason is comprehended under Sun.'

Let there be sincerity in doing this, and it will lead to the happiest results. It will lead to great success in great things; and if the correction, or it may be a contribution towards it, appear to be very small, yet it will be accepted;—as in the most solemn religious service. This is substantially the view of the hexagram approved by the Khang-hsi editors.

Line 1 is strong, and its correlate in 4 is weak. Its subject will wish to help the subject of 4; but will not leave anything of his own undone in doing so. Nor will he diminish of his own for the other without due deliberation.

Line 2 is strong, and in the central place. But it is in the place of a weak line, and its subject should maintain his position without moving to help his correlate in 5. Maintaining his own firm correctness is the best way to help him.

Paragraph 3 is to my mind full of obscurity. K'ü Hsî, adopting the view in Appendix I, says that the lower trigram was originally K'ien, three undivided lines, like 'three men walking together,'

XLII. THE YĪ HEXAGRAM.



YĪ indicates that (in the state which it denotes) there will be advantage in every movement which shall be undertaken, that it will be advantageous (even) to cross the great stream.

1. The first line, undivided, shows that it will be advantageous for its subject in his position to make

and that the third line, taken away and made to be the topmost line, or the third, in what was originally Khwān, three divided lines, was 'the putting away of one man;' and that then the change of place by 3 and 6, while they continued their proper correlation, was, one going away, and finding his friend. I cannot lay hold of any thread of reason in this.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place; like an individual ailing and unable to perform his proper work. But the correlate in 1 is strong; and is made to hasten to its relief. The 'joy' of the line shows the desire of its subject to do his part in the work of the hexagram.

Line 5 is the seat of the ruler, who is here humble, and welcomes the assistance of his correlate, the subject of 2. He is a ruler whom all his subjects of ability will rejoice to serve in every possible way; and the result will be great good fortune.

Line 6 has been changed from a weak into a strong line from line 3; has received therefore the greatest increase, and will carry out the idea of the hexagram in the highest degree and style. But he can give increase to others without diminishing his own resources, and of course the benefit he will confer will be incalculable. Ministers will come to serve him; and not one from each clan merely, but many. Such is the substance of what is said on this last paragraph. I confess that I only discern the meaning darkly.

a great movement. If it be greatly fortunate, no blame will be imputed to him.

2. The second line, divided, shows parties adding to the stores of its subject ten pairs of tortoise shells whose oracles cannot be opposed. Let him persevere in being firm and correct, and there will be good fortune. Let the king, (having the virtues thus distinguished), employ them in presenting his offerings to God, and there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows increase given to its subject by means of what is evil, so that he shall (be led to good), and be without blame. Let him be sincere and pursue the path of the Mean, (so shall he secure the recognition of the ruler, like) an officer who announces himself to his prince by the symbol of his rank.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject pursuing the due course. His advice to his prince is followed. He can with advantage be relied on in such a movement as that of removing the capital.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject with sincere heart seeking to benefit (all below). There need be no question about it; the result will be great good fortune. (All below) will with sincere heart acknowledge his goodness.

6. In the sixth line, undivided, we see one to whose increase none will contribute, while many will seek to assail him. He observes no regular rule in the ordering of his heart. There will be evil.

XLII. Yī has the opposite meaning to Sun, and is the symbol of addition or increasing. What king Wăn had in his mind, in connexion with the hexagram, was a ruler or a government operating

XLIII. THE KWÂI HEXAGRAM.



Kwâi requires (in him who would fulfil its meaning) the exhibition (of the culprit's guilt) in the royal court, and a sincere and earnest appeal (for sym-

so as to dispense benefits to, and increase the resources of all the people. Two indications are evident in the lines;—the strong line in the ruler's seat, or the fifth line, and the weak line in the correlative place of 2. Whether there be other indications in the figure or its component trigrams will be considered in dealing with the Appendixes. The writer might well say, on general grounds, of the ruler whom he had in mind, that he would be successful in his enterprises and overcome the greatest difficulties.

Line 1 is strong, but its low position might seem to debar its subject from any great enterprise. Favoured as he is, however, according to the general idea of the hexagram, and specially responding to the proper correlate in 4, it is natural that he should make a movement; and great success will make his rashness be forgotten.

With paragraph 2 compare paragraph 5 of the preceding hexagram. Line 2 is weak, but in the centre, and is the correlate of 5. Friends give its subject the valuable gifts mentioned; 'that is,' says Kwo Yung (Sung dynasty), 'men benefit him; the oracles of the divination are in his favour,—spirits, that is, benefit him; and finally, when the king sacrifices to God, He accepts. Heaven confers benefit from above.'

Line 3 is weak, neither central, nor in its correct position. It would seem therefore that its subject should have no increase given to him. But it is the time for giving increase, and the idea of his receiving it by means of evil things is put into the line. That such things serve for reproof and correction is well known to Chinese moralists. But the paragraph goes on also to caution and admonish.

Line 4 is the place for a minister, near to that of the ruler. Its subject is weak, but his place is appropriate, and as he follows the

pathy and support), with a consciousness of the peril (involved in cutting off the criminal). He should (also) make announcement in his own city, and show that it will not be well to have recourse at once to arms. (In this way) there will be advantage in whatever he shall go forward to.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject in (the pride of) strength advancing with his toes. He goes forward, but will not succeed. There will be ground for blame.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject full of apprehension and appealing (for sympathy and help). Late at night hostile measures may be (taken against him), but he need not be anxious about them.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject (about to advance) with strong (and determined) looks. There will be evil. (But) the superior man, bent on cutting off (the criminal), will walk alone and encounter the rain, (till he be hated by his proper associates) as if he were contaminated (by the others). (In the end) there will be no blame against him.

due course, his ruler will listen to him, and he will be a support in the most critical movements. Changing the capital from place to place was frequent in the feudal times of China. That of Shang, which preceded *Kâu*, was changed five times.

Line 5 is strong, in its fitting position, and central. It is the seat of the ruler, who has his proper correlate in 2. Everything good, according to the conditions of the hexagram, therefore, may be said of him ;—as is done.

Line 6 is also strong ; but it should be weak. Occupying the topmost place of the figure, its subject will concentrate his powers in the increase of himself, and not think of benefiting those below him ; and the consequence will be as described.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows one from whose buttocks the skin has been stripped, and who walks slowly and with difficulty. (If he could act) like a sheep led (after its companions), occasion for repentance would disappear. But though he hear these words, he will not believe them.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows (the small men like) a bed of purslain, which ought to be uprooted with the utmost determination. (The subject of the line having such determination), his action, in harmony with his central position, will lead to no error or blame.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows its subject without any (helpers) on whom to call. His end will be evil.

XLIII. In Kwâi we have the hexagram of the third month, when the last remnant, cold and dark, of winter, represented by the sixth line, is about to disappear before the advance of the warm and bright days of the approaching summer. In the yin line at the top king Wăn saw the symbol of a small or bad man, a feudal prince or high minister, lending his power to maintain a corrupt government, or, it might be, a dynasty that was waxen old and ready to vanish away; and in the five undivided lines he saw the representatives of good order, or, it might be, the dynasty which was to supersede the other. This then is the subject of the hexagram,—how bad men, statesmen corrupt and yet powerful, are to be put out of the way. And he who would accomplish the task must do so by the force of his character more than by force of arms, and by producing a general sympathy on his side.

The Thwan says that he must openly denounce the criminal in the court, seek to awaken general sympathy, and at the same time go about his enterprise, conscious of its difficulty and danger. Among his own adherents, moreover, as if it were in his own city, he must make it understood how unwillingly he takes up arms. Then let him go forward, and success will attend him.

Line 1 is strong, the first line of that trigram, which expresses the idea of strength. But it is in the lowest place. The stage of

XLIV. THE KÂU HEXAGRAM.



Kâu shows a female who is bold and strong. It will not be good to marry (such) a female.

the enterprise is too early, and the preparation too small to make victory certain. Its subject had better not take the field.

Line 2 is strong, and central, and its subject is possessed with the determination to do his part in the work of removal. But his eagerness is tempered by his occupancy of an even place; and he is cautious, and no attempts, however artful, to harm him will take effect.

Line 3 is strong, and its subject displays his purpose too eagerly. Being beyond the central position, moreover, gives an indication of evil. Lines 3 and 6 are also proper correlates; and, as elsewhere in the Yi, the meeting of yin and yang lines is associated with falling rain. The subject of 3, therefore, communicates with 6, in a way that annoys his associates; but nevertheless he commits no error, and, in the end, incurs no blame.

Line 4 is not in the centre, nor in an odd place, appropriate to it as undivided. Its subject therefore will not be at rest, nor able to do anything to accomplish the idea of the hexagram. He is symbolised by a culprit, who, according to the ancient and modern custom of Chinese courts, has been bastinadoed till he presents the appearance in the Text. Alone he can do nothing; if he could follow others, like a sheep led along, he might accomplish something, but he will not listen to advice.

Purslain grows in shady places, and hence we find it here in close contiguity to the topmost line, which is yin. As 5 is the ruler's seat, evil may come to him from such contiguity, and strenuous efforts must be made to prevent such an evil. The subject of the line, the ruler in the central place, will commit no error. It must be allowed that the symbolism in this line is not easily managed.

The subject of the 6th line, standing alone, may be easily disposed of.

1. The first line, divided, shows how its subject should be kept (like a carriage) tied and fastened to a metal drag, in which case with firm correctness there will be good fortune. (But) if he move in any direction, evil will appear. He will be (like) a lean pig, which is sure to keep jumping about.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject with a wallet of fish. There will be no error. But it will not be well to let (the subject of the first line) go forward to the guests.

3. The third line, undivided, shows one from whose buttocks the skin has been stripped so that he walks with difficulty. The position is perilous, but there will be no great error.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject with his wallet, but no fish in it. This will give rise to evil.

5. The fifth line, undivided, (shows its subject as) a medlar tree overspreading the gourd (beneath it). If he keep his brilliant qualities concealed, (a good issue) will descend (as) from Heaven.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject receiving others on his horns. There will be occasion for regret, but there will be no error.

XLIV. The single, divided, line at the top of Kwâi, the hexagram of the third month, has been displaced, and K'ien has ruled over the fourth month of the year. But the innings of the divided line commence again; and here we have in Kâu the hexagram of the fifth month, when light and heat are supposed both to begin to be less.

In that divided line Wăn saw the symbol of the small or unworthy man, beginning to insinuate himself into the government

XLV. THE 3HUI HEXAGRAM.



In (the state denoted by) 3hui, the king will repair to his ancestral temple. It will be advan-

of the country. His influence, if unchecked, would go on to grow, and he would displace one good man after another, and fill the vacant seats with others like-minded with himself. The object of Wăn in his Thwan, therefore, was to enjoin resistance to the encroachment of this bad man.

Kâu is defined as giving the idea of suddenly and casually encountering or meeting with. So does the divided line appear all at once in the figure. And this significance of the name rules in the interpretation of the lines, so as to set on one side the more common interpretation of them according to the correlation; showing how the meaning of the figures was put into them from the minds of Wăn and Tan in the first place. The sentiments of the Text are not learned from them; but they are forced and twisted, often fantastically, and made to appear to give those sentiments forth of themselves.

Here the first line, divided, where it ought to be the contrary, becomes the symbol of a bold, bad woman, who appears unexpectedly on the scene, and wishes to subdue or win all the five strong lines to herself. No one would contract a marriage with such a female; and every good servant of his country will try to repel the entrance into the government of every officer who can be so symbolised.

Line 1 represents the *bête noire* of the figure. If its subject can be kept back, the method of firm government and order will proceed. If he cannot be restrained, he will become disgusting and dangerous. It is not enough for the carriage to be stopt by the metal drag; it is also tied or bound to some steadfast object. Internal and external restraints should be opposed to the bad man.

The 'wallet of fish' under line 2 is supposed to symbolise the

tageous (also) to meet with the great man ; and then there will be progress and success, though the advantage must come through firm correctness. The use of great victims will conduce to good fortune ; and in whatever direction movement is made, it will be advantageous.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject with a sincere desire (for union), but unable to carry it out, so that disorder is brought into the sphere of his union. If he cry out (for help to his proper correlate), all at once (his tears) will give place

subject of line 1. It has come into the possession of the subject of 2, by virtue of the meaning of the name Kâu, which I have pointed out. With his strength therefore he can repress the advance of 1. He becomes in fact 'the lord of the hexagram,' and all the other strong lines are merely guests ; and especially is it important that he should prevent 1 from approaching them. This is a common explanation of what is said under this second line. It seems far-fetched ; but I can neither find nor devise anything better.

With what is said on line 3, compare the fourth paragraph of the duke's Text on the preceding hexagram. Line 3 is strong, but has gone beyond the central place ; has no correlate above ; and is cut off from 1 by the intervening 2. It cannot do much therefore against 1 ; but its aim being to repress that, there will be no great error.

Line 1 is the proper correlate of 4 ; but it has already met and associated with 2. The subject of 4 therefore stands alone ; and evil to him may be looked for.

Line 5 is strong, and in the ruler's place. Its relation to 1 is like that of a forest tree to the spreading gourd. But let not its subject use force to destroy or repress the growth of 1 ; but let him restrain himself and keep his excellence concealed, and Heaven will set its seal to his virtue.

The symbolism of line 6 is difficult to understand, though the meaning of what is said is pretty clear. The Khang-hsi editors observe :—'The subject of this line is like an officer who has withdrawn from the world. He can accomplish no service for the time ; but his person is removed from the workers of disorder.'

to smiles. He need not mind (the temporary difficulty); as he goes forward, there will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject led forward (by his correlate). There will be good fortune, and freedom from error. There is entire sincerity, and in that case (even the small offerings of) the vernal sacrifice are acceptable.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject striving after union and seeming to sigh, yet nowhere finding any advantage. If he go forward, he will not err, though there may be some small cause for regret.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject in such a state that, if he be greatly fortunate, he will receive no blame.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the union (of all) under its subject in the place of dignity. There will be no error. If any do not have confidence in him, let him see to it that (his virtue) be great, long-continued, and firmly correct, and all occasion for repentance will disappear.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject sighing and weeping; but there will be no error.

XLV. 3 hui denotes collecting together, or things so collected; and hence this hexagram concerns the state of the kingdom when a happy union prevails between the sovereign and his ministers, between high and low; and replies in a vague way to the question how this state is to be preserved; by the influence of religion, and the great man, who is a sage upon the throne.

He, 'the king,' will repair to his ancestral temple, and meet in spirit there with the spirits of his ancestors. Whatever he does, being correct and right, will succeed. His religious services will be distinguished by their dignity and splendour. His victims will

XLVI. THE SHǎNG HEXAGRAM.



Shǎng indicates that (under its conditions) there will be great progress and success. Seeking by

be the best that can be obtained, and other things will be in harmony with them.

Line 1 is weak, and in the place of a strong line. It has a proper correlate in 4, but is separated from him by the intervention of two weak lines. The consequence of these things is supposed to be expressed in the first part of the symbolism; but the subject of the line is possessed by the desire for union, which is the theme of the hexagram. Calling out to his correlate for help, he obtains it, and his sorrow is turned into joy.

Line 2 is in its proper place, and responds to the strong ruler in 5, who encourages and helps the advance of its subject. He possesses also the sincerity, proper to him in his central position; and though he were able to offer only the sacrifice of the spring, small compared with the fulness of the sacrifices in summer and autumn, it would be accepted.

Line 3 is weak, in the place of a strong line, and advanced from the central place. The topmost line, moreover, is no proper correlate. But its subject is possessed by the desire for union; and though 2 and 4 decline to associate with him, he presses on to 6, which is also desirous of union. That common desire brings them together, notwithstanding 3 and 6 are both divided lines; and with difficulty the subject of 3 accomplishes his object.

[But that an ordinary rule for interpreting the lineal indications may be thus overruled by extraordinary considerations shows how much of fancy there is in the symbolism or in the commentaries on it.]

Line 4 has its correlate in 1, and is near to the ruling line in 5. We may expect a good auspice for it; but its being strong in an odd place, calls for the caution which is insinuated.

Line 5 is strong, central, and in its correct position. Through

(the qualities implied in it) to meet with the great man, its subject need have no anxiety. Advance to the south will be fortunate.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject advancing upwards with the welcome (of those above him). There will be great good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject with that sincerity which will make even the (small) offerings of the vernal sacrifice acceptable. There will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject ascending upwards (as into) an empty city.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject employed by the king to present his offerings on mount *K'hi*. There will be good fortune; there will be no mistake.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject firmly correct, and therefore enjoying good fortune. He ascends the stairs (with all due ceremony).

6. The sixth line, divided, shows its subject advancing upwards blindly. Advantage will be found in a ceaseless maintenance of firm correctness.

its subject there may be expected the full realisation of the idea of the hexagram.

Line 6, weak, and at the extremity of the figure, is still anxious for union; but he has no proper correlate, and all below are united in 5. Its subject mourns his solitary condition; and his good feeling will preserve him from error and blame.

XLVI. The character *Shǎng* is used of advancing in an upward direction, 'advancing and ascending.' And here, as the name of the hexagram, it denotes the advance of a good officer to the highest pinnacle of distinction. The second line, in the centre of the lower trigram, is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place. As the representative of the subject of the

XLVII. THE KHWĀN HEXAGRAM.



In (the condition denoted by) Khwān there may (yet be) progress and success. For the firm and

hexagram, it shows him to be possessed of modesty and force. Then the ruler's seat, the fifth place, is occupied by a divided line, indicating that he will welcome the advance of 2. The officer therefore both has the qualities that fit him to advance, and a favourable opportunity to do so. The result of his advance will be fortunate.

It is said that after he has met with the ruler, 'the great man' in 5, 'advance to the south will be fortunate.' Kû Hsi and other critics say that 'advancing to the south' is equivalent simply to 'advancing forwards.' The south is the region of brightness and warmth; advance towards it will be a joyful progress. As P. Regis explains the phrase, the traveller will proceed 'via recta simillima illi qua itur ad austrates felicesque plagas.'

Line 1 is weak, where it should be strong; its subject, that is, is humble and docile. Those above him, therefore, welcome his advance. Another interpretation of the line is suggested by Appendix I; which deserves consideration. As the first line of Sun, moreover, it may be supposed to concentrate in itself its attribute of docility, and be the lord of the trigram.

See on the second line of 3 hui. Line 2 is strong, and the weak 5 is its proper correlate. We have a strong officer serving a weak ruler; he could not do so unless he were penetrated with a sincere and devoted loyalty.

Paragraph 3 describes the boldness and fearlessness of the advance of the third line. According to the Khang-hsi editors, who, I think, are right, there is a shade of condemnation in the line. Its subject is too bold.

Line 4 occupies the place of a great minister, in immediate contiguity to his ruler, who confides in him, and raises him to the highest distinction as a feudal prince. The mention of mount

correct, the (really) great man, there will be good fortune. He will fall into no error. If he make speeches, his words cannot be made good.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject with bare buttocks straitened under the stump of a tree. He enters a dark valley, and for three years has no prospect (of deliverance).

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject straitened amidst his wine and viands. There come to him anon the red knee-covers (of the ruler). It will be well for him (to maintain his sincerity as) in sacrificing. Active operations (on his part) will lead to evil, but he will be free from blame.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject straitened before a (frowning) rock. He lays hold of thorns. He enters his palace, and does not see his wife. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject proceeding very slowly (to help the subject of the first line), who is straitened by the carriage adorned with metal in front of him. There will be occasion for regret, but the end will be good.

K'hi, at the foot of which was the capital of the lords of *K'âu*, seems to take the paragraph out of the sphere of symbolism into that of history. 'The king' in it is the last sovereign of Shang; the feudal prince in it is *Wân*.

In line 5 the advance has reached the highest point of dignity, and firm correctness is specially called for. 'Ascending the steps of a stair' may intimate, as *K'ü Hsi* says, the ease of the advance; or according to others (the *Khang-hsi* editors among them), its ceremonious manner.

What can the subject of the hexagram want more? He has gained all his wishes, and still he is for going onwards. His advance is blind and foolish; and only the most exact correctness will save him from the consequences.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject with his nose and feet cut off. He is straitened by (his ministers in' their) scarlet aprons. He is leisurely in his movements, however, and is satisfied. It will be well for him to be (as sincere) as in sacrificing (to spiritual beings).

6. The sixth line, divided, shows its subject straitened, as if bound with creepers; or in a high and dangerous position, and saying (to himself), 'If I move, I shall repent it.' If he do repent of former errors, there will be good fortune in his going forward.

XLVII. The character Khwān presents us with the picture of a tree within an enclosure; 'a plant,' according to Williams, 'fading for want of room'; 'a tree,' according to Tai Tung, 'not allowed to spread its branches.' However this be, the term conveys the idea of being straitened and distressed; and this hexagram indicates a state of things in which the order and government that would conduce to the well-being of the country can hardly get the development, which, by skilful management on the part of 'the great man' and others, is finally secured for them.

Looking at the figure we see that the two central places are occupied by strong lines; but 2 is confined between 1 and 3, both of which are weak, and 5 (the ruler), as well as 4 (his minister), is covered by the weak 6; all which peculiarities are held to indicate the repression or straitening of good men by bad. For the way in which the same view is derived from the great symbolism, see Appendix II, in loc.

The concluding sentence of the Thwan is literally, 'If he speak, he will not be believed;' but the Khang-hsi editors give sufficient reasons for changing one character so as to give the meaning in the translation. 'Actions,' not words, are what are required in the case.

The symbolism of 'buttocks' is rather a favourite with the duke of Kâu;—'chacun à son goût.' The poor subject of line 1 sitting on a mere stump, which affords him no shelter, is indeed badly off. The line is at the bottom of the trigram indicating peril, and 4, which is its proper correlate, is so circumstanced as not to be able

XLVIII. THE ŠING HEXAGRAM.



(Looking at) Šing, (we think of) how (the site of) a town may be changed, while (the fashion of) its

to render it help; hence comes the unfavourable auspice. 'Three years' is used, as often, for a long time.

The three strong lines in the figure (2, 4, and 5) are all held to represent 'superior men'; and their being straitened is not in their persons or estates, but in their principles which are denied development. Hence the subject of 2 is straitened while he fares sumptuously. His correlate in 5, though not quite proper, occupies the ruler's place, and comes to his help. That it is the ruler who comes appears from his red or vermillion knee-covers, different from the scarlet knee-covers worn by nobles, as in paragraph 5. Let 2 cultivate his sincerity and do the work of the hexagram as if he were sacrificing to spiritual beings; and then, if he keep quiet, all will be well.

For 'a full explanation' of paragraph 3 *K'ü Hsî* refers his readers to what Confucius is made to say on it in Appendix III, ii, 35. The reader, however, will probably not find much light in that passage. The *Khang-hsî* editors say here:—'The subjects of the three divided lines (1, 3, and 6) are all unable to deal aright with the straitened state indicated by the figure. The first is at the bottom, sitting and distressed. The second, occupies the third place, where he may either advance or retreat; and he advances and is distressed. Wounded abroad, he returns to his family, and finds none to receive him; so graphically is there set forth the distress which reckless action brings.'

Line 4 is the proper correlate of 1, but it is a strong line in an even place, and its assistance is given dilatorily. Then 1 is over-ridden by 2, which is represented by 'a chariot of metal.' It is difficult for the subjects of 1 and 4 to come together, and effect much; but 4 is near 5, which is also a strong line. Through a

wells undergoes no change. (The water of a well) never disappears and never receives (any great) increase, and those who come and those who go can draw and enjoy the benefit. If (the drawing) have nearly been accomplished, but, before the rope has quite reached the water, the bucket is broken, this is evil.

1. The first line, divided, shows a well so muddy that men will not drink of it; or an old well to which neither birds (nor other creatures) resort.

2. The second line, undivided, shows a well from which by a hole the water escapes and flows away to the shrimps (and such small creatures among the grass), or one the water of which leaks away from a broken basket.

3. The third line, undivided, shows a well, which has been cleared out, but is not used. Our hearts are sorry for this, for the water might be drawn out and used. If the king were (only) intelligent, both he and we might receive the benefit of it.

common sympathy, the subject of 5 will have a measure of success. So the symbolism of this line has been explained,—not very satisfactorily.

Line 5 is repressed by 6, and pressed on by 4. Above and below its subject is wounded. Especially is he straitened by the minister in 4, with his scarlet knee-covers. But the upper trigram is Tui, with the quality of complacent satisfaction. And this indicates, it is said, that the subject of 5 gets on notwithstanding his straits, especially by his sincerity. This explanation is not more satisfactory than the last.

Line 6 is at the top of the figure, where the distress may be supposed to reach its height. Its subject appears bound and on a perilous summit. But his extremity is also his opportunity. He is moved to think of repenting; and if he do repent, and go forward, his doing so will be fortunate.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows a well, the lining of which is well laid. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows a clear, limpid well, (the waters from) whose cold spring are (freely) drunk.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows (the water from) the well brought to the top, which is not allowed to be covered. This suggests the idea of sincerity. There will be great good fortune.

XLVIII. *Žing*, which gives its name to this hexagram, is the symbol of a well. The character originally was pictorial (井), intended to represent a portion of land, divided into nine parts, the central portion belonging to the government, and being cultivated by the joint labour of the eight families settled on the other divisions. In the centre of it, moreover, was a well, which was the joint property of all the occupants.

What is said on *Žing* might be styled 'Moralisings on a well,' or 'Lessons to be learned from a well for the good order and government of a country.' What a well is to those in its neighbourhood, and indeed to men in general, that is government to a people. If rulers would only rightly appreciate the principles of government handed down from the good ages of the past, and faithfully apply them to the regulation of the present, they would be blessed themselves and their people with them.

In the Thwan we have the well, substantially the same through many changes of society; a sure source of dependance to men, for their refreshment and for use in their cultivation of the ground. Its form is what I have seen in the plains of northern China; what may be seen among ourselves in many places in Europe. It is deep, and the water is drawn up by a vessel let down from the top; and the value of the well depends on the water being actually raised. And so the principles of government must be actually carried out.

Line 1, being weak, and at the very bottom of the figure, suggests, or is made to suggest, the symbolism of it. Many men in authority are like such a well; corrupt, useless, unregarded.

Line 2 is strong, and might very well symbolise an active spring, ever feeding the well and, through it, the ground and its cultivators; but it is in an inappropriate place, and has no proper correlate.

XLIX. THE KO HEXAGRAM.



(What takes place as indicated by) Ko is believed in only after it has been accomplished. There will be great progress and success. Advantage will come from being firm and correct. (In that case) occasion for repentance will disappear.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject (as if he were) bound with the skin of a yellow ox.

Its cool waters cannot be brought to the top. So important is it that the ministers of a country should be able and willing rightly to administer its government. In the account of the ancient Shun it is stated that he once saved his life by an opening in the lining of a well.

Line 3 is a strong line, in its proper place ; and must represent an able minister or officer. But though the well is clear, no use is made of it. I do not find anything in the figure that can be connected with this fact. The author was wise beyond his lines. After the first sentence of the paragraph, the duke of Kâu ceases from his function of making emblems ; reflects and moralises.

Line 4 is weak, but in its proper place. Its subject is not to be condemned, but neither is he to be praised. He takes care of himself, but does nothing for others.

Line 5 is strong, and in its right place. The place is that of the ruler, and suggests the well, full of clear water, which is drawn up, and performs its useful work. Such is the good Head of government to his people.

Line 6 is in its proper place, but weak. If the general idea of the figure was different, a bad auspice might be drawn from it. But here we see in it the symbol of the water drawn up, and the top uncovered so that the use of the well is free to all. Then the mention of 'sincerity' suggests the inexhaustibleness of the elemental supply.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject making his changes after some time has passed. Action taken will be fortunate. There will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows that action taken by its subject will be evil. Though he be firm and correct, his position is perilous. If the change (he contemplates) have been three times fully discussed, he will be believed in.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows occasion for repentance disappearing (from its subject). Let him be believed in; and though he change (existing) ordinances, there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the great man (producing his changes) as the tiger (does when he) changes (his stripes). Before he divines (and proceeds to action), faith has been reposed in him.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the superior man producing his changes as the leopard (does when he) changes (his spots), while small men change their faces (and show their obedience). To go forward (now) would lead to evil, but there will be good fortune in abiding firm and correct.

XLIX. The character called Ko or Keh is used here in the sense of changing. Originally used for the skin of an animal or bird, alive or dead, it received the significance of changing at a very early time. Its earliest appearance, indeed, in the first Book of the Shû, is in that sense. How the transition was made from the idea of a skin or hide to that of change is a subject that need not be entered on here. The author has before him the subject of changes occurring—called for—in the state of the country; it may be on the greatest scale. The necessity of them is recognised, and hints are

L. THE TING HEXAGRAM.



Ting gives the intimation of great progress and success.

1. The first line, divided, shows the caldron overthrown and its feet turned up. (But) there will be

given as to the spirit and manner in which they should be brought about.

For the way in which the notion of change is brought out of the trigrams of the figure, see Appendixes I and II. It is assumed in the Thwan that change is viewed by people generally with suspicion and dislike, and should not be made hastily. When made as a necessity, and its good effects appear, the issues will be great and good. A proved necessity for them beforehand; and a firm correctness in the conduct of them :—these are the conditions by which changes should be regulated.

Line 1, at the bottom of the figure, may be taken as denoting change made at too early a period. It has no proper correlate or helper, moreover, above. Hence its subject is represented as tied up, unable to take any action.

Line 2, though weak, is in its correct place. It is in the centre also of the trigram Lî, signifying brightness and intelligence, and has a proper correlate in the strong 5. Let its subject take action in the way of change.

The symbolism of paragraph 3 is twofold. The line is strong, and in the correct position, but it has passed the centre of Sun and is on its outward verge. These conditions may dispose its subject to reckless and violent changing which would be bad. But if he act cautiously and with due deliberation, he may take action, and he will be believed in.

Line 4 is strong, but in the place of a weak line. This might vitiate any action of its subject in the way of change, and give occasion for repentance. But other conditions are intimated that

advantage in its getting rid of what was bad in it. (Or it shows us) the concubine (whose position is improved) by means of her son. There will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows the caldron with the things (to be cooked) in it. (If its subject can say), 'My enemy dislikes me, but he cannot approach me,' there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows the caldron with (the places of) its ears changed. The progress (of its subject) is (thus) stopped. The fat flesh of the pheasant (which is in the caldron) will not be eaten. But the (genial) rain will come, and the grounds for repentance will disappear. There will be good fortune in the end.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the caldron with its feet broken; and its contents, designed for the ruler's use, overturned and spilt. Its subject will be made to blush for shame. There will be evil.

will have a contrary effect; and if he have further secured general confidence, he may proceed to the greatest changes, even to change the dynasty,—'with good fortune.' The conditions favourable to his action are said to be such as these:—The line has passed from the lower trigram into the upper; water and fire come in it into contact; the fourth place is that of the minister immediately below the ruler's seat. All these considerations demand action from the subject of 4 in harmony with the idea of the hexagram.

Line 5 has every quality proper to 'the lord of the hexagram,' and his action will be in every way beneficial. He is symbolised by the tiger; and the changes which he makes by the bright stripes of the tiger when he has changed his coat.

Line 6 is weak, but its subject is penetrated with the spirit of the hexagram. If its subject be a superior man, only inferior to 'the great man,' immediately below, the changes he makes will be inferior only to his. If he be a small man, he will be compliant and submissive. The lesson for him, however, is to abide firm and correct without taking any action of his own.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows the caldron with yellow ears and rings of metal in them. There will be advantage through being firm and correct.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the caldron with rings of jade. There will be great good fortune, and all action taken will be in every way advantageous.

L. Ting was originally a pictorial character, representing a caldron with three feet and two ears, used for cooking and preparing food for the table (the mat in old times) and the altar. The picture has disappeared from the character, but it is said that in the hexagram we have an outline from which fancy may construct the vessel. The lower line, divided, represents its feet; lines 2, 3, 4, all undivided, represent the body of it; line 5, divided, represents its two ears; and line 6, undivided, the handle by which it was carried, or suspended from a hook. Appendix VI makes Ting follow Ko in the order of the hexagrams, because there is no changer of the appearance and character of things equal to the furnace and caldron!

Ting and Bing (48) are the only two hexagrams named from things in ordinary use with men; and they are both descriptive of the government's work of nourishing. There are three hexagrams of which that is the theme, $\hat{I}$ (27), under which we are told in Appendix I that 'the sages nourished men of worth, by means of them to reach to the myriads of the people.' Bing treats of the nourishment of the people generally by the government through its agricultural and other methods; Ting treats of the nourishment of men of talents and virtue; and that being understood, it is said, without more ado, that it 'intimates great progress and success.' The Text that follows, however, is more difficult to interpret than that of Bing.

Line 1 is weak, and little or nothing can be expected from its subject. But it has a proper correlate in the strong 4; and the disastrous overthrow, causing the feet to be directed towards 4, is understood to be lucky, as accelerating the co-operation of their two lines! The overturned caldron is thereby emptied of bad stuff that had accumulated in it!! The writer uses another illustration, which comes to the same thing. A concubine is less honourable than a wife,—like the overthrown caldron. But if she have a son,

LI. THE K'ÄN HEXAGRAM.



K'än gives the intimation of ease and development. When (the time of) movement (which it indicates) comes, (the subject of the hexagram) will be found looking out with apprehension, and yet

while the proper wife has none, he will be his father's heir, and the mother, the concubine, will share in the honour of his position. Thus the issue of what was so unpromising is good. At least 'there is no mistake.' The above is what is found in the best commentaries on the paragraph. I give it, but am myself dissatisfied with it.

Line 2 is strong. 'The enemy' is the first line, which solicits 1. One, however, is able to resist the solicitation; and the whole paragraph gives a good auspice. The personal pronoun seems to show that the whole was, or was intended to be, understood as an oracular response in divination. This paragraph is rhymed, moreover, as are also 1, 3, and 4 :—

'In the caldron is good fare,
See my foe with angry glare;
But touch me he does not dare.'

Line 3 is also strong, and in the proper place; and if its correlate were the divided 5, its auspice would be entirely good. But instead of 5, its correlate is the strong 6. The place of the ears at 5 has been changed. Things promise badly. The advance of 3 is stopped. The good meat in the caldron which it symbolises will not be eaten. But 3 keeping firm 5 will by and by seek its society! The yin and the yang will mingle, and their union will be followed by genial rain. The issue will be good.

Line 4 is in the place of a great minister, who is charged with the most difficult duties, which no single man can sustain. Then the strength of 4 is weakened by being in an even place, and its correlate is the weak 1 in the lowest place. Its subject is insufficient of

smiling and talking cheerfully. When the movement (like a crash of thunder) terrifies all within a hundred li, he will be (like the sincere worshipper) who is not (startled into) letting go his ladle and (cup of) sacrificial spirits.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject, when the movement approaches, looking out and around with apprehension, and afterwards smiling and talking cheerfully. There will be good fortune.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject, when the movement approaches, in a position of peril. He judges it better to let go the articles (in his possession), and to ascend a very lofty height. There is no occasion for him to pursue after (the things he has let go); in seven days he will find them.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject distraught amid the startling movements going on. If those movements excite him to (right) action, there will be no mistake.

himself for his work, and he has no sufficient help; and the result will be evil.

'Paragraph 5,' says the Daily Lecture, 'praises the ruler as condescending to the worthy with his humble virtue.' 'Yellow' has occurred repeatedly as 'a correct colour;' and here 'the yellow ears and strong rings of metal' are intended to intensify our appreciation of the occupant of 5. As the line is divided, a caution is added about being firm and correct.

Line 6 is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place. It is this which makes the handle to be of jade, which, though very hard, is supposed to have a peculiar and rich softness of its own. The auspice of the line is very good. 'The great minister,' it is said, 'the subject of 6,' performs for the ruler, the subject of 5, in helping his government and nourishing the worthy, the part which the handle does for the caldron.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject, amid the startling movements, supinely sinking (deeper) in the mud.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject going and coming amidst the startling movements (of the time), and always in peril; but perhaps he will not incur loss, and find business (which he can accomplish).

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject, amidst the startling movements (of the time), in breathless dismay and looking round him with trembling apprehension. If he take action, there will be evil. If, while the startling movements have not reached his own person and his neighbourhood, (he were to take precautions), there would be no error, though his relatives might (still) speak against him.

II. *K'ăn* among the trigrams represents thunder, and, according to Wân's arrangement and significance of them, 'the oldest son.' It is a phonetic character in which the significant constituent is *Yü*, meaning rain, and with which are formed most characters that denote atmospherical phenomena. The hexagram is formed of the trigram *K'ăn* redoubled, and may be taken as representing the crash or peal of thunder; but we have seen that the attribute or virtue of the trigram is 'moving, exciting power;' and thence, symbolically, the character is indicative of movement taking place in society or in the kingdom. This is the meaning of the hexagram; and the subject is the conduct to be pursued in a time of movement—such as insurrection or revolution—by the party promoting, and most interested in, the situation. It is shown how he ought to be aware of the dangers of the time, and how by precaution and the regulation of himself he may overcome them.

The indication of a successful issue given by the figure is supposed to be given by the undivided line at the bottom of the trigram. The subject of it must be superior to the subjects of the two divided lines above. It is in the idea of the hexagram that he should be moving and advancing;—and what can his movement be but successful?

LII. THE KǎN HEXAGRAM.



When one's resting is like that of the back, and he loses all consciousness of self; when he walks

The next sentence shows him sensible of the danger of the occasion, but confident and self-possessed. The concluding sentence shows him rapt in his own important affairs, like a sincere worshipper, thinking only of the service in which he is engaged. Such a symbol is said to be suggested by Wǎn's significance of Kǎn as 'the oldest son (page 33).' It is his to succeed to his father, and the hexagram, as following Ting, shows him presiding over the sacrifices that have been prepared in the caldron. This is too fanciful.

What is said on line 1 is little more than a repetition of the principal part of the Thwan. The line is undivided, and gives the auspice of good fortune.

'The position of peril' to the subject of line 2 is suggested, as Appendix II says, by its position, immediately above 1. But the rest of the symbolism is obscure, and K'ü Hsi says he does not understand it. The common interpretation appears in the version. The subject of the line does what he can to get out of danger; and finally, as is signified by the central position of the line, the issue is better than could have been expected. On the specification of 'seven days,' see what is said in the treatise on the Thwan of hexagram 24. On its use here K'ǎng-ze says:—'The places of a diagram amount to 6. The number 7 is the first of another. When the movement symbolised by Kǎn is gone by, things will be as they were before.'

Line 3 is divided, and where an undivided line should be; but if its subject move on to the fourth place, which would be right for him, the issue will not be bad.

The 4th line, however, has a bad auspice of its own. It is undivided in an even place, and it is pressed by the divided line on

in his courtyard, and does not see any (of the persons) in it,—there will be no error.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject keeping his toes at rest. There will be no error; but it will be advantageous for him to be persistently firm and correct.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject keeping the calves of his legs at rest. He cannot help (the subject of the line above) whom he follows, and is dissatisfied in his mind.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject keeping his loins at rest, and separating the ribs (from the body below). The situation is perilous, and the heart glows with suppressed excitement.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject keeping his trunk at rest. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject keeping his jawbones at rest, so that his words are (all) orderly. Occasion for repentance will disappear.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows its subject

either side, hence its subject is represented as supinely sinking in the mud.

Line 5 is divided, in an odd place, and that in which the action of the hexagram may be supposed to be concentrated. Hence its subject is always in peril; but his central position indicates safety in the end.

Line 6 is weak, and has to abide the concluding terrors of the movement. Action on the part of its subject is sure to be evil. If, however, he were to take precautions, he might escape with only the censures of his relatives. But I do not see anything in the figure to indicate this final symbolism. The writer, probably, had a case in his mind, which it suited; but what that was we do not know.

devotedly maintaining his restfulness. There will be good fortune.

LII. The trigram K'ān represents a mountain. Mountains rise up grandly from the surface of the earth, and their masses rest on it in quiet and solemn majesty; and they serve also to arrest the onward progress of the traveller. Hence the attribute ascribed to K'ān is twofold; it is both active and passive—resting and arresting. The character is used in this hexagram with both of those significations. As the name of the figure, it denotes the mental characteristic of resting in what is right; especially resting, as it is expressed by Chinese critics, 'in principle,'—that which is right, on the widest scale, and in the absolute conception of the mind; and that which is right in every different position in which a man can be placed. We find this treated of in the Great Learning (Commentary, chapter 3), and in the Doctrine of the Mean, chapter 14, and other places. This is the theme of the hexagram; and the symbolism of it is all taken from different parts of the human body, as in hexagram 31, and the way in which they are dealt with. Several of the paragraphs are certainly not easy to translate and interpret.

The other parts of the body, such as the mouth, eyes, and ears, have their appetencies, which lead them to what is without themselves. The back alone has nothing to do with anything beyond itself—hardly with itself even; all that it has to do is to stand straight and strong. So should it be with us, resting in principle, free from the intrusion of selfish thoughts and external objects. Amidst society, he who realises the idea of the hexagram is still alone, and does not allow himself to be distracted from the contemplation and following of principle. He is not a recluse, however, who keeps aloof from social life; but his distinction is that he maintains a supreme regard to principle, when alone, and when mingling with others.

In the symbolism the author rises from one part of the body to the other. The first line at the bottom of the figure fitly suggests 'the toes.' The lesson is that from the first men should rest in, and be anxious to do, what is right in all their affairs. The weakness of the line and its being in an odd place give occasion for the caution, with which the paragraph concludes.

Above the toes are the calves, represented by the second line, weak, but in its proper place. Above this, again, are the loins, represented by 3, strong, and in danger of being violent. Line 2

LIII. THE KIEN HEXAGRAM.



Kien suggests to us the marriage of a young lady, and the good fortune (attending it). There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, shows the wild geese gradually approaching the shore. A young officer (in similar circumstances) will be in a position of danger, and be spoken against; but there will be no error.

follows 3, and should help it; but is unable to do so; and there results dissatisfaction.

When the calves are kept at rest, advance is stopped, but no other harm ensues. Not so when the loins are kept at rest, and unable to bend, for the connexion between the upper and lower parts of the body is then broken. The dissatisfaction increases to an angry heat. Paragraph 3 is unusually difficult. For 'loins' P. Regis has *scapulae*, and for ribs *renes*; Canon McClatchie says:—'Third Nine is stopping at a limit, and separating what is in continued succession (i. e. the backbone); thus the mind,' &c.

Line 4 is a weak line resting in a proper place; hence it gives a good auspice. The Khang-hsi editors, however, call attention to the resting of the trunk as being inferior to the resting of the back in the Thwan.

The place of the weak fifth line is not proper for it; and this accounts for the mention of its subject 'repenting,' for which, however, there is not occasion.

The third line of the trigrams, and the sixth of the hexagram, is what makes *K'ien* what it is,—the symbol of a mountain. The subject of it therefore will carry out the resting required by the whole figure in the highest style.

2. The second line, divided, shows the geese gradually approaching the large rocks, where they eat and drink joyfully and at ease. There will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows them gradually advanced to the dry plains. (It suggests also the idea of) a husband who goes on an expedition from which he does not return, and of a wife who is pregnant, but will not nourish her child. There will be evil. (The case symbolised) might be advantageous in resisting plunderers.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the trees. They may light on the flat branches. There will be no error.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the high mound. (It suggests the idea of) a wife who for three years does not become pregnant; but in the end the natural issue cannot be prevented. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the large heights (beyond). Their feathers can be used as ornaments. There will be good fortune.

LIII. *Kien* is ordinarily used in the sense of gradually; but there is connected with that the idea also of progress or advance. The element of meaning in the character is the symbol of water; and the whole of it denotes gradual advance, like the soaking in of water. Three hexagrams contain in them the idea of advance,—*Bin* (35), *Shăng* (46), and this *Kien*; but each has its peculiarity of meaning, and that of *Kien* is the gradual manner in which the advance takes place. The subject then of the hexagram is the advance of men to offices in the state, how it should take place gradually and by successive steps, as well as on certain other

LIV. THE KWEI MEI HEXAGRAM.



Kwei Mei indicates that (under the conditions which it denotes) action will be evil, and in no wise advantageous.

conditions that may be gathered from the Text. P. Regis gives this exposition of the subject, as taken by him from the symbolism, which he ascribes to Confucius :—‘*Viri probi, seu republica digni, in virtutis soliditate instituendi sunt a sapiente, bonisque regulis ut altis radicibus firmandi, nec alii ad rempublicam tractandam promovendi, nisi qui paulatim per varios minoresque gradus ad magnum hoc regimen periculo facto ascendere digni sint.*’ He then illustrates this sentiment by the words of Pliny :—‘*Eligetur multis experimentis eruditus, et qui futura possit ex praeeritis praevidere.*’

But how does the lineal figure give the idea of a gradual advance? We shall see how it is attempted in the Great Symbolism to get this from the component trigrams. The account there is not satisfactory ; and still less so is what else I have been able to find on the subject. E.g., the trigrams were originally Khwăn and K’hien ; but the third line of Khwăn and the first of K’hien have changed places ; and the trigrams now denote ‘the youngest son,’ and ‘the eldest daughter.’ If all this, which is a mere farrago, were admitted, it would not help us to the idea of an advance.

Again, the lines 2, 3, 4, 5 are all in the places proper to them as strong or weak ; we ascend by them as by regular steps to the top of the hexagram ; and this, it is said, gives the notion of the gradual steps of the advance. But neither does this carry conviction with it to the mind. We must leave the question. King Wăn, for reasons which we cannot discover, or without such reasons, determined that the hexagram K’ien should denote the gradual advance of men to positions of influence and office.

The marriage of a young lady is mentioned in the Thwan as an illustration of an important event taking place with various

1. The first line, undivided, shows the younger sister married off in a position ancillary to the real wife. (It suggests the idea of) a person lame on

preliminary steps, continued from its initiation to its consummation. But all must be done in an orderly and correct manner. And so must it be with the rise of a man in the service of the state.

The goose from the most ancient times played an important part in the marriage ceremonies of the Chinese; and this may have suggested the use of it in the symbolism of the different lines. Its habits as a bird of passage, and flying in processional order, admirably suited the writer's purpose. In paragraph 1 it appears for the first time in the season approaching the shore. Then comes the real subject of the line; and the facts of its being weak, and without a proper correlate, agree with, if they do not suggest, what is said about him, and the caution added.

The geese have advanced in line 2, and so has the officer, though he is not mentioned. The line is weak or humble, and central, and has a proper correlate in 5. Hence comes the good auspice.

Line 3 is strong, and has passed the central place, to the top of the lower trigram, and has not a proper correlate in 6. Its subject is likely to be violent and at the same time unsuccessful in his movements. He is like a husband who does not care for his wife, or a wife who does not care for her child. But in the case supposed, his strength in the end would be useful.

The web-footed goose is not suited for taking hold on the branches; but on flat branches it can rest. Line 4, weak, but in an even place, does not promise a good auspice for its subject; but it is the first line in the trigram of humility, and it is concluded that he will not fall into error.

Line 5 is a strong line in the ruler's seat; and yet it appears here as the symbol of a wife. Somehow its subject has been at variance with, and kept in disgrace by, calumniating enemies such as the plunderers of paragraph 3; but things come right in the end. The wife, childless for three years, becomes at last a mother; and there is good fortune.

The subject of line 6 has reached the top of the hexagram. There is no more advance for him; and he has no correlate. But he may still do some good work for the state, and verify the auspice derived from the ornamental plumes of the geese.

one leg who yet manages to tramp along. Going forward will be fortunate.

2. The second line, undivided, shows her blind of one eye, and yet able to see. There will be advantage in her maintaining the firm correctness of a solitary widow.

3. The third line, divided, shows the younger sister who was to be married off in a mean position. She returns and accepts an ancillary position.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the younger sister who is to be married off protracting the time. She may be late in being married, but the time will come.

5. The fifth line, divided, reminds us of the marrying of the younger sister of (king) Tt-yŭ, when the sleeves of her the princess were not equal to those of the (still) younger sister who accompanied her in an inferior capacity. (The case suggests the thought of) the moon almost full. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows the young lady bearing the basket, but without anything in it, and the gentleman slaughtering the sheep, but without blood flowing from it. There will be no advantage in any way.

LIV. Mei Kwei is a common way of saying that a young lady is married, or, literally, 'is going home.' If the order of the characters be reversed, the verb kwei will be transitive, and the phrase will signify 'the marrying away of a daughter,' or 'the giving the young lady in marriage.' In the name of this hexagram, Kwei is used with this transitive force. But Mei means 'a younger sister,' and not merely a young lady or a daughter. Kwei Mei might be equivalent to our 'giving in marriage;' but we shall find

LV. THE FǎNG HEXAGRAM.



Fǎng intimates progress and development. When a king has reached the point (which the name denotes)

that the special term has a special appropriateness. The Thwan makes the hexagram give a bad auspice concerning its subject; and for this the following reasons are given:—According to Wǎn's symbolism of the trigrams, Tui, the lower trigram here, denotes the youngest daughter, and Kǎn, the upper trigram, the oldest son. And as the action of the hexagram begins with that of the lower trigram, we have in the figure two violations of propriety. First, the marriage represented is initiated by the lady and her friends. She goes to her future home instead of the bridegroom coming to fetch her. Second, the parties are unequally matched. There ought not to be such disparity of age between them. Another reason assigned for the bad auspice is that lines 2, 3, 4, and 5 are all in places not suited to them, quite different from the corresponding lines in the preceding hexagram.

Is then such a marriage as the above, or marriage in general, the theme of the hexagram? I think not. The marriage comes in, as in the preceding essay, by way of illustration. With all the abuses belonging to it as an institution of his country, as will immediately appear, the writer acknowledged it without saying a word in deprecation or correction of those abuses; but from the case he selected he wanted to set forth some principles which should obtain in the relation between a ruler and his ministers. This view is insisted on in Wan K'ing's 'New Collection of Comments on the Yî (A. D. 1686).'

A feudal prince was said to marry nine ladies at once. The principal of them was the bride who was to be the proper wife, and she was attended by two others, virgins from her father's harem; a cousin, and a half-sister, a daughter of her father by another mother of inferior rank. Under line 1 the younger sister

there is no occasion to be anxious (through fear of a change). Let him be as the sun at noon.

of the hexagram appears in the inferior position of this half-sister. But the line is strong, indicative in a female of firm virtue. The mean condition and its duties are to be deplored, and give the auspice of lameness; but notwithstanding, the secondary wife will in a measure discharge her service. There will be good fortune. Notwithstanding apparent disadvantages, an able officer may do his ruler good service.

Line 2 is strong, and in the centre. The proper correlate is 5, which, however, is weak, and in the place of a strong line. With such a correlate, the able lady in 2 cannot do much in the discharge of her proper work. But if she think only of her husband, like the widow who will die rather than marry again, such devotion will have its effect and its reward. Though blind of one eye, she yet manages to see. And so devoted loyalty in an officer will compensate for many disadvantages.

Line 3 is weak, where it should be strong; and the attribute of pleased satisfaction belonging to Tui culminates in its subject. She turns out to be of so mean a character and such a slave of passion that no one will marry her. She returns and accepts the position of a concubine.

Line 4 is strong, where it should be weak; but in the case of a female the indication is not bad. The subject of the line, however, is in no haste. She waits, and the good time will come.

King Tî-yî has been already mentioned under the fifth line of hexagram 11, and in connexion with some regulation which he made about the marriage of daughters of the royal house. His sister here is honourably mentioned, so as to suggest that the adorning which she preferred was 'the ornament of the hidden man of the heart.' The comparison of her to 'the moon almost full' I am ready to hail as an instance where the duke of K'au is for once poetical. K'äng-ze, however, did not see poetry, but a symbol in it. 'The moon is not full,' he says, 'but only nearly full. A wife ought not to eclipse her husband!' However, the sister of Tî-yî gets happily married, as she deserved to do, being represented by the line in the place of honour, having its proper correlate in 2.

Line 6 is weak, at the top of the hexagram, and without a proper correlate. Hence its auspice is evil. The marriage-contract is broken, according to K'ü Hsî, and does not take effect. The

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject meeting with his mate. Though they are both of the same character, there will be no error. Advance will call forth approval.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject surrounded by screens so large and thick that at midday he can see from them the constellation of the Bushel. If he go (and try to enlighten his ruler who is thus emblemed), he will make himself to be viewed with suspicion and dislike. Let him cherish his feeling of sincere devotion that he may thereby move (his ruler's mind), and there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject with an (additional) screen of a large and thick banner, through which at midday he can see (the small) Mei star. (In the darkness) he breaks his right arm; but there will be no error.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject in a tent so large and thick that at midday he can see from it the constellation of the Bushel. But he meets with the subject of the (first) line, undivided like himself. There will be good fortune.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject bringing around him the men of brilliant ability. There will be occasion for congratulation and praise. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject

parties mentioned in the paragraph appear engaged in the temple, offering or sacrificing to the spirits of their ancestors. But the woman's basket which should contain her offerings (The Shih, I, ii, ode 4) is empty, and the man attempts to perform his part in slaying the victim (The Shih, II, vi, ode 6. 5) without effect.

with his house made large, but only serving as a screen to his household. When he looks at his door, it is still, and there is nobody about it. For three years no one is to be seen. There will be evil.

LV. The character Fǎng is the symbol of being large and abundant, and, as the name of this hexagram, denotes a condition of abundant prosperity. In the changes of human affairs a condition of prosperity has often given place to one of an opposite character. The lesson of the hexagram is to show to rulers how they may preserve the prosperity of their state and people. The component trigrams have the attributes of intelligence and of motive force, and the second is under the direction of the first. A ruler with these attributes is not likely to fail in maintaining his crown and prosperity, and it may well be said that the figure intimates progress and development. The king is told not to be anxious, but to study how he may always be like the sun in his meridian height, cheering and enlightening all.

The explanation of the Thwan is thus natural and easy. It will be found that a change is introduced in explaining the symbolism of the lines, which it is as well to point out here. Thus far we have found that to constitute a proper correlation between two lines, one of them must be whole, and the other divided. Here two undivided lines make a correlation. The law, evidently made for the occasion, goes far to upset altogether the doctrine of correlated lines. I have been surprised that the rules about the lines stated in the Introduction, pp. 15, 16, have held good so often. There have been various deviations from them, but none so gross as that in this hexagram.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. Its correlate is 4, which would in other figures be deemed unfortunate. But here even the Text calls 4 (for the reference must be to it) the mate of 1, and makes their belonging to different categories of no account. The lesson taught is that mutual helpfulness is the great instrument for the maintenance of prosperity. The subject of line 1 is encouraged to go forward.

Line 2 is divided, and in its proper place. Occupying the centre of the trigram of brightness, the intelligence of it should be concentrated in its subject; but his correlate is the weak 5, weak and in an improper place, so that he becomes the benighted ruler, and darkness is shed from him down on 2, which is strangely symbolised.

LVI. THE LÜ HEXAGRAM.



Lü intimates that (in the condition which it denotes) there may be some little attainment and progress. If the stranger or traveller be firm and correct as he ought to be, there will be good fortune.

1. The first line, divided, shows the stranger mean and meanly occupied. It is thus that he brings on himself (further) calamity.

The subject of 2 therefore, if he advance, will not be acceptable to his ruler, and will not be employed. The only way in which he can be useful by developing the light that is in him is pointed out in the conclusion. The constellation of the Bushel corresponds to our Ursa Major, or perhaps part of Sagittarius.

Line 3 is strong, in its proper place. It is the last line moreover of the trigram of Brightness. All these conditions are favourable to the employment of its subject; but its correlate is the weak 6, which is at the extremity of the trigram of movement. There is no more power therefore in 6, and the subject of 3 has no one to co-operate with him. His symbolism and auspice are worse than those of 2; but his own proper goodness and capacity will save him from error. Mei is a small star in or near the Bushel.

The symbolism of line 4 is the same as that of 2, till we come to the last sentence. Then there is the strange correlation of the two strong lines in 4 and 1; and the issue is good.

The subject of line 5 is in the ruler's place, himself weak, but 'the lord' of the trigram of movement. He can do little unhelped, but if he can bring into the work and employ in his service the talents of 1, 3, and 4, and even of 2, his correlate, the results will be admirable. Nothing consolidates the prosperity of a country so much as the co-operation of the ruler and able ministers.

All the conditions of line 6 are unfavourable, and its subject is left to himself without any helpers. He is isolated for long, and undone. The issue is only evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows the stranger, occupying his lodging-house, carrying with him his means of livelihood, and provided with good and trusty servants.

3. The third line, undivided, shows the stranger, burning his lodging-house, and having lost his servants. However firm and correct he (try to) be, he will be in peril.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows the traveller in a resting-place, having (also) the means of livelihood and the axe, (but still saying), 'I am not at ease in my mind.'

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject shooting a pheasant. He will lose his arrow, but in the end he will obtain praise and a (high) charge.

6. The sixth line, undivided, suggests the idea of a bird burning its nest. The stranger, (thus represented), first laughs and then cries out. He has lost his ox(-like docility) too readily and easily. There will be evil.

LVI. The name Lû denotes people travelling abroad, and is often translated by 'strangers.' As early as the time of king Wăn, there was a class of men who went about from one state to another, pursuing their business as pedlars or travelling merchants; but in Mencius II, i, chap. 5. 3, it is used for travellers generally, whatever it was that took them out of their own states. Confucius himself is adduced as a travelling stranger; and in this hexagram king Wăn is supposed to have addressed himself to the class of such men, and told them how they ought to comport themselves. They ought to cultivate two qualities,—those of humility and integrity (firm correctness). By means of these they would escape harm, and would make some little attainment and progress. Their rank was too low to speak of great things in connexion with them. It is interesting to find travellers, strangers in a strange land, having thus a place in the Yî.

For the manner in which the component trigrams are supposed

LVII. THE SUN HEXAGRAM.



Sun intimates that (under the conditions which it denotes) there will be some little attainment and progress. There will be advantage in movement

to give the idea that is in Lü, see Appendix II. In Appendix I there is an endeavour to explain the Thwan by means of the lines and their relation to one another.

Line 1 is weak, in an odd place, and at the very bottom or commencement of the hexagram. These conditions are supposed to account for the unfavourable symbolism and auspice.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place. That place, moreover, is the central. Hence the traveller—and he might here very well be a travelling merchant—is represented in the symbolism as provided with everything he can require; and though the auspice is not mentioned, we must understand it as being good.

Line 3 is strong, and in an even place. But it occupies the topmost place in the lower trigram; and its strength may be expected to appear as violence. So it does in the symbolism, and extraordinary violence as well. It seems unreasonable to suppose, as in the conclusion, that one so described could be in any way correct. The Khang-hsi editors remark that the subjects of 2 and 3 are represented as having 'lodging-houses,' and not any of those of the other lines, because these are the only two lines in the places proper to them!

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place. Hence its subject has not 'a lodging-house;' but has found a situation where he has shelter, though he is exposed to perils. Hence he is represented as having an axe, which may be available for defence. Still he is not at peace in his mind. The Khang-hsi editors observe well that the mention of an axe makes us think of caution as a quality desirable in a traveller.

Line 5, though weak, is in the centre of the upper trigram, which

onward in whatever direction. It will be advantageous (also) to see the great man.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject (now) advancing, (now) receding. It would be advantageous for him to have the firm correctness of a brave soldier.

2. The second line, undivided, shows the representative of Sun beneath a couch, and employing diviners and exorcists in a way bordering on confusion. There will be good fortune and no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject penetrating (only) by violent and repeated efforts. There will be occasion for regret.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows all occasion for repentance (in its subject) passed away. He takes game for its threefold use in his hunting.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune (to its

has the quality of brightness and elegance. It is held to be the lord of the trigram Li; and lines 4 and 6 are on either side in loyal duty to defend and help. Then the shooting a pheasant is supposed to be suggested; an elegant bird,—by the trigram of elegance. When an officer was travelling abroad in ancient times, his gift of introduction at any feudal court was a pheasant. The traveller here emblemized is praised by his attached friends, and exalted to a place of dignity by the ruler to whom he is acceptable. It will be seen how the idea of the fifth line being the ruler's seat is dropt here as being alien from the idea of the hexagram, so arbitrary is the interpretation of the symbolism.

Line 6 is strong, in an even place, at the extremity of Li and of the whole hexagram. Its subject will be arrogant and violent; the opposite of what a traveller should be; and the issue will be evil. The symbolism must be allowed to be extravagant. What bird ever burned its nest? And the character for 'ox' is strangely used for 'ox-like docility.'

subject). All occasion for repentance will disappear, and all his movements will be advantageous. There may have been no (good) beginning, but there will be a (good) end. Three days before making any changes, (let him give notice of them); and three days after, (let him reconsider them). There will (thus) be good fortune.

6. The sixth line, undivided, shows the representative of penetration beneath a couch, and having lost the axe with which he executed his decisions. However firm and correct he may (try to) be, there will be evil.

LVII. With Sun as the fifth of the Fû-hsi trigrams we have become familiar. It symbolises both wind and wood; and has the attributes of flexibility (nearly allied to docility) and penetration. In this hexagram we are to think of it as representing wind with its penetrating power, finding its way into every corner and cranny.

Confucius once said (Analects 12. 19):—‘The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows upon it.’ In accordance with this, the subject of the hexagram must be understood as the influence and orders of government designed to remedy what is wrong in the people. The ‘Daily Lecture’ says that the upper trigram denotes the orders issuing from the ruler, and the lower the obedience rendered to them by the people; but this view is hardly borne out by the Text.

But how is it that the figure represents merely ‘some little attainment?’ This is generally explained by taking the first line of the trigram as indicating what the subject of it can do. But over the weak first line are two strong lines, so that its subject can accomplish but little. The Khang-hsi editors, rejecting this view, contend that, the idea of the whole figure being penetration, line 1, the symbol of weakness and what is bad, will not be able to offer much resistance to the subjects of the other lines, which will enter and dispel its influence. They illustrate this from processes of nature, education, and politics; the effect they say is described as small, because the process is not to revolutionise or renew, but only to

LVIII. THE TUI HEXAGRAM.



Tui intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and attainment. (But) it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

correct and improve. Such as it is, however, it requires the operation of the strong and virtuous, 'the great man.' Even all this criticism is not entirely satisfactory.

Line 1 is weak, where it should be strong. The movements of its subject are expressive of perplexity. He wants vigour and decision.

Line 2 is strong, and in the right place, and has a good auspice. Things are placed or hidden beneath a couch or bed; and the subject of the line appears as searching for them. He calls in divination to assist his judgment, and exorcists to expel for him what is bad. The work is great and difficult, so that he appears almost distracted by it; but the issue is good. For this successful explanation of the line, I am indebted to the Khang-hsi editors. The writer of the Text believed of course in divination and exorcism; which was his misfortune rather than his fault or folly.

Line 3 is in the right place for a strong line. But its position at the top of the lower trigram is supposed to indicate the restlessness, and here the vehemence, of its subject. And 6 is no proper correlate. All the striving is ineffective, and there is occasion for regret.

Line 4 is weak, as is its correlate in 1. But 4 is a proper place for a weak line, and it rests under the shadow of the strong and central 5. Hence the omens of evil are counteracted; and a good auspice is obtained. The game caught in hunting was divided into three portions:—the first for use in sacrifices; the second for the entertainment of visitors; and the third for the kitchen generally. A hunt which yielded enough for all these purposes was deemed very successful.

On line 5 *K'ang-ze* says:—'It is the seat of honour, and the

1. The first line, undivided, shows the pleasure of (inward) harmony. There will be good fortune.
2. The second line, undivided, shows the pleasure arising from (inward) sincerity. There will be good fortune. Occasion for repentance will disappear.
3. The third line, divided, shows its subject bringing round himself whatever can give pleasure. There will be evil.
4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject deliberating about what to seek his pleasure in, and not at rest. He borders on what would be injurious, but there will be cause for joy.
5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject trusting in one who would injure him. The situation is perilous.
6. The topmost line, divided, shows the pleasure of its subject in leading and attracting others.

place for the lord of Sun, from whom there issue all charges and commands. It is central and correct; we must find in its subject the qualities denoted by Sun in their greatest excellence. But those qualities are docility and accordance with what is right; and the advantage of firm correctness is insisted on. With this all will be right.' With the concluding sentence compare the conclusion of the Thwan of hexagram 18.

The evil that paragraph 6 concludes with would arise from the quality of Sun being carried to excess. I have followed the Khang-hsi editors in adopting a change of one character in the received Text.

LVIII. The trigram Tui symbolises water as collected in a marsh or lake; and its attribute or virtue is pleasure or complacent satisfaction. It is a matter of some difficulty to determine in one's mind how this attribute came to be connected with the trigram. The Khang-hsi editors say:—'When the airs of spring begin to blow, from the collections of water on the earth the moistening vapours rise up (and descend again); so, when the breath of health is vigorous in a man's person, the hue of it is

LIX. THE HWÂN HEXAGRAM.



Hwân intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and success. The king goes to his ancestral temple; and it will be advantageous to

displayed in his complexion. Akin to this is the significance of the hexagram Tui representing a marsh, as denoting pleasure. Although the yin lines give it its special character they owe their power and effect to the yang; so when the qualities of mildness and harmony prevail in a man, without true-heartedness and integrity to control and direct them, they will fail to be correct, and may degenerate into what is evil. Hence it is said that it will be advantageous to be firm and correct!

The feeling then of pleasure is the subject of this hexagram. The above quotation sufficiently explains the concluding characters of the T'hwân; but where is the intimation in Tui of progress and attainments? It is supposed to be in the one weak line surmounting each trigram and supported by the two strong lines. Fancy sees in that mildness and benignity energised by a double portion of strength.

Line 1, strong in the place of strength, with no proper correlate above, is thus confined to itself. But its subject is sufficient for himself. There will be good fortune.

Line 2, by the rule of place, should be weak, but it is strong. Without any proper correlate, and contiguous to the weak 3, the subject of it might be injuriously affected, and there would be cause for repentance. But the sincerity natural in his central position counteracts all this.

The view of the third paragraph that appears in the translation is derived from the Khang-hsi editors. The evil threatened in it would be a consequence of the excessive devotion of its subject to pleasure.

'The bordering on what is injurious' in paragraph 4 has reference to the contiguity of line 4 to the weak 3. That might have

cross the great stream. It will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject engaged in rescuing (from the impending evil) and having (the assistance of) a strong horse. There will be good fortune.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject, amid the dispersion, hurrying to his contrivance (for security). All occasion for repentance will disappear.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject discarding any regard to his own person. There will be no occasion for repentance.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject scattering the (different) parties (in the state); which leads to great good fortune. From the dispersion (he collects again good men standing out, a crowd) like a mound, which is what ordinary men would not have thought of.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject amidst the dispersion issuing his great announcements as the perspiration (flows from his body).

an injurious effect; but the subject of 4 reflects and deliberates before he will yield to the seduction of pleasure, and there is cause for joy.

The danger to the subject of line 5 is from the weak 6 above, in whom he is represented as 'trusting.' Possibly his own strength and sincerity of mind may be perverted into instruments of evil; but possibly, they may operate beneficially.

The symbolism of paragraph 6 is akin to that of 3, though no positive auspice is expressed. The subject of line 3 attracts others round itself for the sake of pleasure; the subject of this leads them to follow himself in quest of it.

He scatters abroad (also) the accumulations in the royal granaries. There will be no error.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject disposing of (what may be called) its bloody wounds, and going and separating himself from its anxious fears. There will be no error.

LIX. Hwân, the name of this hexagram, denotes a state of dissipation or dispersion. It is descriptive primarily of men's minds alienated from what is right and good. This alienation is sure to go on to disorder in the commonwealth; and an attempt is made to show how it should be dealt with and remedied.

The figure is made up of one of the trigrams for water and over it that for wind. Wind moving over water seems to disperse it, and awakes naturally in the beholder the idea of dissipation.

The intimation of progress and success is supposed to be given by the strong lines occupying the central places. The king goes to the ancestral temple, there to meet with the spirits of his ancestors. His filial piety moves them by the sincerity of its manifestation. Those spirits come and are present. Let filial piety—in our language, let sincere religion—rule in men's minds, and there will be no alienation in them from what is right and good or from one another. And if the state of the country demand a great or hazardous enterprise, let it be undertaken. But whatever is done, must be done with due attention to what is right, firmly and correctly.

Line 1, at the commencement of the hexagram, tells us that the evil has not yet made great progress, and that dealing with it will be easy. But the subject of the line is weak, and in an odd place. He cannot cope with the evil himself. He must have help, and he finds that in a strong horse, which description is understood to be symbolical of the subject of the strong second line.

Line 2 is strong, but in an even place. That place is, indeed, the central, but the attribute of the lower trigram Khan is peril. These conditions indicate evil, and action will be dangerous; but the subject of 2 looks to 1 below him, and takes shelter in union with its subject. Since the commentary of *K'hang-ze*, this has been the interpretation of the line.

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place. A regard for himself that would unfit its subject for contributing any service to the work of

LX. THE K'IEH HEXAGRAM.



K'ieh intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and attainment. (But) if the regulations (which it prescribes) be severe and difficult, they cannot be permanent.

I. The first line, undivided, shows its subject not

the hexagram might be feared; but he discards that regard, and will do nothing to be repented of. There is a change of style in the Chinese text at this point. As Wang Shǎn-ze (Yüan dynasty) says:—‘Here and henceforth the scattering is of what should be scattered, that what should not be scattered may be collected.’

Line 4, though weak, is in its correct place, and adjoins the strong 5, which is in the ruler's seat. The subject of 4, therefore, will fitly represent the minister, to whom it belongs to do a great part in remedying the evil of dispersion. And this he does. He brings dissentient partizanship to an end; and not satisfied with that, he collects multitudes of those who had been divided into a great body so that they stand out conspicuous like a hill.

Line 5 gives us the action of the ruler himself;—by his proclamations, and by his benevolence. *K'ü Hsf* and other critics enlarge on the symbolism of the perspiration, which they think much to the point. P. Regis avoids it, translating—‘Ille, magnas leges dissipans, facit ut penetrent(ur?).’ Canon McClatchie has an ingenious and original, so far as my Chinese reading goes, note upon it:—‘As sweat cures fevers, so do proclamations cure rebellions.’ Both of these translators miss the meaning of the other instance of the king's work.

Line 6 is occupied by a strong line, which has a proper correlate in 3; but 3 is at the top of the trigram of peril. The subject of 6 hurries away from association with the subject of it, but does so in the spirit of the hexagram, so that there is no error or blame attaching to him.

quitting the courtyard outside his door. There will be no error.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject not quitting the courtyard inside his gate. There will be evil.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject with no appearance of observing the (proper) regulations, in which case we shall see him lamenting. But there will be no one to blame (but himself).

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject quietly and naturally (attentive to all) regulations. There will be progress and success.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject sweetly and acceptably enacting his regulations. There will be good fortune. The onward progress with them will afford ground for admiration.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject enacting regulations severe and difficult. Even with firmness and correctness there will be evil. But though there will be cause for repentance, it will (by and by) disappear.

LX. The primary application of the character *Kieh* was to denote the joints of the bamboo; it is used also for the joints of the human frame; and for the solar and other terms of the year. Whatever makes regular division may be denominated a *Kieh*; there enter into it the ideas of regulating and restraining; and the subject of this hexagram is the regulations of government enacted for the guidance and control of the people. How the constituent trigrams are supposed to suggest or indicate this meaning will be seen in Appendix II.

K'ü Hsi anticipates that symbolism in trying to account for the statement that the figure gives the promise of success and attainment; but the ground of this is generally made out by referring to the equal division of the undivided and divided lines and our having in 2 and 5, the central places, two undivided lines. An

LXI. THE KUNG FŪ HEXAGRAM.



Kung Fū (moves even) pigs and fish, and leads to good fortune. There will be advantage in cross-

important point concerning 'regulations' is brought out in the conclusion of the *Thwan*,—that they must be adapted to circumstances, and not made too strict and severe.

Line 1 is strong, and in its correct place. Its subject therefore would not be wanting in power to make his way. But he is supposed to be kept in check by the strong 2, and the correlate 4 is the first line in the trigram of peril. The course of wisdom therefore is to keep still. The character here rendered door is that belonging to the inner apartments, leading from the hall into which entrance is found by the outer gate, mentioned under line 2. The courtyard outside the door and that inside the gate is one and the same. The 'Daily Lecture' says that the paragraph tells an officer not to take office rashly, but to exercise a cautious judgment in his measures.

Line 2 is strong, in the wrong place; nor has it a proper correlate. Its subject keeps still, when he ought to be up and doing. There will be evil.

Line 3 should be strong, but it is weak. It is neither central nor correct. It has no proper correlate, and it is the topmost line in the trigram of complacent satisfaction. Its subject will not receive the yoke of regulations; and he will find out his mistake, when it is too late.

Line 4 is weak, as it ought to be, and its subject has respect to the authority of the strong ruler in 5. Hence its good symbolism and auspice.

Line 5 is strong, and in its correct place. Its subject regulates himself, having no correlate; but he is lord of the hexagram, and his influence is everywhere beneficially felt.

ing the great stream. There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first line, undivided, shows its subject resting (in himself). There will be good fortune. If he sought to any other, he would not find rest.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject (like) the crane crying out in her hidden retirement, and her young ones responding to her. (It is as if it were said), 'I have a cup of good spirits,' (and the response were), 'I will partake of it with you.'

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject having met with his mate. Now he beats his drum, and now he leaves off. Now he weeps, and now he sings.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject (like) the moon nearly full, and (like) a horse (in a chariot) whose fellow disappears. There will be no error.

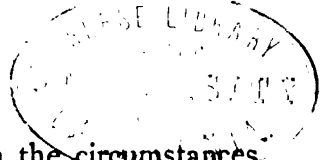
5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject perfectly sincere, and linking (others) to him in closest union. There will be no error.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject in chanticleer (trying to) mount to heaven. Even with firm correctness there will be evil.

Line 6 is weak, in its proper place. The subject of the topmost line must be supposed to possess an exaggerated desire for enacting regulations. They will be too severe, and the effect will be evil. But as Confucius (Analects 3. 3) says, that is not so great a fault as to be easy and remiss. It may be remedied, and cause for repentance will disappear.

LXI. *K'ung Fû*, the name of this hexagram, may be represented in English by 'Inmost Sincerity.' It denotes the highest quality of man, and gives its possessor power so that he prevails with spiritual beings, with other men, and with the lower creatures. It is the

LXII. THE HSIÃO KWO HEXAGRAM.



Hsião Kwo indicates that (in the circumstances which it implies) there will be progress and attain-

subject of the 'Doctrine of the Mean' from the 21st chapter onwards, where Remusat rendered it by 'la perfection,' 'la perfection morale,' and Intorcetta and his coadjutors by 'vera solidaque perfectio.' The lineal figure has suggested to the Chinese commentators, from the author of the first Appendix, two ideas in it which deserve to be pointed out. There are two divided lines in the centre and two undivided below them and above them. The divided lines in the centre are held to represent the heart or mind free from all pre-occupation, without any consciousness of self; and the undivided lines, on each side of it, in the centre of the constituent trigrams are held to denote the solidity of the virtue of one so free from selfishness. There is no unreality in it, not a single flaw.

The 'Daily Lecture' at the conclusion of its paraphrase of the Thwan refers to the history of the ancient Shun, and the wonderful achievements of his virtue. The authors give no instance of the affecting of 'pigs and fishes' by sincerity, and say that these names are symbolical of men, the rudest and most unsusceptible of being acted on. The Text says that the man thus gifted with sincerity will succeed in the most difficult enterprises. Remarkable is the concluding sentence that he must be firm and correct. Here, as elsewhere throughout the Yi, there comes out the practical character which has distinguished the Chinese people and their best teaching all along the line of history.

The translation of paragraph 1 is according to the view approved by the Khang-hsi editors. The ordinary view makes the other to whom the subject of line 1 looks or might look to be the subject of 4; but they contend that, excepting in the case of 3 and 6, the force of correlation should be discarded from the study of this

ment. But it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. (What the name denotes) may be done in small affairs, but not in great affairs. (It is like) the notes that come down from a bird on the wing ;—to descend is better than to ascend. There will (in this way) be great good fortune.

1. The first line, divided, suggests (the idea of) a bird flying, (and ascending) till the issue is evil.

2. The second line, divided, shows its subject passing by his grandfather, and meeting with his

hexagram; for the virtue of sincerity is all centred in itself, thence derived and thereby powerful.

For paragraph 2, see Appendix III, Section i, 42. It is in rhyme, and I have there rendered it in rhyme. The 'young ones of the crane' are represented by line 1. In the third and fourth sentences we have the symbolism of two men brought together by their sympathy in virtue. The subject of the paragraph is the effect of sincerity.

The 'mate' of line 3 is 6. The principle of correlation comes in. Sincerity, not left to itself, is influenced from without, and hence come the changes and uncertainty in the state and moods of the subject of the line.

Line 4 is weak, and in its correct place. The subject of it has discarded the correlate in 1, and hastens on to the confidence of the ruler in 5, being symbolised as the moon nearly full. The other symbol of the horse whose fellow has disappeared has reference to the discarding of the subject of 1. Anciently chariots and carriages were drawn by four horses, two outsides and two insides. Lines 1 and 4 were a pair of these; but 1 disappears here from the team, and 4 goes on and joins 5.

Line 5 is strong and central, in the ruler's place. Its subject must be the sage on the throne, whose sincerity will go forth and bind all in union with himself.

Line 6 should be divided, but is undivided; and coming after 5, what can the subject of it do? His efforts will be ineffectual, and injurious to himself. He is symbolised by a cock—literally, 'the plumaged voice.' But a cock is not fitted to fly high, and in attempting to do so will only suffer hurt.

grandmother ; not attempting anything against his ruler, but meeting him as his minister. There will be no error.

3. The third line, undivided, shows its subject taking no extraordinary precautions against danger ; and some in consequence finding opportunity to assail and injure him. There will be evil.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject falling into no error, but meeting (the exigency of his situation), without exceeding (in his natural course). If he go forward, there will be peril, and he must be cautious. There is no occasion to be using firmness perpetually.

5. The fifth line, divided, (suggests the idea) of dense clouds, but no rain, coming from our borders in the west. It also (shows) the prince shooting his arrow, and taking the bird in a cave.

6. The sixth line, divided, shows its subject not meeting (the exigency of his situation), and exceeding (his proper course). (It suggests the idea of) a bird flying far aloft. There will be evil. The case is what is called one of calamity and self-produced injury.

LXII. The name Hsião Kwo is explained both by reference to the lines of the hexagram, and to the meaning of the characters. The explanation from the lines appears immediately on comparing them with those of Tâ Kwo, the 28th hexagram. There the first and sixth lines are divided, and between are four undivided lines ; here the third and fourth lines are undivided, and outside each of them are two divided lines. The undivided or yang lines are great, the divided or yin lines are called small. In Hsião Kwo the divided or small lines predominate. But this peculiar structure of the figure could be of no interest to the student, if it were not for the meaning of the name, which is 'small excesses' or 'exceeding in what is small.' The author, accepted by us as king Wăn,

LXIII. THE KĪ 3Ī HEXAGRAM.



Kī 3Ī intimates progress and success in small matters. There will be advantage in being firm

had in his mind our distinction of essentials and non-essentials. Is it ever good to deviate from what is recognised as the established course of procedure? The reply is—never in the matter of right ; but in what is conventional and ceremonial—in what is non-essential—the deviation may be made, and will be productive of good. The form may be given up, but not the substance. But the thing must be done very carefully,—humbly and reverently, and in small matters.

The symbolism of the bird is rather obscure. The whole of it is intended to teach humility. It is better for the bird to descend, keeping near to where it can perch and rest, than to hold on ascending into the homeless regions of the air.

Line 1 is weak, in an odd place, and possessed by the ‘idea of exceeding,’ which belongs to the hexagram. Its correlate is the strong 4, belonging to the trigram *K’ān*, the attribute of which is movement. There is nothing to repress the tendency of 1 ; rather it is stimulated ; and hence the symbolism.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place, and in the centre. Its correlate is 5, which is also a weak line. The lines 3 and 4 between them are both strong ; and are supposed to represent the father and grandfather of the subject of 2 ; but he or she goes past them, and meets with the grandmother in 5. Again, 5 is the ruler’s seat. The subject of 2 moves on to him, but not as an enemy ; but humbly and loyally, as his minister according to the attributes of a weak line in the central place. It must be allowed that this view of the symbolism and its interpretation is obscure and strained.

The subject of line 3 is too confident in his own strength, and too defiant of the weak and small enemies that seek his hurt.

and correct. There has been good fortune in the beginning; there may be disorder in the end.

1. The first line, undivided, (shows its subject as a driver) who drags back his wheel, (or as a fox) which has wet his tail. There will be no error.

2. The second line, divided, (shows its subject as) a wife who has lost her (carriage-)screen. There is no occasion to go in pursuit of it. In seven days she will find it.

3. The third line, undivided, (suggests the case of) Kào Jung who attacked the Demon region, but was three years in subduing it. Small men should not be employed (in such enterprises).

Line 4 is also strong, but the exercise of his strength by its subject is tempered by the position in an even place. He is warned, however, to continue quiet and restrain himself.

Line 5, though in the ruler's seat, is weak, and incapable of doing anything great. Its subject is called king or duke because of the ruler's seat; and the one whom in the concluding sentence he is said to capture is supposed to be the subject of 2.

The first part of the symbolism is the same as that of the Thwan under hexagram 9, q. v. I said there that it probably gave a testimony of the merit of the house of Kâu, as deserving the throne rather than the kings of Shang. That was because the Thwan contained the sentiments of Wăn, while he was yet only lord of Kâu. But the symbolism here was the work of the duke of Kâu, after his brother king Wû had obtained the throne. How did the symbolism then occur to him? May we not conclude that at least the hsiang of this hexagram was written during the troubled period of his regency, after the accession of Wû's son, king K'hang?

The Khang-hsi editors find in the concluding symbolism an incentive to humility:—'The duke, leaving birds on the wing, is content to use his arrows against those in a cave!'

Line 6 is weak, and is at the top of the trigram of movement. He is possessed by the idea of the hexagram in an extreme degree, and is incapable of keeping himself under restraint.

4. The fourth line, divided, shows its subject with rags provided against any leak (in his boat), and on his guard all day long.

5. The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject (as) the neighbour in the east who slaughters an ox (for his sacrifice); but this is not equal to the (small) spring sacrifice of the neighbour in the west, whose sincerity receives the blessing.

6. The topmost line, divided, shows its subject with (even) his head immersed. The position is perilous.

LXIII. The character called *Kî* is used as a symbol of being past or completed. *Û* denotes primarily crossing a stream, and has the secondary meaning of helping and completing. The two characters, combined, will express the successful accomplishment of whatever the writer has in his mind. In dealing with this lineal figure, king Wăn was thinking of the condition of the kingdom, at length at rest and quiet. The vessel of the state has been brought safely across the great and dangerous stream. The distresses of the kingdom have been relieved, and its disorders have been repressed. Does anything remain to be done still? Yes, in small things. The new government has to be consolidated. Its ruler must, without noise or clamour, go on to perfect what has been wrought, with firmness and correctness, and ever keeping in mind the instability of all human affairs. That every line of the hexagram is in its correct place, and has its proper correlate is also supposed to harmonize with the intimation of progress and success.

Line 1, the first of the hexagram, represents the time immediately after the successful achievement of the enterprise it denotes;—the time for resting and being quiet. For a season, at least, all movement should be hushed. Hence we have the symbolism of a driver trying to stop his carriage, and a fox who has wet his tail, and will not tempt the stream again.

Line 2 is weak, and in its proper place. It also has the strong correlate 5; and might be expected to be forward to act. But it occupies its correct and central place, and suggests the symbol of a lady whose carriage has lost its screen. She will not advance

LXIV. THE WEI 31 HEXAGRAM.



Wei 31 intimates progress and success (in the circumstances which it implies). (We see) a young fox that has nearly crossed (the stream), when its tail gets immersed. There will be no advantage in any way.

further so soon after success has been achieved; but keep herself hidden and retired. Let her not try to find the screen. When it is said that she will find this 'after seven days,' the meaning seems to be simply this, that the period of K'î 31 will then have been exhausted, the six lines having been gone through, and a new period, when action will be proper, shall have commenced.

The strong line 3, at the top of the lower trigram, suggests for its subject one undertaking a vigorous enterprise. The writer thinks of Káo Tung, the sacrificial title of Wû Ting, one of the ablest sovereigns of the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1364-1324), who undertook an expedition against the barbarous hordes of the cold and bleak regions north of the Middle States. He is mentioned again under the next hexagram. He appears also in the Shû, IV, ix, and in the Shih, IV, iii, ode 5. His enterprise may have been good, and successful, but it was tedious, and the paragraph concludes with a caution.

Line 4 is weak, and has advanced into the trigram for water. Its subject will be cautious, and prepare for evil, as in the symbolism, suggested probably by the nature of the trigram.

'The neighbour in the East' is the subject of line 5, and 'the neighbour in the West' is the subject of the correlate 2, the former quarter being yang and the latter yin. Line 5 is strong, and 2 is weak; but weakness is more likely to be patient and cautious than strength. They are compared to two men sacrificing. The one presents valuable offerings; the other very poor ones. But the

1. The first line, divided, shows its subject (like a fox) whose tail gets immersed. There will be occasion for regret.

2. The second line, undivided, shows its subject dragging back his (carriage-)wheel. With firmness and correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third line, divided, shows its subject, with (the state of things) not yet remedied, advancing on; which will lead to evil. But there will be advantage in (trying to) cross the great stream.

4. The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject by firm correctness obtaining good fortune, so that all occasion for repentance disappears. Let him stir himself up, as if he were invading the Demon region, where for three years rewards will come to him (and his troops) from the great kingdom.

5. The fifth line, divided, shows its subject by firm correctness obtaining good fortune, and having no occasion for repentance. (We see in him) the brightness of a superior man, and the possession of sincerity. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost line, undivided, shows its subject

second excels in sincerity, and his small offering is the more acceptable.

The topmost line is weak, and on the outmost edge of Khân, the trigram of peril. His action is violent and perilous, like that one attempting to cross a ford, and being plunged overhead into the water.

LXIV. Wei 㷘 is the reverse of K'î 㷘. The name tells us that the successful accomplishment of whatever the writer had in his mind had not yet been realised. The vessel of the state has not been brought across the great and dangerous stream. Some have wished that the YĪ might have concluded with K'î 㷘, and the last hexagram have left us with the picture of human affairs all brought to good order. But this would not have been in harmony with the

full of confidence and therefore feasting (quietly). There will be no error. (If he) cherish this con-

idea of the Yî, as the book of change. Again and again it has been pointed out that we find in it no idea of a perfect and abiding state. Just as the seasons of the year change and pursue an ever-recurring round, so is it with the phases of society. The reign of order has been, and has terminated; and this hexagram calls us to see the struggle for its realisation recommenced. It treats of how those engaged in that struggle should conduct themselves with a view to secure the happy consummation.

How the figure sets forth the state of things by its constituent trigrams will appear in Appendix II. A similar indication is supposed to be given by the lines, not one of which is in the correct place; the strong lines being all in even places, and the weak lines in odd. At the same time each of them has a proper correlate; and so the figure gives an intimation of some successful progress. See also Appendix I.

The symbolism of the young fox suggests a want of caution on the part of those, in the time and condition denoted by the hexagram, who try to remedy prevailing disorders. Their attempt is not successful, and they get themselves into trouble and danger. Whatever can be done must be undertaken in another way.

I suppose a fox to be intended by the symbolism of line 1, bringing that animal on from the Thwan. Some of the commentators understand it of any animal. The line is weak, at the bottom of the trigram of peril, and responds to the strong 4, which is not in its correct place. Its subject attempts to be doing, but finds cause to regret his course.

The subject of line 2, strong, and in the centre, is able to repress himself, and keep back his carriage from advancing; and there is good fortune.

The Khang-hsi editors say that it is very difficult to understand what is said under line 3; and many critics suppose that a negative has dropt out, and that we should really read that 'it will not be advantageous to try and cross the great stream.'

Line 4, though strong, is in an even place; and this might vitiate the endeavours of its subject to bring about a better state of things. But he is firm and correct. He is in the fourth place moreover, and immediately above there is his ruler, represented by a weak line, humble therefore, and prepared to welcome his endeavours. Let him exert himself vigorously and long, as Kão Jung did in his

fidence, till he (is like the fox who) gets his head immersed, it will fail of what is right.

famous expedition (see last hexagram, line 3), and he will make progress and have success. Expeditions beyond the frontiers in those days were not very remote. Intercourse was kept up between the army and the court. Rewards, distinctions, and whatever was necessary to encourage the army, were often sent to it.

Line 5 is weak, in an odd place. But its subject is the ruler, humble and supported by the subject of the strong 2; and hence the auspice is very good.

The subject of line 6, when the work of the hexagram has been done, appears disposed to remain quiet in the confidence of his own power, but enjoying himself; and thereby he will do right. If, on the contrary, he will go on to exert his powers, and play with the peril of the situation, the issue will be bad.

THE APPENDIXES.

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APPENDIX I.

Treatise on the Thwan, or king Wán's Explanations of the entire Hexagrams. ✓

SECTION I.

1. 1. Vast is the 'great and originating (power)' indicated by *K'ien*! All things owe to it their beginning:—it contains all the meaning belonging to (the name) heaven.

2. The clouds move and the rain is distributed; the various things appear in their developed forms.

3. (The sages) grandly understand (the connexion between) the end and the beginning, and how (the indications of) the six lines (in the hexagram) are accomplished, (each) in its season. (Accordingly) they mount (the carriage) drawn by those six dragons at the proper times, and drive through the sky.

4. The method of *K'ien* is to change and transform, so that everything obtains its correct nature as appointed (by the mind of Heaven); and (thereafter the conditions of) great harmony are preserved in union. The result is 'what is advantageous, and correct and firm.'

5. (The sage) appears aloft, high above all things, and the myriad states all enjoy repose.

The name Thwan, and the meaning of the character so-called, are sufficiently established. The Thwan are king Wán's explanations of the entire hexagrams. It seems impossible now to ✓

II. 1. Complete is the 'great and originating (capacity)' indicated by Khwăn! All things owe to it their birth;—it receives obediently the influences of Heaven.

2. Khwăn, in its largeness, supports and contains all things. Its excellent capacity matches the unlimited power (of *K'ien*). Its comprehension is wide, and its brightness great. The various things obtain (by it) their full development.

3. The mare is a creature of earthly kind. Its (power of) moving on the earth is without limit; it is mild and docile, advantageous and firm :—such is the course of the superior man.

ascertain how the character arose, and how it was named Thwan. The treatise on the Thwan is ascribed to Confucius; and I have considered in the Introduction, p. 30, whether the tradition to this effect may to any extent be admitted.

I. The hexagram *K'ien* is made up of six undivided lines, or of the trigram *K'ien*, Fû-hsi's symbol for heaven, repeated. The Thwan does not dwell upon this, but starts, in its exposition, from the word 'heaven,' supposing that the hexagram represented all the meaning which had ever been intended by that term. In paragraphs 1, 2, 4 the four attributes in Wăn's Text (2 being occupied with the second, though it is not expressly named) are illustrated by the phenomena taking place in the physical world.

In paragraphs 3 and 5, the subject is the sage. He is not named indeed; and Khung Ying-tâ (A. D. 574–648) does not introduce him till paragraph 5, when the meaning necessitates the presence of a human agent, who rules in the world of men as heaven does in that of nature. The 'connexion between the end and the beginning,' which he sees, is that of cause and effect in the operations of nature and the course of human affairs. The various steps in that course are symbolised by the lines of the hexagram; and the ideal sage, conducting his ideal government, taking his measures accordingly, is represented as driving through the sky in a carriage drawn by six dragons. *K'ü Hsi* extravagantly says that 'the sage is Heaven, and Heaven is the sage;' but there is nothing like this in the text.

4. 'If he take the initiative, he goes astray:—he misses, that is, his proper course. 'If he follow,' he is docile, and gets into his regular (course). 'In the south-west he will get friends:—he will be walking with those of his own class. 'In the north-east he will lose friends:—but in the end there will be ground for congratulation.

5. 'The good fortune arising from resting in firmness' corresponds to the unlimited capacity of the earth.

III. 1. In *Kun* we have the strong (*Khien*) and the weak (*Khwăn*) commencing their intercourse, and difficulties arising.

2. Movement in the midst of peril gives rise to 'great progress and success, (through) firm correctness.'

3. By the action of the thunder and rain, (which

II. As the writer in expounding the *Thwan* of hexagram 1 starts from the word 'heaven,' so here he does so from the symbolic meaning attached to 'earth.' What I have said on the Text about the difference with which the same attributes are ascribed to *Khien* and *Khwăn*, appears clearly in paragraph 1. It is the difference expressed by the words that I have supplied,—'power' and 'capacity.' *Khien* originates; *Khwăn* produces, or gives birth to what has been originated.

The 'penetrating,' or developing ability of *Khwăn*, as displayed in the processes of growth, is the subject of paragraph 2. 'The brightness' refers to the beauty that shines forth in the vegetable and animal worlds.

Paragraph 3 treats of the symbol of the 'mare,' to lead the mind to the course of 'the superior man,' the good and faithful minister and servant.

See the note, corresponding to paragraph 4, on the Text. 'Resting in firmness' is the normal course of *Khwăn*. Where it is pursued, the good effect will be great, great as the unlimited capacity of the earth.

are symbols of *K'ăn* and *Khan*), all (between heaven and earth) is filled up. But the condition of the time is full of irregularity and obscurity. Feudal princes should be established, but the feeling that rest and peace have been secured should not be indulged (even then).

IV. 1. In *Măng* we have (the trigram for) a mountain, and below it that of a rugged defile with a stream in it. The conditions of peril and arrest

III. *Kun* is made up of the trigrams *K'ăn* and *Khan*; but according to the views on king *Wăn*'s arrangement of the trigrams, as set forth especially in Appendix V, chap. 14, the six others come from *K'kien* and *Khwăn*, and are said to be their children. On the first application of *Khwăn* to *K'kien*, there results *K'ăn*, the first line of *K'kien* taking the place of the last of *Khwăn*; and on the second application, there results *Khan*, the middle line of *K'kien* taking the place of that of *Khwăn*. McClatchie renders here:—'The Thun (*Kun*) diagram represents the hard and the soft (air) beginning to have sexual intercourse, and bringing forth with suffering!' But there is nothing in the *Yi*, from the beginning to the end, to justify such an interpretation. Nor do I see how, from any account of the genesis by the component trigrams, the idea of the result as signifying a state of difficulty and distress can be readily made out.

In paragraph 2 there is an attempt from the virtues or attributes assigned to the trigrams to make out the result indicated in the *Thwan*. To move and excite is the quality of *K'ăn*; perilousness is the quality of *Khan*. The power to move is likely to produce great effects; to do this in perilous and difficult circumstances requires firmness and correctness. But neither is this explanation very satisfactory.

The first part of paragraph 3 depicts a condition of trouble and disorder in the natural world occasioned by the phenomena that are symbols of the significance of *K'ăn* and *Khan*; but this is symbolical again of the disorder and distress, political and social, characteristic of the time. Good princes throughout the nation would help to remedy that; but the supreme authority should not resign itself to indifference, trusting to them.

of progress (suggested by these) give (the idea in) Mǎng.

2. 'Mǎng indicates that there will be progress and success:'—for there is development at work in it, and its time of action is exactly what is right. 'I do not seek the youthful and inexperienced; he seeks me:'—so does will respond to will. 'When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him:'—for possessing the qualities of the undivided line and being in the central place, (the subject of the second line thus speaks). 'A second and third application create annoyance, and I do not instruct so as to create annoyance:'—annoyance (he means) to the ignorant.

(The method of dealing with) the young and ignorant is to nourish the correct (nature belonging to them);—this accomplishes the service of the sage.

IV. The trigram Kǎn has for its symbol in the natural world a mountain, which stands up frowningly, and stops or arrests the progress of the traveller. Stoppage, understood sometimes actively, and sometimes passively, is called the virtue or attribute indicated by it. Khan, as I said on p. 32, has water for its symbol, and especially in the form of rain. Here, however, the water appears as a stream in a difficult defile, such as ordinarily appears on an approach to a mountain, and suggesting perilousness as the attribute of such a position. From the combination of these symbols and their attributes the writer thinks that he gets the idea of the character (not the entire hexagram) Mǎng, as symbolical of ignorance and inexperience. See on 'the Great Symbolism' below.

Down to the last sentence of paragraph 2, all that is said is intended to show how it is that the figure indicates progress and success. The whole representation is grounded on the undivided line's being in the central place. It is the symbol of active effort for the teaching of the ignorant in the proper place and time; this being responded to by the divided fifth line, representing the ignorance to be taught as docile, 'will responds to will.' But the

V. I. Hsü denotes waiting. (The figure) shows peril in front ; but notwithstanding the firmness and strength (indicated by the inner trigram), its subject does not allow himself to be involved (in the dangerous defile);—it is right he should not be straitened or reduced to extremity.

2. When it is said that, 'with the sincerity declared in Hsü, there will be brilliant success, and with firmness there will be good fortune,' this is shown by the position (of the fifth line) in the place assigned by Heaven, and its being the correct position for it, and in the centre. 'It will be advantageous to go through the great stream ;'—that is, going forward will be followed by meritorious achievement.

subject of line 2 requires sincerity in the applicant for instruction, and feels that he must make his own teaching acceptable and agreeable. All this serves to bring out the idea of progress and success.

Then finally in the young and ignorant there is 'a correct nature,' a moral state made for goodness. The efficient teacher directing his efforts to bring out and nourish that, the progress and success will be 'great ;' the service done will be worthy of 'a sage.'

V. Hsü is composed of *K'ien*, having the quality of strength, and of *Khan*, having the quality of perilousness. The strong one might readily dare the peril, but he restrains himself and waits. This is the lesson of the hexagram,—the benefit of action well considered, of plans well matured.

The fifth line, as we have observed more than once already, is the place of honour, that due to the ruler or king. It is here called 'the Heavenly or Heaven-given seat,' the meaning of which expression is clear from its occurrence in the *Shih*, III, i, ode 2. 1. Five is an odd number, and the fifth is therefore the 'correct' place for an undivided line ; it is also the central place of the trigram, indicating how its occupant is sure to walk in the due mean. See further the notes on the Text, p. 68.

VI. 1. The upper portion of Sung is (the trigram representing) strength, and the lower (that representing) peril. (The coming together of strength and peril gives (the idea in) Sung.

2. 'Sung intimates how, though there is sincerity in one's contention, he will yet meet with opposition and obstruction; but if he cherish an apprehensive caution, there will be good fortune:'—a strong (line) has come and got the central place (in the lower trigram).

'If he must prosecute the contention to the (bitter) end, there will be evil:'—contention is not a thing to be carried on to extremity.

'It will be advantageous to meet with the great man:'—what he sets a value on is the due mean, and the correct place.

'It will not be advantageous to cross the great stream:'—one (attempting to do so) would find himself in an abyss.

VI. Paragraph 1 here is much to the same effect as the first sentence in the notes on the Thwan of the Text. It is said, 'Strength without peril would not produce contention; peril without strength would not be able to contend.'

2. 'A strong line has come and got the central place:'—this sentence has given rise to a doctrine about the changes of trigrams and hexagrams, which has obscured more than anything else the interpretation of the Yî. Where has the strong second line come from? From a hundred critics we receive the answer,—'From Tun (䷂)'. The reader will see that if the second and third lines of the lower trigram there be made to change places, there results ䷂, or Sung. The doctrine of changing the figures by the manipulation of the stalks did spring up between the time of Wăn and his son and that of the composition of the Appendixes; but there is no trace of it in the real Text of the Yî; and it renders any scheme for the interpretation of the figures impossible. The

VII. 1. (The name) Sze describes the multitude (of the host). The 'firmness and correctness' (which the hexagram indicates) refer to (moral) correctness (of aim). When (the mover) is able to use the multitude with such correctness, he may attain to the royal sway.

2. There is (the symbol of) strength in the centre (of the trigram below), and it is responded to (by its proper correlate above). The action gives rise to perils, but is in accordance (with the best sentiments of men). (Its mover) may by such action distress all the country, but the people will follow him;—there will be good fortune, and what error should there be?

VIII. 1. 'Pî indicates that there is good fortune:—(the name) Pî denotes help; (and we see in the figure) inferiors docilely following (their superior).

editors of the imperial Yî allow this, and on the present passage discard the doctrine entirely, referring to the language of the Th wān on hexagrams 11 and 12 as fatal to it. See the notes there, and the Introduction, pp. 11–16. 'A strong line has come' is to be taken as equivalent simply to 'a strong line is there.'

What 'the great man sets a value on being the due mean and the correct place,' his decision in any matter of contention is sure to be right.

VII. That 'multitude' is given here as if it were the meaning of the name Sze arose, probably, from there being but one undivided line in the figure. That is the symbol of the general, all the other lines, divided, suggest the idea of a multitude obedient to his orders. The general's place in the centre of the lower trigram, with the proper correlate in line 5, suggests the idea of firmness and correctness that dominates in the hexagram. But in the last sentence it is the ruler, and not the general of the host, who is the subject. Compare what is said of him with Mencius, I, i, chap. 3; ii, chap. 5, &c.

2. 'Let (the principal party intended in it) re-examine himself, (as if) by divination, whether his virtue be great, unintermitting, and firm;—if it be so, there will be no error:—all this follows from the position of the strong line in the centre (of the upper trigram). 'Those who have not rest will come to him:—high and low will respond to its subject. 'With those who are (too) late in coming it will be ill:—(for them) the way (of good fortune here indicated) has been exhausted.

IX. 1. In Hsião *K'ü* the weak line occupies its (proper) position, and (the lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes the name of Hsião *K'ü* (Small Restraint).

2. (It presents the symbols of) strength and flexibility. Strong lines are in the central places, and the will (of their subjects) will have free course. Thus it indicates that there will be progress and success.

3. 'Dense clouds but no rain' indicate the movement (of the strong lines) still going forward. The

'Perilousness' is the attribute of Khan, the lower trigram, and 'docility,' or 'accordance with others,' that of Khwân, the upper. War is like 'poison' to a country, injurious, and threatening ruin to it, and yet the people will endure and encounter it in behalf of the sovereign whom they esteem and love.

VIII. There is some error in the text here,—as all the critics acknowledge. I have adopted the decision of *K'ü Hsî*, which by a very small change makes the whole read consistently, and in harmony with other explanations of the Thwan. 'The inferiors' are the subjects of all the other lines gathering round their superior, represented in the fifth line.

'The way has been exhausted:—they do not seek to promote and enjoy union till it is too late. The sentiment is the same as that in the lines of Shakespeare about the tide in the affairs of men.

'Commencing at our western border' indicates that the (beneficial) influence has not yet been widely displayed.

X. 1. In *Lí* we have (the symbol of) weakness treading on (that of) strength.

2. (The lower trigram) indicates pleasure and satisfaction, and responds to (the upper) indicating strength. Hence (it is said), 'He treads on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him; there will be progress and success.'

3. (The fifth line is) strong, in the centre, and in

IX. 'The weak line' is said to occupy 'its proper position,' because it is in the fourth,—an even place. The 'responding' on the part of all the other lines above and below is their submitting to be restrained by it; and this arises simply from the meaning which king *Wăn* chose to attach to the hexagram.

But the restraint can only be small. The attributes of the two parts of the figure do not indicate anything else. The undivided line represents vigour and activity, and such a line is in the middle of each trigram. There cannot but be progress and success.

It is not easy to explain the symbolism of the last paragraph in harmony with the appended explanations. What *K'ăng-ze*, Wang Făng, and other scholars say is to this effect:—Dense clouds ought to give rain. That they exist without doing so, shows the restraining influence of the hexagram to be still at work. But the other and active influence is, according to the general idea of the figure, continuing in operation;—there will be rain ere long. And this was taking place in the western regions subject to the House of *K'âu*, which still was only a fief of Shang. It was not for the inferior House to rule the superior. *K'âu* was for a time restrained by Shang. Let their positions be reversed by *K'âu* superseding Shang, and the rain of beneficent government would descend on all the kingdom. This seems to be the meaning of the paragraph. This is the answer to the riddle of it. Confucius, in his treatise on the *Thwan*, hints at it, but no Chinese critic has the boldness to declare it fully.

its correct place. (Its subject) occupies the God-(given) position, and falls into no distress or failure;—(his) action will be brilliant.

XI. 'The little come and the great gone in Thâi, and its indication that there will be good fortune with progress and success' show to us heaven and earth in communication with each other, and all things in consequence having free course, and (also) the high and the low, (superiors and inferiors), in communication with one another, and possessed by the same aim. The inner (trigram) is made up of the strong and undivided lines, and the outer of the weak and divided; the inner is (the symbol of) strength, and the outer of docility; the inner (represents) the superior man, and the outer the small man. (Thus) the way of

X. '(The symbol of) weakness' in paragraph 1, according to Wang Shăn-ze (Yüan dynasty), is line 3, urged by the two strong lines below, and having to encounter the three strong lines above. Hû Ping-wan (also of the Yüan dynasty) says that the whole of the lower trigram, Tui, partaking of the yin nature, is the symbol of weakness, and the whole of *K'ien* that of strength. The *K'ung* editors say that, to get the full meaning, we must hold both views.

Paragraph 2 has been sufficiently explained on the Thwan itself.

Paragraph 3 has also been explained; but there remains something to be said on the Chinese text for 'occupies the God-given position,' or, literally, 'treads on the seat of Tî.' Canon McClatchie has—'The imperial throne is now occupied.' I think that 'the seat of Tî' is synonymous with 'the seat of Heaven,' in paragraph 2 of this treatise on hexagram 5. If Confucius, or whoever was the writer, had before him the phrase as it occurs in the Shû, I, 12, the force of Tî will depend on the meaning assigned to it in that part of the Shû. That the fifth line occupies the place of authority is here the only important point.

the superior man appears increasing, and that of the small man decreasing.

XII. 'The want of good understanding between the (different classes of) men in P'hi, and its indication as unfavourable to the firm and correct course of the superior man; with the intimation that the great are gone and the little come:—all this springs from the fact that in it heaven and earth are not in communication with each other, and all things in consequence do not have free course; and that the high and the low (superiors and inferiors) are not in communication with one another, and there are no (well-regulated) states under the sky. The inner (trigram) is made up of the weak and divided lines, and the outer of the strong and undivided: the inner is (the symbol of) weakness, and the outer of strength; the inner (represents) the small man, and the outer the superior man. Thus the way of the small man appears increasing, and that of the superior man decreasing.

XI. There is nothing to be said on the explanation of the Thwan here beyond what has been noticed on the different paragraphs of the Text. Canon McClatchie translates:—'The Thwan means that Heaven and Earth have now conjugal intercourse with each other . . . and the upper and lower (classes) unite together.' But in both clauses the Chinese characters are the same. Why did he not go on to say—'the upper and lower classes have conjugal intercourse together;' or rather, why did he not dismiss the idea of such intercourse from his mind altogether? Why make the Yî appear to be gross, when there is not the shadow of grossness in it? The paragraph here well illustrates how the ruling idea in all the antinomies of the Yî is that of authority and strength on the one side, and of inferiority and weakness on the other.

XII. All the symbolism here springs from the trigram Khwân occupying in the figure the inner or lower place, and K'ien the outer or upper. It is for the inner trigram to take the initiative;

XIII. 1. In Thung Zăn the weak (line) has the place (of influence), the central place, and responds to (the corresponding line in) *Khien* (above); hence comes its name of Thung Zăn (or 'Union of men').

2. Thung Zăn says:—

3. The language, 'Thung Zăn appears here (as we find it) in (the remote districts of) the country, indicating progress and success, and that it will be advantageous to cross the great stream,' is moulded by its containing the strength (symbolled) in *Khien*. (Then) we have (the trigram indicating) elegance and intelligence, supported by (that indicating) strength; with the line in the central, and its correct, position, and responding (to the corresponding line above):—(all representing) the correct course of the superior man. It is only the superior man who can comprehend and affect the minds of all under the sky.

XIV. 1. In Tâ Yû the weak (line) has the place of honour, is grandly central, and (the strong lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes its name of Tâ Yû (Having what is Great).

but how can earth (symbolised by *Khwăn*) take the place of heaven (symbolised by *Khien*)? As in nature it is heaven that originates and not earth, so in a state the upper classes must take the initiative, and not the lower.

XIII. To understand the various points in this commentary, it is only necessary to refer to the Text of the hexagram. The proper correlate of line 2 is line 5, and I have said therefore that it 'responds to (the corresponding line in) *Khien*.' The editors of the Khang-hsi edition, however, would make the correlate to it all the lines of *Khien*, as being more agreeable to the idea of union.

I do not think that a second paragraph has been lost. The

2. The attributes (of its component trigrams) are strength and vigour with elegance and brightness. (The ruling line in it) responds to (the ruling line in the symbol of) heaven, and (consequently) its action is (all) at the proper times. In this way (it is said to) indicate great progress and success.

XV. 1. *K'ien* indicates progress and success. It is the way of heaven to send down its beneficial influences below, where they are brilliantly displayed. It is the way of earth, lying low, to send its influences upwards and (there) to act.

2. It is the way of heaven to diminish the full and augment the humble. It is the way of earth to overthrow the full and replenish the humble. Spiritual Beings inflict calamity on the full and bless the humble. It is the way of men to hate the full and love the humble. Humility in a position of honour makes that still more brilliant; and in a low position men will not (seek to) pass beyond it. Thus it is that 'the superior man will have a (good) issue (to his undertakings).'

'Thung Z'an says' is merely a careless repetition of the three concluding characters of paragraph 1.

XIV. The position in the fifth place indicates the dignity, and its being central, in the centre of the upper trigram, indicates the virtue, of the lord of the figure.

The strength of the lord, moreover, is directed by intelligence; and his actions are always at the proper time, like the seasons of heaven.

XV. The Thwan on this hexagram was so brief, that the writer here deals generally with the subject of humility, showing how it is valued by heaven and earth, by spirits and by men. The descent of the heavenly influences, and the low position of the earth in paragraph 1, are both emblematic of humility. The heavenly influences have their 'display' in the beauty and fertility of the earth.

XVI. 1. In Yü we see the strong (line) responded to by all the others, and the will (of him whom it represents) being carried out; and (also) docile obedience employing movement (for its purposes). (From these things comes) Yü (the Condition of harmony and satisfaction).

2. In this condition we have docile obedience employing movement (for its purposes), and therefore it is so as between heaven and earth;—how much more will it be so (among men) in ‘the setting up of feudal princes and putting the hosts in motion!’

3. Heaven and earth show that docile obedience in connexion with movement, and hence the sun and moon make no error (in time), and the four seasons do not deviate (from their order). The sages show such docile obedience in connexion with their movements, and hence their punishments and penalties are entirely just, and the people acknowledge it by their submission. Great indeed are the time and significance indicated in Yü!

The way of heaven is seen, e.g. in the daily declining of the sun, and the waning of the moon after it is full; the way of earth in the fall of the year. On the meaning of ‘Spiritual Beings (Kwei Shān),’ see the Introduction, pp. 34, 35. It is difficult to say what idea the writer attached to the name. What he says of man’s appreciation of humility is striking, and, I believe, correct.

XVI. What is said in paragraph 1 about the lines has been pointed out in the notes on the Text. ‘Obedience’ is the attribute of Khwān, the lower trigram, which takes the initiative in the action of the figure; and here makes use of the movement, which is the attribute of K’ān, the upper trigram.

I can hardly trace the connexion between the different parts of paragraph 2. Does it not proceed on the harmony produced by the thunderous explosion between heaven and earth, as declared

XVII. 1. In Sui we see the strong (trigram) come and place itself under the weak; we see (in the two) the attributes of movement and pleasure:—this gives (the idea of) Sui.

2. 'There will be great progress and success; and through firm correctness no error:'—all under heaven will be found following at such a time.

3. Great indeed are the time and significance indicated in Sui.

XVIII. 1. In Kû we have the strong (trigram) above, and the weak one below; we have (below) pliancy, and (above) stopping:—these give the idea of Kû (a Troublous Condition of affairs verging to ruin).

2. 'Kû indicates great progress and success:'—(through the course shown in it), all under heaven, there will be good order. 'There will be advantage in crossing the great stream:'—he who advances will encounter the business to be done. '(He should

in Appendix II? Then the analogy between natural phenomena and human and social experiences comes into play.

Paragraph 3 is also tantalising. Why does the writer introduce the subject of punishments and penalties? Are they a consequence of putting the hosts in motion? .

XVII. The trigrams *K'ân* and *Tui* are distinguished as strong and weak, *K'ân* representing, on king Wân's scheme, 'the eldest son,' and *Tui*, 'the youngest daughter.' But 'the strong' here may mean the strong line, the lowest in the hexagram. As Wang Jung-kwan (Sung dynasty) says:—'The yang and strong line should not be below a yin and weak line, as we find it here. That is, in Sui the high places himself below the low, and the noble below the mean:'—esteeming others higher than himself, and giving the idea of following. Then *K'ân* denotes the production or excitement of motion, and *Tui* denotes pleasure; and the union of these things suggests the same idea.

weigh well, however, the events of) three days before (the turning-point), and those (to be done) three days after it:—the end (of confusion) is the beginning (of order); such is the procedure of Heaven.

XIX. 1. In Lin (we see) the strong (lines) gradually increasing and advancing.

2. (The lower trigram is the symbol of) being pleased, and (the upper of) being compliant. The strong (line) is in the central position, and is properly responded to.

3. 'There is great progress and success, along with firm correctness:—this is the way of Heaven.

4. 'In the eighth month there will be evil:—(the advancing power) will decay after no long time.

XX. 1. The great Manifester occupies an upper place (in the figure), which consists of (the trigrams

XVIII. The symbolism here is the opposite of that in Sui. The upper trigram *K'ân* is strong, denoting, according to king Wăn, 'the youngest son; ' and the lower, Sun, is weak, denoting 'the eldest daughter.' For the eldest daughter to be below the youngest son is eminently correct, and helps to indicate the auspice of great success. The attribute of Sun is pliancy, and that of *K'ân* stoppage or arrest. The feeble pliancy confronted by the arresting mountain gives an idea of the evil state implied in *K'û*.

'Three days before and after the turning-point' is, literally, 'three days before and after *kiâ*,' *kiâ* being the name of the first of the 'earthly stems' among the cyclical characters. Hence it has the meaning of 'beginning,' and here denotes the turning-point, at which disorder gives place to order. According to 'the procedure of Heaven,' history is a narrative of change, one condition of affairs constantly giving place to another and opposite. 'A kingdom that cannot be moved' does not enter into the circle of Chinese ideas.

XIX. See what has been said on the fourth paragraph in pp. 98, 99 on the Text. The other paragraphs need no explanation beyond what appears in the supplemented translation.

whose attributes are) docility and flexibility. He is in the central position and his correct place, and thus exhibits (his lessons) to all under heaven.

2. 'Kwan shows its subject like a worshipper who has washed his hands, but not (yet) presented his offerings;—with sincerity and an appearance of dignity (commanding reverent regard):'—(all) beneath look to him and are transformed.

3. When we contemplate the spirit-like way of Heaven, we see how the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them.

XXI. 1. The existence of something between the jaws gives rise to the name Shih Ho (Union by means of biting through the intervening article).

2. The Union by means of biting through the intervening article indicates 'the successful progress (denoted by the hexagram).'

The strong and weak (lines) are equally divided (in the figure). Movement is denoted (by the lower trigram), and bright intelligence (by the upper); thunder and lightning uniting in them, and having brilliant manifestation. The weak (fifth) line is in

XX. 'The great Manifester' is the ruler, the principal subject of the hexagram, and represented by line 5, near the top of the figure. In that figure the lower trigram is Khwăn, representing the earth, with the attribute of docility, and the upper is Sun, representing wind, with the attributes of flexibility and penetration. As is the place of line 5, so are the virtues of the ruler.

'The spirit-like way of Heaven' is the invisible and unfathomable agency ever operating by general laws, and with invariable regularity, in what we call nature. Compare with this paragraph, the definition of Shă n or Spirit in Appendix III, i, 32; and the doctrine of the agency of God, taught in Appendix VI, 8, 9.

the centre, and acts in its high position. Although it is not in its proper position, this is advantageous for the use of legal constraints.

XXII. 1. (When it is said that) P1 indicates that there should be free course (in what it denotes):—

2. (We see) the weak line coming and ornamenting the strong lines (of the lower trigram), and hence (it is said that ornament) 'should have free course.' On the other hand, the strong line above ornaments the weak ones (of the upper trigram), and hence (it is said) that 'there will be little advantage, if (ornament) be allowed to advance (and take the lead).' (This is illustrated in the) appearances that ornament the sky.

3. Elegance and intelligence (denoted by the lower trigram) regulated by the arrest (denoted by the upper) suggest the observances that adorn human (society).

4. We look at the ornamental figures of the sky, and thereby ascertain the changes of the seasons. We look at the ornamental observances of society, and understand how the processes of transformation are accomplished all under heaven.

XXI. The 'equal division of the strong and weak lines' is seen by taking them in pairs, though the order in the first pair is different from that in the two others. This is supposed to indicate the intelligence of the judgments in the action of the hexagram. *K'ān*, the lower trigram, symbolises movement; *Lî*, the upper, intelligence. The fifth line's acting in its high position does not intimate the formation of the figure from *Yî*, the 42nd hexagram, but calls attention to the fact that a weak line is here 'lord of judgment.' This does not seem natural, but the effect is good;—judgment is tempered by leniency.

XXII. The first paragraph is either superfluous or incomplete.

The language of paragraph 2 has naturally been pressed into the

XXIII. 1. Po denotes overthrowing or being overthrown. We see (in the figure) the weak lines (threatening to) change the (last) strong line (into one of themselves).

2. That 'it will not be advantageous to make a movement in any direction whatever' appears from the fact that the small men are (now) growing and increasing. The superior man acts according to (the exigency of the time), and stops all forward movement, looking at the (significance of the) symbolic figures (in the hexagram). He values the processes of decrease and increase, of fulness and decadence, (as seen) in the movements of the heavenly bodies.

service of the doctrine of changing the figures by divining manipulation; see p. 219, on paragraph 2 of the Thwan of hexagram 6. But as the Khang-hsi editors point out, 'the weak line coming and ornamenting the two strong lines' simply indicates how substantiality should have the help of ornament, and 'the strong line above (or ascending) and ornamenting the two weak lines' indicates that ornament should be restrained by substantiality. Ornament has its use, but it must be kept in check.—The closing sentence has no connexion with what precedes. Some characters are wanting, to show how the writer passes on to speak of 'the ornamental figures of the sky.' The whole should then be joined on to paragraph 3. The 'figures of the sky' are all the heavenly bodies in their relative positions and various movements, producing day and night, heat and cold, &c. The observances of society are the ceremonies and performances which regulate and beautify the intercourse of men, and constitute the transforming lessons of sagely wisdom.

XXIII. 'The symbolic figures in the hexagram' are Khwăn, below, the representative of docility, acting as circumstances require; and Kăn, the representative of a mountain, which arrests the progress of the traveller. The superior man of the topmost line thus interprets them, and acts accordingly. Yet he is not left without hope. Winter is followed by spring; night is

XXIV. 1. 'Fû indicates the free course and progress (of what it denotes):'—it is the coming back of what is intended by the undivided line.

2. (Its subject's) actions show movement directed by accordance with natural order. Hence 'he finds no one to distress him in his exits and entrances,' and 'friends come to him, and no error is committed.'

3. 'He will return and repeat his proper course; in seven days comes his return:'—such is the movement of the heavenly (revolution).

4. 'There will be advantage in whatever direction movement is made:'—the strong lines are growing and increasing.

5. Do we not see in Fû the mind of heaven and earth?

XXV. In Wû Wang we have the strong (first) line come from the outer (trigram), and become in the inner trigram lord (of the whole figure); we have (the attributes of) motive power and strength; we have the strong line (of the fifth place) in the

succeeded by day; the moon wanes, and then begins to wax again. So will it be in political life. As we read in the Hebrew prophet Isaiah, 'In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.'

XXIV. 'The movement of the heavenly revolution' in paragraph 3 has reference to the regular alternations of darkness and light, and of cold and heat, as seen in the different months of the year. Hâu Hsing-kwo (of the Thang dynasty) refers to the expressions in the Shih, I, xv, ode 1, 'the days of (our) first (month), second (month),' &c., as illustrating the use of day for month, as we have it here; but that is to explain what is obscure by what is more so; though I believe, as stated on the Text, that 'seven days' is here equivalent to 'seven months.'

'The mind of heaven and earth' is the love of life and of all goodness that rules in the course of nature and providence.

central position, and responded to (by the weak second):—there will be ‘great progress proceeding from correctness; such is the appointment of Heaven.

‘If (its subject and his action) be not correct, he will fall into errors, and it will not be advantageous for him to move in any direction:’—whither can he (who thinks he is) free from all insincerity, (and yet is as here described) proceed? Can anything be done (advantageously) by him whom the (will and) appointment of Heaven do not help?

XXVI. 1. In (the trigrams composing) Tâ K’û we have (the attributes) of the greatest strength and of substantial solidity, which emit a brilliant light; and indicate a daily renewal of his virtue (by the subject of it).

2. The strong line is in the highest place, and suggests the value set on talents and virtue; there is power (in the upper trigram) to keep the strongest in restraint:—all this shows ‘the great correctness’ (required in the hexagram).

3. ‘The good fortune attached to the subject’s not seeking to enjoy his revenues in his own family’ shows how talents and virtue are nourished.

XXV. The advocates of one trigram’s changing into another, which ought not to be admitted, we have seen, into the interpretation of the Yî, make Wû Wang to be derived from Sung (No. 6), the second line there being manipulated into the first of this; but this representation is contrary to the words of the text, which make the strong first line come from the outer trigram, i. e. from K’ien. And so it does, as related, not very intelligibly, in Appendix V, 10, K’ân, the lower trigram here, being ‘the eldest son,’ resulting from the first application of Khwân to K’ien. The three peculiarities in the structure of the figure afford the auspice of progress and success; and very striking is the brief and emphatic declaration, that such progress is ‘the appointment of Heaven.’

4. 'It will be advantageous to cross the great stream:—(the fifth line, representing the ruler,) is responded to by (the second, the central line of *K'hien*, representing) Heaven.

XXVII. 1. 'Î indicates that with firm correctness there will be good fortune:—when the nourishing is correct, there will be good fortune. 'We must look at what we are seeking to nourish:—we must look at those whom we wish to nourish. 'We must by the exercise of our thoughts seek the proper aliment:—we must look to our own nourishing of ourselves.

2. Heaven and earth nourish all things. The sages nourish men of talents and virtue, by them to reach to the myriads of the people. Great is (the work intended by this) nourishing in its time!

XXVI. In paragraph 1, *Tâ K'û* evidently means the 'grand accumulation' of virtue, indicated by the attributes of its component trigrams. 'Substantial solidity' may very well be given as the attribute of mountains.

'The strong line in the highest place' of paragraph 2 is line 6, whose subject is thus above the ruler represented by 5, and has the open firmament for his range in doing his work. This, and his ability to repress the strongest opposition, show how he is supported by all that is correct and right.

In a kingdom where the object of the government is the accumulation of virtue, good and able men will not be left in obscurity.

What will not a high and good purpose, supported by the greatest strength, be able to do?

XXVII. Many of the critics, in illustration of paragraph 1, refer appropriately to Mencius, VI, i, chap. 14.

In illustration of paragraph 2 they refer to the times and court of Yáo and Shun, sage rulers, from whose cherishing and nourishing came Yü to assuage the waters of the deluge, 3î to teach the people agriculture, Hsieh as minister of instruction, Káo Yáo as minister of crime, and others;—all to do the work of nourishing the people.

XXVIII. 1. Tâ Kwo shows the great ones (= the undivided lines) in excess.

2. In 'the beam that is weak' we see weakness both in the lowest and the topmost (lines).

3. The strong lines are in excess, but (two of them) are in the central positions. The action (of the hexagram is represented by the symbols of) flexibility and satisfaction. (Hence it is said), 'There will be advantage in moving in any direction whatever; yea, there will be success.'

4. Great indeed is (the work to be done in) this very extraordinary time.

XXIX. 1. Khan repeated shows us one defile succeeding another.

2. This is the nature of water;—it flows on, without accumulating its volume (so as to overflow); it pursues its way through a dangerous defile, without losing its true (nature).

3. That 'the mind is penetrating' is indicated by the strong (line) in the centre. That 'action (in accordance with this) will be of high value' tells us that advance will be followed by achievement.

4. The dangerous (height) of heaven cannot be ascended; the difficult places of the earth are moun-

XXVIII. Paragraph 3. In the Great Symbolism 'wood' appears as the natural object symbolised by Sun, and not 'wind,' which we find more commonly. The attribute of 'flexibility,' however, is the quality of Sun, whether used of wind or of wood.

Paragraph 4. Such a time, it is said, was that of Yáo and Shun, of Thang the Successful, and of king Wû. What these heroes did, however, was all called for by the exigency of their times, and not by whim or principle of their own, which they wished to make prominent.

tains, rivers, hills, and mounds. Kings and princes arrange, by means of such strengths, to maintain their territories. Great indeed is the use of (what is here) taught about seasons of peril.

XXX. 1. Li means being attached to. The sun and moon have their place in the sky. All the grains, grass, and trees have their place on the earth. The double brightness (of the two trigrams) adheres to what is correct, and the result is the transforming and perfecting all under the sky.

2. The weak (second line) occupies the middle and correct position, and gives the indication of 'a free and successful course;' and, moreover, 'nourishing (docility like that of) the cow' will lead to good fortune.

XXIX. On paragraph 2 Liang Yin says:—'Water stops at the proper time, and moves at the proper time. Is not this an emblem of the course of the superior man in dealing with danger?'

On paragraph 4 the Khang-hsi editors say that to exercise one's self in meeting difficulty and peril is the way to establish and strengthen the character, and that the use of such experience is seen in all measures for self-defence, there being no helmet and mail like leal-heartedness and good faith, and no shield and tower like propriety and righteousness.

XXX. 'The double brightness' in paragraph 1 has been much discussed. Some say that it means 'the ruler,' becoming brighter and brighter. Others say that it means both the ruler and his ministers, combining their brightness. The former view seems to me the better. The analogy between the natural objects and a transforming and perfecting rule is far fetched.

'The central and correct position' in paragraph 2 can be said only of the second line, and not of the fifth, where an undivided line would be more correct. The 'and moreover' of the translation is 'therefore' in the original; but I cannot make out the force and suitability of that conjunction.

SECTION II.

XXXI. 1. Hsien is here used in the sense of Kan, meaning (mutually) influencing.

2. The weak (trigram) above, and the strong one below; their two influences moving and responding to each other, and thereby forming a union; the repression (of the one) and the satisfaction (of the other); (with their relative position), where the male is placed below the female:—all these things convey the notion of 'a free and successful course (on the fulfilment of the conditions), while the advantage will depend on being firm and correct, as in marrying a young lady, and there will be good fortune.'

3. Heaven and earth exert their influences, and there ensue the transformation and production of all things. The sages influence the minds of men, and the result is harmony and peace all under the sky. If we look at (the method and issues) of those influences, the true character of heaven and earth and of all things can be seen.

XXXII. 1. Hăng denotes long continuance. The strong (trigram) is above, and the weak one below; (they are the symbols of) thunder and wind,

XXXI. Paragraph 2. Tui, the upper trigram, is weak and yin; and Kăn, the lower, is strong and yang; see Appendixes III, ii, 4, and V, 10. Kăn is below Tui; whereas the subject of the lower trigram should always take the initiative in these figures.

which are in mutual communication ; (they have the qualities of) docility and motive force ; their strong and weak (lines) all respond, each to the other :—these things are all found in Hǎng.

2. (When it is said that) 'Hǎng indicates successful progress and no error (in what it denotes) ; but the advantage will come from being firm and correct,' this indicates that there must be long continuance in its way of operation. The way of heaven and earth is to be long continued in their operation without stopping.

3. (When it is said that) 'Movement in any direction whatever will be advantageous,' this implies that when (the moving power) is spent, it will begin again.

4. The sun and moon, realising in themselves (the course of Heaven), can perpetuate their shining. The four seasons, by their changing and transforming, can perpetuate their production (of things). The sages persevere long in their course, and all under the sky are transformed and perfect. When we look at what they continue doing long, the natural tendencies of heaven, earth, and all things can be seen.

XXXII. All the conditions in paragraph 1 must be understood as leading to the indication of progress and success, which is explained in paragraph 2, and illustrated by the analogy of the course of heaven and earth.

'Movement in any direction,' as explained in paragraph 3, indicates the ever-occurring new modes and spheres of activity, to which he who is firm and correct is called.

Paragraph 4, and especially its concluding sentence, are of a meditative and reflective character not uncommon in the treatise on the Thwan.

XXXIII. 1. 'Thun indicates successful progress:—that is, in the very retiring which Thun denotes there is such progress. The strong (line) is in the ruling place, (the fifth), and is properly responded to (by the second line). The action takes place according to (the requirement of) the time.

2. 'To a small extent it will (still) be advantageous to be firm and correct:—(the small men) are gradually encroaching and advancing.

3. Great indeed is the significance of (what is required to be done in) the time that necessitates retiring.

XXXIV. 1. In *Tâ K'wang* we see that which is great becoming strong. We have the (trigram) denoting strength directing that which denotes movement, and hence (the whole) is expressive of vigour.

2. '*Tâ K'wang* indicates that it will be advantageous to be firm and correct:—that which is great (should be) correct. Given correctness and greatness (in their highest degree), and the character and tendencies of heaven and earth can be seen.

XXXIII. 'The superior man,' it is said, 'advances or withdraws according to the character of the time. The strength and correct position of the fifth line show that he is able to maintain himself; and as it is responded to by the weak second line, no opposition to what is correct in him would come from any others. He might therefore keep his place; but looking at the two weak lines, 1 and 2, he recognises in them the advance and irrepressible progress of small men, and that for a time it is better for him to give way and withdraw from the field. Thus there is successful progress even in his retiring.'

XXXIV. Paragraph 1. 'That which is great' denotes, in the first place, the group of four strong lines which strikes us on

XXXV. 1. Jin denotes advancing.

2. (In Jin we have) the bright (sun) appearing above the earth; (the symbol of) docile submission cleaving to that of the Great brightness; and the weak line advanced and moving above:—all these things give us the idea of ‘a prince who secures the tranquillity (of the people), presented on that account with numerous horses (by the king), and three times in a day received at interviews.’

XXXVI. 1. (The symbol of) the Earth and that of Brightness entering into the midst of it give the idea of Ming $\hat{\text{I}}$ (Brightness wounded or obscured).

2. The inner (trigram) denotes being accomplished and bright; the outer, being pliant and submissive. The case of king Wăn was that of one

looking at the figure, and then the superior man, or the strong men in positions of power, of whom these are the representatives. $K'ien$ is the trigram of strength, and $K'an$ that of movement.

Paragraph 2. ‘That which is great (should be) correct:’—that the ‘should be’ must be supplied in the translation appears from this, that the paragraph is intended to illustrate the text that ‘it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.’ The power of man becomes then a reflexion of the great power which we see working in nature, ‘impartially,’ ‘unselfishly.’

XXXV. To those who advocate the view that the hexagrams of the Yi have been formed by changes of the lines in manipulating with the divining stalks, the words of paragraph 2, that we have in the figure ‘the weak line advanced and moving above,’ suggest the derivation of Jin from Kwan , whose 4th and 5th lines are made to change places (). But we have seen that that view is inadmissible in the interpretation of the Yi . And a simple explanation of the language at once presents itself. As Hsiang An-shih (Sung dynasty) says, ‘Of the three “daughter” trigrams it is only Li which has its divided line occupying the central place of honour, when it is the upper trigram in a hexagram.’

who with these qualities was yet involved in great difficulties.

3. 'It will be advantageous to realise the difficulty (of the position), and maintain firm correctness:—that is, (the individual concerned) should obscure his brightness. The case of the count of *K'1* was that of one who, amidst the difficulties of his House, was able (thus) to maintain his aim and mind correct.

XXXVII. 1. In *Kiâ Zăn* the wife has her correct place in the inner (trigram), and the man his correct place in the outer. That man and woman occupy their correct places is the great righteousness shown (in the relation and positions of) heaven and earth.

2. In *Kiâ Zăn* we have the idea of an authoritative ruler;—that, namely, represented by the parental authority.

3. Let the father be indeed father, and the son son; let the elder brother be indeed elder brother, and the younger brother younger brother; let the husband be indeed husband, and the wife wife:—then will the family be in its normal state. Bring the family to that state, and all under heaven will be established.

XXXVI. The sun disappearing, as we say, 'below the earth,' or, as the Chinese writer conceives it, 'into the midst of, or within the earth,' sufficiently indicates the obscuration or wounding of brightness,—the repression and resistance of the good and bright.

King Wăn was not of the line of Shang. Though opposed and persecuted by its sovereign, he could pursue his own course, till his line came in the end to supersede the other. It could not be so with the count of *K'1*, who was a member of the House of Shang. He could do nothing that would help on its downfall.

XXXVII. Paragraph 1 first explains the statement of the

XXXVIII. 1. In Khwei we have (the symbol of) Fire, which, when moved, tends upwards, and that of a Marsh, whose waters, when moved, tend downwards. We have (also the symbols of) two sisters living together, but whose wills do not move in the same direction.

2. (We see how the inner trigram expressive of) harmonious satisfaction is attached to (the outer expressive of) bright intelligence; (we see) the weak line advanced and acting above, and how it occupies the central place, and is responded to by the strong (line below). These indications show that 'in small matters there will (still) be good fortune.'

3. Heaven and earth are separate and apart, but the work which they do is the same. Male and female are separate and apart, but with a common will they seek the same object. There is diversity between the myriad classes of beings, but there is an analogy between their several operations. Great indeed are the phenomena and the results of this condition of disunion and separation.

Thwan, about the wife, represented by line 2; and then proceeds to the husband, represented by line 5. The two trigrams become representative of the family circle, and the wide world without it. In the reference to heaven and earth it is not supposed that they are really husband and wife; but in their relation and positions they symbolise that social relation and the individuals in it.

Paragraph 2, more closely rendered, would be—'That in K'ia Z'an there is an authoritative ruler is a way of naming father and mother.' Does the writer mean to say that while the assertion of authority was indispensable in a family, that authority must have combined in it both force and gentleness?

XXXVIII. In paragraph 1 we have first an explanation of the meaning of Khwei from the symbolism of Fû-hsi. Then follows

XXXIX. 1. *K'ien* denotes difficulty. There is (the trigram expressive of) perilousness in front. When one, seeing the peril, can arrest his steps (in accordance with the significance of the lower trigram), is he not wise?

2. (The language of) *K'ien*, that 'advantage will be found in the south-west,' refers to the (strong fifth line) advanced and in the central place. That 'there will be no advantage in the north-east,' intimates that the way (of dealing with the *K'ien* state) is exhausted. That 'it will be advantageous to see the great man,' intimates that advance will lead to achievement. That the places (of the different lines after the first) are those appropriate to them indicates firm correctness and good fortune, with which the regions (of the kingdom) are brought to their normal state. Great indeed is the work to be done in the time of *K'ien*!

an explanation from that ascribed to king Wăn, where Tui represents the youngest daughter and Lî the second. The Khang-hsi editors observe that in many hexagrams we have two daughters dwelling together, but that only in this and 49 is attention called to it. The reason, they say, is that in those two diagrams the sisters are the second and third daughters, while in the others one of them is the eldest, whose place and superiority are fixed, so that between her and either of the others there can be no division or collision.

About what is said, in paragraph 2, on the weak line, as advanced and acting above, see the note on hexagram 35.

The lesson of paragraph 3 is not unity in diversity, but union with diversity.

XXXIX. The upper or front trigram is *Khân*, the attribute of which is perilousness; the lower is *Kân*, of which the arresting, actively or passively, of movement or advance is the attribute. We can understand how the union of these attributes gives the ideas of difficulty and prudent caution.

The explanations in paragraph 2 of the phraseology of the *Thwan*

XL. 1. In *K'ieh* we have (the trigram expressive of) peril going on to that expressive of movement. By movement there is an escape from the peril:—(this is the meaning of) *K'ieh*.

2. 'In (the state indicated by) *K'ieh*, advantage will be found in the south-west:—the movement (thus) intimated will win all. That 'there will be good fortune in coming back (to the old conditions)' shows that such action is that of the due medium. That 'if some operations be necessary, there will be good fortune in the early conducting of them' shows that such operations will be successful.

3. When heaven and earth are freed (from the grasp of winter), we have thunder and rain. When these come, the buds of the plants and trees that produce the various fruits begin to burst. Great indeed are the phenomena in the time intimated by *K'ieh*.

are not all easily followed. It is said that the advantageousness of the south-west is due to the central line in 5; but if we are to look for the meaning of south-west in *Khwan*, as in the diagram of king Wăn's trigrams, there is no strong central line in it. May *Khân*, as a yang trigram, be used for *Khwan*?

XL. 1. The meaning of the hexagram is brought out sufficiently well in paragraph 1 by means of the attributes of the constituent trigrams.

2. How it is that the movement indicated in the first condition will 'win' all does not immediately appear. The *Khang-hsi* editors say that 'moving to the south and west' is the same as 'returning back to the old conditions,' and that 'winning all' and acting 'according to the due medium' are descriptive of the effect and method without reference to the symbolism. Another explanation might be devised; but I prefer to leave the matter in doubt.

3. Paragraph 3 shows the analogy of what takes place in nature to the beneficent social and political changes described in the text, as is done very frequently in this Appendix.

XLI. 1. In Sun (we see) the lower (trigram) diminished, and the upper added to. (But) the method (of action) implied in this operates also above (or, mounts upwards (also) and operates).

2. 'If there be sincerity in this method of diminution, there will be great good fortune; freedom from error; firmness and correctness that can be maintained; and advantage in every movement that shall be made. In what shall this (sincerity in the exercise of Sun) be employed? (Even) in sacrifice, two baskets of grain, (though there be nothing else), may be presented:'—for these two baskets there ought to be the fitting time. There is a time when the strong should be diminished, and the weak should be strengthened. Diminution and increase, overflowing and emptiness:—these take place in harmony with the conditions of the time.

XLI. 1. All that we see is two undivided lines in the lower trigram, and then a divided one, and exactly the opposite in the upper. But the whole figure could not but have this form from the process of its formation, whether by the gradual addition of the two primitive lines, or by the imposition of the whole trigrams on one another. To say that the upper lines of *K'ien* and *Khwan* changed places to express the idea of subjects contributing in taxes to the maintenance of their ruler is absurd; and if that thought were in the mind of king Wăn (which I very much doubt), it would only show how he projected his own idea, formed independently of the figure, into its lines.

On the second sentence, the Khang-hsi editors say:—'When a minister devotes his life in the service of his lord, or the people undertake their various labours in behalf of their government, these are instances of the ministering of those below to increase those above. But in this way the intercourse of the two becomes close and their aims become the same;—does not the method of action of those below communicate itself to those above?'

In paragraph 2 the subject of contribution, such as the payment of

XLII. I. In Yt we see the upper (trigram) diminished, and the lower added to. The satisfaction of the people (in consequence of this) is without limit. What descends from above reaches to all below, so great and brilliant is the course (of its operation).

2. That 'there will be advantage in every movement which shall be undertaken' appears from the central and correct (positions of the second and fifth lines), and the (general) blessing (the dispensing of which they imply).

That 'it will be advantageous (even) to cross the great stream' appears from the action of wood (shown in the figure).

3. Yt is made up of (the trigrams expressive of) movement and docility, (through which) there is daily advancement to an unlimited extent. We have (also) in it heaven dispensing and earth producing, leading to an increase without restriction

taxes, passes into the background. The Khang-hsi editors say:— 'What is meant by diminishing in this hexagram is the regulation of expenditure or contribution according to the time. This would vary in a family according to its poverty or wealth; and in a state according to the abundance or scantiness of its resources. When it is said that there must be sincerity along with a diminution, it means that though such a diminution cannot be helped, yet what is given should be given sincerely. A small sacrifice sincerely offered is accepted. In the language, "There is a time when the strong should be diminished and the weak be strengthened," we are not to find the two baskets in the diminution of the strong. "The strong" is what is essential,—in this case sincerity; "The weak" is what is unimportant,—the amount and manner of the offering. If one supplement the insufficiency of his offering with the abundance of his sincerity, the insignificance of his two baskets will not be despised.'

of place. Everything in the method of this increase proceeds according to the requirements of the time.

XLII. 1. The process of the formation of the trigrams here is the reverse of that in the preceding hexagram; and is open to the remarks I have made on that. Of course the people are full of complacency and pleasure in the labours of their ruler for their good.

2. The mention of 'the action of wood' has reference to the upper trigram Sun, which is the symbol both of wind and wood. From wood boats and ships are made, on which the great stream may be crossed. In three hexagrams, this, 59, and 61, of which Sun is a part, we find mention made of crossing the great stream. It is generally said that the lower trigram K'án also symbolises wood; but that is obtained by a roundabout process. K'án occupies the place of the east in Wan's arrangement of the trigrams; but the east symbolises spring, when the growth of vegetation begins; and therefore K'án may symbolise wood! It was stated on p. 33, that the doctrine of 'the five elements' does not appear in the Yí. K'äng-ze takes wood (木 mû), 'as a misprint for increase (益 yî).'

3. The words 'heaven dispensing and earth producing' are based on the fancied genesis of the figure from K'ien and Khwăn (䷀), the first lines in each changing places. It was the author of this Appendix, probably, who first introduced that absurd notion in connexion with the formation of Sun and Yí.

One rhyme runs through and connects these three paragraphs thus:—

'Yî spoils the high, gives to the low;
The people feel intense delight.
Down from above to all below,
The blessing goes, so large and bright.
Success will every movement mark,
Central its source, its course aright.
The great stream even may be crossed,
When planks of wood their strength unite.
Yî movement shows and docile feet,
Which progress day by day invite.
Heaven gives; productive earth responds;
Increase crowns every vale and height;

XLIII. 1. Kwâi is the symbol of displacing or removing. We see (in the figure) the strong (lines) displacing the weak. (We have in it the attributes of) strength and complacency. There is displacement, but harmony (continues).

2. 'The exhibition (of the criminal's guilt) in the royal courtyard' is suggested by the (one) weak (line) mounted on the five strong lines.

There 'is an earnest and sincere appeal (for sympathy and support), and a consciousness of the peril (involved in the undertaking):'—it is the realisation of this danger, which makes the method (of compassing the object) brilliant.

'He should make an announcement in his own city, and show that it will not be well to have recourse at once to arms:'—(if he have recourse to arms), what he prefers will (soon) be exhausted.

'There will be advantage in whatever he shall go forward to:'—when the growth of the strong (lines) has been completed, there will be an end (of the displacement).

And ceaselessly it hastens on,
Each season's gifts quick to requite.'

XLIII. 1. The last clause of paragraph 1 is good in itself, showing that the strong and worthy statesman in removing a bad man from the state is not actuated by any private feelings. The sentiment, however, as it is expressed, can hardly be said to follow from the symbolism.

Paragraph 2. The same may be said of all the notes appended to the different clauses of this second paragraph. Hû Ping-wăn (Yüan dynasty) says:—'If but a single small man be left, he is sufficient to make the superior man anxious; if but a single inordinate desire be left in the mind, that is sufficient to disturb the harmony of heavenly principles. The eradication in both cases must be complete, before the labour is ended.'

XLIV. 1. Kâu has the significance of unexpectedly coming on. (We see in it) the weak (line) coming unexpectedly on the strong ones.

2. 'It will not be good to marry (such) a female:—one (so symbolised) should not be long associated with.

3. Heaven and earth meeting together (as here represented), all the variety of natural things become fully displayed.

4. When a strong (line) finds itself in the central and correct position, (good government) will greatly prevail all under the sky.

5. Great indeed is the significance of what has to be done at the time indicated by Kâu!

XLV. 1. 3hui indicates (the condition of union, or) being collected. We have in it (the symbol of) docile obedience going on to (what is expressed by that of) satisfaction. There is the strong line in the central place, and rightly responded to. Hence comes the (idea of) union.

2. 'The king will repair to his ancestral temple:—

XLIV. On paragraph 1 the Khang-hsi editors say:—"The weak line meets with (or comes unexpectedly on) the strong ones;"—the weak line, that is, plays the principal part. The case is like that of the minister who assumes the power of deciding for himself on all measures, or of a hen's announcing the morning;—is not the name of (shameless) boldness rightly applied to it? Hence nothing more is said about the symbol of the bold female; but attention is called to the second part of the Thwan.'

Paragraph 2 needs no remark. Paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 all speak of the importance of powers and parties meeting together,—in the world of nature, and in the sphere of human affairs. But I do not see how this sentiment is a natural sequel to that in 1 and 2, nor that it has any connexion with the teaching of the Thwan and Symbolism.

with the utmost filial piety he presents his offerings (to the spirits of his ancestors).

‘It will be advantageous to meet the great man, and there will then be prosperity and success:’—the union effected by him will be on and through what is correct.

‘The use of great victims will conduce to good fortune; and in whatsoever direction movement is made, it will be advantageous:’—all is done in accordance with the ordinances of Heaven.

3. When we look at the way in which the gatherings (here shown) take place, the natural tendencies (in the outward action) of heaven and earth and of all things can be seen.

XLVI. 1. (We find) the weak (line), as it finds the opportunity, ascending upwards.

2. We have (the attribute) of flexibility and that of obedience; we have the strong line (below) and its proper correlate above:—these things indicate that there will be ‘great progress and success.’

XLV. The lower trigram in 3hui is Khwăn, whose attribute is docile obedience; and the upper is Tui, whose attribute is pleased satisfaction. Then we have the strong line in 5, and its proper correlate in 2. These things may give the idea of union. They might also give the idea of other good things.

The Khang-hsi editors say that though ‘all is done in accordance with the ordinances of Heaven’ follows the concluding clauses of the Thwan, yet the sentiment of the words must be extended to the other clauses as well. *Khâng-ze* says that ‘the ordinances of Heaven’ are simply the natural and practical outcome of ‘heavenly principle;’—in this case what should and may be done according to the conditions and requirements of the time. So do the critics of China try to shirk the idea of personality in ‘Heaven.’

With paragraph 3, compare the concluding paragraphs of the Thwan *Kwan* on hexagrams 31, 32.

3. 'Seeking (by the qualities implied in Shǎng) to meet with the great man, its subject need have no anxiety:—there will be ground for congratulation.

'Advance to the south will be fortunate:—his aim will be carried out.

XLVII. 1. In Khwǎn (we see) the strong (lines) covered and obscured (by the weak).

2. We have in it (the attribute of) perilousness going on to that of satisfaction. Who is it but the superior man that, though straitened, still does not fail in making progress to his proper end?

'For the firm and correct, the (really) great man, there will be good fortune:—this is shown by the central positions of the strong (lines).

'If he make speeches, his words cannot be made good:—to be fond of arguing or pleading is the way to be reduced to extremity.

XLVI. The explanation of the first paragraph has given occasion to much difference of opinion. Some will have 'the weak (line)' to be 4; some 5; and some the whole of Khwǎn, the upper trigram. The advocates of 4, make it come from hexagram 40, the weak 3 of which ascends to the strong 4, displaces it, and takes its place; but we have seen repeatedly the folly of the doctrine of changing lines and figures. The great symbolism of Appendix II suggests the proper explanation. The lower trigram, Sun, represents here not wind but wood. The first line, weak, is the root of a tree planted beneath the earth. Its gradual growth symbolises the advance upwards of the subject of the hexagram, fostered, that is, by the circumstances of the time.

XLVII. 1. One sees the relative position of the strong and weak lines in the figure; but to deduce from that the idea expressed by Khwǎn requires a painful straining of the imagination. That idea was in the mind, and then the lines were interpreted accordingly.

2. 'Perilousness' is the attribute of the lower trigram, and 'satisfaction' that of the upper. The superior man, however straitened,

XLVIII. 1. (We have the symbol of) wood in the water and the raising of the water ; which (gives us the idea of) a well. A well supplies nourishment and is not (itself) exhausted.

2. 'The site of a town may be changed, while the fashion of its wells undergoes no change :—this is indicated by the central position of the strong lines (in the second and fifth places).

'The drawing is nearly accomplished, but the rope has not yet reached the water of the well :—its service has not yet been accomplished.

'The bucket is broken :—it is this that occasions evil.

XLIX. 1. In Ko (we see) water and fire extinguishing each other ; (we see also) two daughters dwelling together, but with their minds directed to

remains master of himself, and pursues the proper end of principle settled in his mind.

Why should the subject of Khwăn make speeches, be fond of arguing or pleading,—as the characters say, if we could translate them literally, 'setting a value on the mouth?' The reply to this is found in the trigram denoting 'satisfaction,' or 'being pleased.' The party in the extremity of Khwăn yet wishes and tries to make men pleased with him.

XLVIII. K'ang Khang-K'ang says :—'Khân, the upper trigram, represents water, and Sun, the lower, wood. This wood denotes the water-wheel or pulley with its bucket, which descends into the mouth of the spring, and brings the water up to the top.' This may be a correct explanation of the figure, though the reading of it from bottom to top seems at first to be strange.

Paragraph 2. That the fashion of the well does not undergo any (great) change is dwelt upon as illustrating the unchangeableness of the great principles of human nature and of government. But that this truth may be learned from the strong and central lines only produces a smile. So do the remarks on the other two sentences of the Thwan.

different objects :—(on account of these things) it is called (the hexagram of) Change.

2. 'It is believed in (only) after it has been accomplished :—when the change has been made, faith is accorded to it.

(We have) cultivated intelligence (as the basis of) pleased satisfaction, (suggesting) 'great progress and success,' coming from what is correct.

When change thus takes place in the proper way, 'occasion for repentance disappears.'

3. Heaven and earth undergo their changes, and the four seasons complete their functions. Thang changed the appointment (of the line of Hsiâ to the throne), and Wû (that of the line of Shang), in accordance with (the will of) Heaven, and in response to (the wishes of) men. Great indeed is what takes place in a time of change.

L. 1. In Ting we have (symbolically) the figure of a caldron. (We see) the (symbol of) wood entering into that of fire, which suggests the idea of cook-

XLIX. Paragraph 1. Lî, the lower trigram, represents fire, and Tui, the upper, represents water. Water will extinguish fire, and fire again will dry up water. Each, to all appearance, produces a change in the other. Again, according to king Wăn's scheme of the trigrams, as shown on p. 33, and in Figure 1, Plate III, Lî is the second, and Tui the youngest daughter. Their wills are likely to differ in love and other things; but this symbolism does not so readily suggest the idea of change.

2. The first sentence suggests how the dislike to change on the part of people generally is overcome.

The second suggests how change proceeding from intelligence and giving general satisfaction will be successful.

Paragraph 3 tells us how the greatest natural and the greatest political changes are equally successful and admirable when conducted aright.

ing. The sages cooked their offerings in order to present them to God, and made great feasts to nourish their wise and able (ministers).

2. We have the symbol of) flexible obedience, and that (which denotes) ears quick of hearing and eyes clear-sighted. (We have also) the weak (line) advanced and acting above, in the central place, and responded to by the strong (line below). All these things give the idea of 'great progress and success.'

LI. 1. *Kǎn* (gives the intimation of) ease and development.

2. 'When the (time of) movement (which it indicates) comes, (its subject) will be found looking out with apprehension : '—that feeling of dread leads to happiness. 'And yet smiling and talking cheerfully : '—the issue (of his dread) is that he adopts (proper) laws (for his course).

'The movement (like a crash of thunder) terrifies

L. 1. See the notes on the Text of the Thwan about the figure of a caldron in Ting. Its component trigrams are Sun representing wood, and Li representing fire ; which may very well suggest the idea of cooking. The last sentence of the paragraph is entirely after the style of 'the Great Symbolism.' The Khang-hs' editors say that the distinction between *3ing* and *Ting* appears here very clearly, the former relating to the nourishment of the people, and the latter to the nourishing men of worth. They add that the reality of the offerings to God is such nourishing. 'God' is here *Shang Ti*, which Canon McClatchie translates 'the First Emperor,' adding in a note, 'The Chinese Jupiter, the Emperor of gods and men!'

2. The first sentence deduces the sentiment of the Thwan from the attributes or virtues of the trigrams with considerable amplification of the virtue of Li. The second line of Li, as being divided, calls forth in other hexagrams the same notice as here. It is the most important line in the figure, and being responded to by the strong 2, gives an indication of the 'great progress and success.'

all within a hundred li:—it startles the distant and frightens the near.

‘He will be like the sincere worshipper, who is not startled into letting go his ladle and cup of sacrificial spirits:’—he makes his appearance, and maintains his ancestral temple and the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, as presiding at all sacrifices.

LII. 1. Kǎn denotes stopping or resting;—resting when it is the time to rest, and acting when it is the time to act. When one’s movements and restings all take place at the proper time for them, his way (of proceeding) is brilliant and intelligent.

2. Resting in one’s resting-point is resting in one’s proper place. The upper and lower (lines of the hexagram) exactly correspond to each other, but are without any interaction; hence it is said that ‘(the subject of the hexagram) has no consciousness of self; that when he walks in his courtyard, he does not see (any of) the persons in it; and that there will be no error.’

LI. Paragraph 1. See what is said on the Text.

2. The explanations of the Thwan here are good; but in no way deduced from the figure.

3. The portion of the text printed in a different type is supposed to have dropt out of the Chinese copies. The explanation of it that follows is based on Wǎn’s view of Kǎn as representing the oldest son. See on the Text.

LII. 1. The Khang-hsi editors give their opinion that what is said in the first sentence of this paragraph, after the explanation of the name, illustrates the first sentence of the Thwan, and that the other sentence illustrates the rest of the Thwan. It may be so, but the whole of the Thwan appears in paragraph 2.

2. The hexagram being made up of Kǎn repeated, lines 1, 2, 3 are of course the same as 4, 5, and 6. But it will be seen that there is not a proper correlation among them all. I do not see,

LIII. 1. The advance indicated by *K'ien* is (like) the marrying of a young lady which is attended by good fortune.

2. (The lines) as they advance get into their correct places:—this indicates the achievements of a successful progress.

The advance is made according to correctness:—(the subject of the hexagram) might rectify his country.

3. Among the places (of the hexagram) we see the strong undivided line in the centre.

4. 'In (the attributes of) restfulness and flexible penetration we have (the assurance of) an (onward) movement that is inexhaustible.

LIV. 1. By *K'wei Mei* (the marrying away of a younger sister) the great and righteous relation between heaven and earth (is suggested to us). If heaven and earth were to have no intercommunication, things would not grow and flourish as they do. The marriage of a younger sister is the end (of her maidenhood) and the beginning (of her motherhood).

2. We have (in the hexagram the desire of)

however, that this furnishes any ground for the entire obliviousness of self, which the *Thwan* makes out to be in the figure.

LIII. The first sentence of paragraph 2 describes the lines from 2 to 5 all getting into their proper places, as has been pointed out on the Text, and that sentence is symbolical of what is said in the second. 'The rectification of the country' is the reality of 'the successful progress.'

'The strong undivided line' in paragraph 3 is the fifth of the figure.

Out of rest comes movement to go on for an indefinite time, and be succeeded by rest again;—as says paragraph 4.

pleasure and, on the ground of that, movement following. The marrying away is of a younger sister.

3. 'Any action will be evil : '—the places (of the lines) are not those appropriate to them.

'It will be in no wise advantageous : '— the weak (third and fifth lines) are mounted on strong lines.

LV. 1. Fǎng has the signification of being great. It is made up of the trigrams (representing)

LIV. 1. Kwei Mei in this Appendix has the meaning simply of marriage, and for Mei we might substitute Nü, 'daughter' or 'young lady.' This appears from the writer's going on to point out, as elsewhere, the analogy between the growth of things in nature from the interaction of heaven and earth and the increase of mankind through marriage. He does this with a delicate touch. There is no grossness in the original any more than there is in the translation.

But how are we to reconcile this reference to the action of heaven and earth with the bad auspice of the Thwan? The Khang-hsi editors felt the pressure of this difficulty, and they adduce a similar inconsistency in the account of hexagram 44 in this treatise, adding, 'From this we may say that the interaction of the yin and yang cannot be dispensed with, but that we ought to be careful about it in the beginning in order to prevent mischief in the end. This is the doctrine of the Yi.' This is very well, but it is no solution of the difficulty. The editors could not admit that the author of the Appendix did not understand or did not deal fairly with the Text; for that author, they thought, was Confucius.

2. The same editors say that paragraph 2 implies both that the desire for the marriage originated with the lady, and that she was aware that the gentleman was older than herself.

3. The position of a divided line above an undivided is always represented as an evil omen; it is difficult to understand why. There is less of an appearance of reason about it than in some other things which are said about the lines. The lines are where they cannot but be from the way in which the figures were formed.

intelligence and movement directed by that intelligence. It is thus that it has that signification.

2. 'The king has reached the condition (denoted by Fǎng):'—he has still to make it greater.

'There is no occasion to be anxious. Let him be as the sun at noon:'—it is for him to cause his light to shine on all under the sky.

3. When the sun has reached the meridian height, it begins to decline. When the moon has become full, it begins to wane. The (interaction of) heaven and earth is now vigorous and abundant, now dull and scanty, growing and diminishing according to the seasons. How much more must it be so with (the operations of) men! How much more also with the spiritual agency!

LVI. 1. 'Lü indicates that there may be some small attainment and progress:'—the weak (line) occupies the central place in the outer (trigram), and is obedient to the strong (lines on either side of it). (We have also the attributes of quiet) resting closely attached to intelligence (in the com-

LV. The Khang-hsi editors remark that paragraph 1 is not so much explaining the meaning of the name Fǎng, as accounting for the hexagram, composed of Lî and Kǎn, having such a meaning.

Paragraph 3 seems rather contrary to the lesson of the hexagram. According to it, prosperity cannot be maintained, any more than we can have the other seasons without winter or perpetual day without night; but the object of the essay is to exhort to the maintenance of prosperity. Is it the case that the rise of every commonwealth and cause must be followed by its decay and fall? The mind refuses to admit the changes of the seasons, &c., as a true analogy for all moral and intellectual movements. See an important remark on the concluding sentence in the Introduction, pp. 34, 35.

ponent trigrams). Hence it is said, 'There may be some small attainment and progress. If the stranger or traveller be firm and correct as he ought to be, there will be good fortune.'

2. Great is the time and great is the right course to be taken as intimated in Lü!

LVII. 1. The double Sun shows how, in accordance with it, (governmental) orders are reiterated.

2. (We see that) the strong (fifth line) has penetrated into the central and correct place, and the will (of its subject) is being carried into effect; (we see also) the weak (first and fourth lines) both obedient to the strong lines (above them). It is hence said, 'There will be some little attainment and progress. There will be advantage in movement onward in whatever direction. It will be advantageous also to see the great man.'

LVI. What is said in paragraph 1 is intended to explain the Thwan, and not to account for the meaning of the name Lü. It is assumed that Lü means a stranger; and the writer from the position of the fifth line, and from the attributes of the component trigrams, derives the ideas of humility, docility, a quiet restfulness, and intelligence as the characteristics proper to a stranger, and which are likely to lead to his attaining what he desires, and then advancing.

LVII. 1. The language of this paragraph has often occurred to me in reading commands and addresses issued by the emperors of China, such as the essays on the precepts in what is called the Sacred Edict, the reiteration employed in many of which is remarkable.

Paragraph 2. The 'obedience of the weak lines to the strong ones' grows, in a way not very perceptible, from the idea of the hexagram, and the quality of the trigram as denoting penetration and flexibility.

LVIII. 1. Tui has the meaning of pleased satisfaction.

2. (We have) the strong (lines) in the centre, and the weak (lines) on the outer edge (of the two trigrams), (indicating that) in pleasure what is most advantageous is the maintenance of firm correctness. Through this there will be found an accordance with (the will of) heaven, and a correspondence with (the feelings of) men. When (such) pleasure goes before the people, (and leads them on), they forget their toils; when it animates them in encountering difficulties, they forget (the risk of) death. How great is (the power of) this pleased satisfaction, stimulating in such a way the people!

LIX. 1. 'Hwan intimates that there will be progress and success:—(we see) the strong line (in the second place) of the lower trigram, and not suffering any extinction there; and (also) the weak line occupying its place in the outer trigram, and uniting (its action) with that of the line above.

2. 'The king goes to his ancestral temple:—the king's (mind) is without any deflection.

3. 'It will be advantageous to cross the great stream:—(the subject of the hexagram) rides in

LVIII. The feeling of pleasure going before the people and leading them on to endure toil and encounter death must be supposed to be produced in them by the example and lessons of their ruler. Lü Faû-hsien paraphrases this portion of the text thus:—'When the sage with this precedes them, he can make them endure toil without any wish to decline it, and go with him into difficulty and danger without their having any fear.' I think this was intended to be the teaching of the hexagram, but the positive expression of it is hardly discernible.

(a vessel of) wood (over water), and will do so with success.

LX. 1. 'K'ieh intimates progress and attainment:—the strong and weak (lines) are equally divided, and the strong lines occupy the central places.

2. 'If the regulations (which K'ieh prescribes) be severe and difficult, they cannot be permanent:—its course (of action) will in that case come to an end.

3. (We have the feeling of) pleasure and satisfaction directing the course amidst peril. (We have) all regulations controlled (by authority) in its proper place. (We have) free action proceeding from the central and correct position.

4. Heaven and earth observe their regular terms, and we have the four seasons complete. (If rulers) frame their measures according to (the due) regulations, the resources (of the state) suffer no injury, and the people receive no hurt.

LIX. 1. This paragraph has been partially anticipated in the notes on the Thwan. The second line is said to suffer 'no extinction,' because the lower trigram is that of peril. The Khang-hsî editors say that the former part of this paragraph shows how the root of the work of the hexagram is strengthened, and the latter part how the execution of that work is secured.

The conclusion of paragraph 2 is, literally, 'The king indeed is in the middle.' This does not mean, as some say, that the king is in the middle of the temple, but that his mind or heart is exactly set on the central truth of what is right and good.

The upper trigram Sun represents both wind and wood. To explain the meaning of Hwan, the significance of wind is taken; the writer here seizes on that of wood, as furnishing materials for a boat in which the great stream can be crossed.

LX. Paragraph 1. See what is said on the Text of the Thwan.

LXI. 1. In *Kung Fû* we have the (two) weak lines in the innermost part (of the figure), and strong lines occupying the central places (in the trigrams). (We have the attributes) of pleased satisfaction and flexible penetration. Sincerity (thus symbolled) will transform a country.

2. 'Pigs and fish (are moved), and there will be good fortune:—sincerity reaches to (and affects even) pigs and fishes.

'There will be advantage in crossing the great stream:—(we see in the figure) one riding on (the emblem of) wood, which forms an empty boat.

3. In (the exercise of the virtue denoted by) *Kung Fû*, (it is said that) 'there will be advantage in being firm and correct:—in that virtue indeed we have the response (of man) to Heaven.

'Its course will come to an end' is the opposite of the intimation in *Kieh* of progress and attainment.

In paragraph 3 the writer returns to this intimation of the figure:—by the attributes of the trigrams; by the appropriate positions of lines 4 and 5; and by the central and correct place of 5.

Paragraph 4 illustrates the importance of doing things according to rule by reference to the operations of nature and the enactments and institutions of sage rulers.

LXI. 1. The structure of the lineal figure which is here insisted on has been pointed out in explaining the *Thwan*. On what is further said as to the attributes of the trigrams and their effect, *K'ang-ze* observes:—'We have in the sincerity shown in the upper trigram superiors condescending to those below them in accordance with their peculiarities, and we have in that of the lower those below delighted to follow their superiors. The combination of these two things leads to the transformation of the country and state.'

Paragraph 2. The two divided lines in the middle of the figure are supposed to give the semblance of an empty boat, and an

LXII. 1. In Hsião Kwo (we see) the small (lines) exceeding the others, and (giving the intimation of) progress and attainment.

2. Such 'exceeding, in order to its being advantageous, must be associated with firmness and correctness:—that is, it must take place (only) according to (the requirements of) the time.

3. The weak (lines) are in the central places, and hence (it is said that what the name denotes) may be done in small affairs, and there will be good fortune.

4. Of the strong (lines one) is not in its proper place, and (the other) is not central, hence it is said that (what the name denotes) 'should not be done in great affairs.'

5. (In the hexagram) we have 'the symbol of a bird on the wing, and of the notes that come down from such a bird, for which it is better to descend than to ascend, thereby leading to great good fortune:—to ascend is contrary to what is reasonable in the case, while to descend is natural and right.

empty boat, it is said (with doubtful truth), is not liable to be upset. The trigram Sun symbolises both wind and wood.

A good commentary on paragraph 3 is supplied in many passages of 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' e. g. chap. 20. 18:—'Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men.'

LXII. Paragraph 1. That the small lines exceed the others appears at a glance. The intimation of progress and attainment is less clear. Compare the first paragraph of Appendix I to hexagram 33.

'The requirements of the time' in paragraph 2 cannot make

LXIII. 1. 'K'î 3î intimates progress and success:—in small matters, that is, there will be that progress and success.

2. 'There will be advantage in being firm and correct:—the strong and weak (lines) are correctly arranged, each in its appropriate place.

3. 'There has been good fortune in the beginning:—the weak (second line) is in the centre.

4. 'In the end' there is a cessation (of effort), and 'disorder arises:—the course (that led to rule and order) is (now) exhausted.

LXIV. 1. 'Wei 3î intimates progress and success (in the circumstances which it implies):—the weak (fifth) line is in the centre.

2. 'The young fox has nearly crossed the stream:—but he has not yet escaped from the midst (of the danger and calamity).

right wrong or wrong right; but they may modify the conventional course to be taken in any particular case.

It is easy to explain paragraphs 3 and 4, but what is said in them carries no conviction to the mind.

The sentiment of paragraph 5 is good, apart from the symbolism, which is only perplexing.

LXIII. For paragraphs 1 and 2, see the note on the Text of the Thwan.

It is difficult to see the concatenation in paragraph 3 between the sentiment of the Thwan and the nature of the second line. The Khang-hsî editors compare this hexagram and the next with 11 and 12, observing that the goodness of Thâi (11) is concentrated, as here, in the second line.

The sentiment of paragraph 4 is that which we have often met with,—that things move on with a constant process of change. Disorder succeeds to order, and again order to disorder.

‘Its tail gets immersed. There will be no advantage in any way:’—there is not at the end a continuance (of the purpose) at the beginning. Although the places (of the different lines) are not those appropriate to them, yet a strong (line) and a weak (line always) respond to each other.

LXIV. Paragraph 1. The indication is derived from the fifth line, divided, which is in the ruler’s place. It occupies a strong place, has for its correlate the strong 2, and is itself in the centre of the yin trigram Lî.

Paragraph 2. Line 2 represents ‘the young fox.’ A strong line in the midst of the trigram of peril, its subject will be restless; and responding to the ruler in 5, he will be forward and incautious in taking action. The issue will be evil, and the latter end different from the beginning. What is said in the last sentence shows further how Wei 3î indicates progress.

APPENDIX II.

Treatise on the Symbolism of the Hexagrams, and of the duke /
of Kâu's Explanations of the several Lines.

SECTION I.

I. Heaven, in its motion, (gives the idea of) strength. The superior man, in accordance with this, nerves himself to ceaseless activity.

1. 'The dragon lies hid in the deep;—it is not the time for active doing : '—(this appears from) the strong and undivided line's being in the lowest place.

2. 'The dragon appears in the field : '—the diffusion of virtuous influence has been wide.

3. 'Active and vigilant all the day : '—(this refers to) the treading of the (proper) path over and over again.

4. 'He seems to be leaping up, but is still in the deep : '—if he advance, there will be no error.

5. 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky : '—the great man rouses himself to his work.

6. 'The dragon exceeds the proper limits;—there will be occasion for repentance : '—a state of fulness, that is, should not be indulged in long.

7. 'The same undivided line is used' (in all the places of this hexagram), but the attribute of heaven (thereby denoted) should not (always) take the foremost place.

Like the Text under each hexagram, what is said under each in this treatise on its symbolism is divided into two portions. The

II. The (capacity and sustaining) power of the earth is what is denoted by *Khwān*. The superior man, in accordance with this, with his large virtue supports (men and) things.

1. 'He is treading on hoarfrost;—the strong ice will come (by and by):'—the cold (air) has begun to take form. Allow it to go on quietly according to its nature, and (the hoarfrost) will come to strong ice.

2. The movement indicated by the second line, divided, is 'from the straight (line) to the square.' '(Its operation), without repeated effort, in every way advantageous,' shows the brilliant result of the way of earth.

3. 'He keeps his excellence under restraint, but firmly maintains it:'—at the proper time he will manifest it. 'He may have occasion to engage in the king's service:'—great is the glory of his wisdom.

first is called 'the Great Symbolism,' and is occupied with the tri-grammatic composition of the hexagram, to the statement of which is always subjoined an exhibition of the use which should be, or has been, made of the lesson suggested by the meaning of the whole figure in the administration of affairs, or in self-government. If the treatise be rightly ascribed to Confucius, this practical application of the teaching of the symbols is eminently characteristic of his method in inculcating truth and duty; though we often find it difficult to trace the connexion between his premiss and conclusion. This portion of the treatise will be separated by a double space from what follows,—'the Lesser Symbolism,' in the explanations of the several lines.

I. *K'ien* is formed by redoubling the trigram of the same name. In the case of other hexagrams of similar formation, the repetition of the trigram is pointed out. That is not done here, according to *K'ü Hsi*, 'because there is but one heaven.' But the motion of heaven is a complete revolution every day, resumed again the next; so moves 'the unwearied sun from day to day,' making it a good symbol of renewed, untiring effort.

4. 'A sack tied up;—there will be no error:—this shows how, through carefulness, no injury will be received.

5. 'The yellow lower-garment;—there will be great good fortune:—this follows from that ornamental (colour's) being in the right and central place.

6. 'The dragons fight in the wild:—the (onward) course (indicated by Khwăn) is pursued to extremity.

7. '(The lines are all weak and divided, as appears from) the use of the number six:—but (those who are thus represented) becoming perpetually correct and firm, there will thereby be a great consummation.

II. Khwăn is formed by redoubling the trigram of the same name and having 'the earth for its symbol.' As in the former hexagram, the repetition is emphatic, not otherwise affecting the meaning of the hexagram. 'As there is but one heaven,' says Kû Hsi, 'so there is but one earth.' The first part of 'the Great Symbolism' appears in Canon McClatchie's version as—'Khwăn is the generative part of earth.' By 'generative part' he probably means 'the productive or prolific faculty.' If he mean anything else, there comes out a conclusion antagonistic to his own view of the 'mythology' of the Yî. The character Shî, which he translates by 'generative part,' is defined in Dr. Williams' dictionary as 'the virility of males.' Such is the special significance of it. If it were so used here, the earth would be masculine.

It is difficult to say exactly what the writer meant by—'The superior man, in accordance with this, and with his large nature, supports (men and) things.' Lin Hsi-yüan (Ming dynasty) says:—'The superior man, in his single person, sustains the burden of all under the sky. The common people depend on him for their rest and enjoyment. Birds and beasts and creeping things, and the tribes of the vegetable kingdom, depend on him for the fulfilment of their destined being. If he be of a narrow mind and cold virtue, how can he help them? Their hope in him would be in vain.'

'The Smaller Symbolism' is sufficiently dealt with in the notes on the Text.

III. (The trigram representing) clouds and (that representing) thunder form *Kun*. The superior man, in accordance with this, (adjusts his measures of government) as in sorting the threads of the warp and woof.

1. Although 'there is a difficulty in advancing,' the mind (of the subject of the line) is set on doing what is correct. While noble, he humbles himself to the mean, and grandly gains the people.

2. The difficulty (to the subject of) the second line, divided, arises from its place over the undivided line below it. 'The union and children after ten years' shows things resuming their regular course.

3. 'One pursues the deer without the (guidance of the) forester:—(he does so) in (his eagerness to) follow the game. 'The superior man gives up the chase, (knowing that) if he go forward he will regret it:—he would be reduced to extremity.

4. 'Going forward after such a search (for a helper)' shows intelligence.

5. 'Difficulty is experienced (by the subject of the fifth line) in bestowing his rich favours:—the extent to which they reach will not yet be conspicuous.

6. 'He weeps tears of blood in streams:—how can the state (thus emblemed) continue long?

III. *Khan* represents water, especially in the form of rain. Here its symbol is a cloud. The whole hexagram seems to place us in the atmosphere of a thunderous sky overhung with thick and gloomy clouds, when we feel oppressed and distressed. This is not a bad emblem of the political state in the mind of the writer. When the thunder has pealed, and the clouds have discharged their

IV. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and beneath it that for a spring issuing forth from Măng. The superior man, in accordance with this, strives to be resolute in his conduct and nourishes his virtue.

1. 'It will be advantageous to use punishment:'—the object being to bring under the influence of correcting law.

2. 'A son able to (sustain the burden of) his family:'—as appears from the reciprocation between this strong line and the weak (fifth line).

3. 'A woman (such as is here represented) should not be taken in marriage:'—her conduct is not agreeable to what is right.

4. 'The regret arising from ignorance bound in chains' is due to the special distance of (the subject of this line) from the solidity (shown in lines 2 and 6).

5. 'The good fortune belonging to the simple lad without experience' comes from his docility going on to humility.

burden of rain, the atmosphere is cleared, and there is a feeling of relief. But I fail again to discern clearly the connexion between the symbolism and the lesson about the superior man's administration of affairs.

The subject of the first line of the Smaller Symbolism is represented by the undivided line, and therefore is firm and correct. He is noble, but his place is below the divided lines, symbols of the weak and mean (see Appendix IV, i, 1).

Line 2. 'Things resume their regular course:'—the subject is now at liberty to seek a union with the subject of line 5, according to the rules of the symbolism. Lines 1 and 4, 2 and 5, 3 and 6, the corresponding lines of the trigrams, are correlates.

The subject of line 4 naturally recurs to the correlate in line 1. He is the natural helper in the case, and he has the ability.

6. 'Advantage will come from warding off injury:'—(the subject of this line) above and (the ignorant) below, all do and are done to in accordance with their nature.

V. (The trigram for) clouds ascending over that

IV. 'The spring here issuing forth' is different from the defile with a stream in it, in the explanation of the Thwan; different moreover from 'rain,' mentioned also as the phenomenon which is the natural symbol of Khan. The presence of water, however, is common to the three. But the water of the spring, or of the stream, would flow away from the hill, and not be stopped by it; as an emblem therefore of the ignorance and inexperience denoted by Măng it is not suitable. Kû Hsî says that 'the water of a spring is sure to move on and gradually advance.' This may serve as a symbol of the general process and progress of education, though it gives no account of the symbolism of the hill. It serves also to explain in part the transition of the writer to the subject of the superior man, and his dealing apparently with himself.

Does line 1 set forth the use of punishment as the dernier resort, undesirable, but possibly unavoidable, to bring men in subjection to law?

The force of line 2 comes out fully in the Thwan.

That a woman such as is represented in line 3 should not be taken in marriage is clear enough; but I do not see the bearing of the illustration on the proper lesson in the hexagram.

Line 3 separates 4 from 2, and 5 separates it from 6. Weak in itself, it is farther removed than any other from the two strong lines in the hexagram, and is represented as 'cribbed' in its ignorance.

The fifth is the most honourable place in the figure, and here is occupied by a weak line. This looks, however, to the occupant of line 2, less honourable than itself, and is marked by the two attributes that are named. Compare what is said on line 2.

A strong line in the topmost place must represent, according to the scheme of the hexagram, one who uses force in the cause of education; but the force is put forth not on the ignorant, but on those who would keep them ignorant, or increase their ignorance. The subject of this line, therefore, acts according to his nature, and the subjects of all the weak lines below are cared for as is best for them.

for the sky forms Hsü. The superior man, in accordance with this, eats and drinks, feasts and enjoys himself (as if there were nothing else to employ him).

1. 'He is waiting in the (distant) border:—he makes no movement to encounter rashly the difficulties (of the situation). 'It will be advantageous for him constantly to maintain (the purpose thus shown), in which case there will be no error:—he will not fail to pursue that regular course.

2. 'He is waiting on the sand:—he occupies his position in the centre with a generous forbearance. Though 'he suffer the small injury of being spoken (against),' he will bring things to a good issue.

3. 'He is waiting in the mud:—calamity is (close at hand, and as it were) in the outer (trigram). 'He himself invites the approach of injury:—if he be reverent and careful, he will not be worsted.

4. 'He is waiting in (the place of) blood:—he accommodates himself (to the circumstances of the time), and hearkens to (its requirements).

5. 'The appliances of a feast, and the good fortune through being firm and correct,' are indicated by (the position in) the central and correct place.

6. 'Guests come unurged (to give their help), and if (the subject of the line) receive them respectfully, there will be good fortune in the end:—though the occupant and the place are not suited to each other, there has been no great failure (in what has been done).

V. 'The cloud,' it is said, 'that has risen to the top of the sky, has nothing more to do till it is called on, in the harmony of heaven

VI. (The trigram representing) heaven and (that representing) water, moving away from each other, form Sung. The superior man, in accordance with this, in the transaction of affairs takes good counsel about his first steps.

1. 'He does not perpetuate the matter about which (the contention is):'—contention should not be prolonged. Although 'he may suffer the small (injury) of being spoken against,' his argument is clear.

2. 'He is unequal to the contention; he retires and keeps concealed, stealthily withdrawing from it:'—for him from his lower place to contend with (the stronger one) above, would be to (invite) calamity, as if he brought it with his hand to himself.

3. 'He confines himself to the support assigned

and earth, to discharge its store of rain.' This gives to the writer the idea of waiting; and the superior man is supposed to be taught by this symbolism to enjoy his idle time, while he is waiting for the approach of danger and occasion for action.

'The regular course' of the subject of line 1 seems to be the determination to wait, at a distance from danger, the proper time to act.

The subject of line 2, which is undivided and in the centre, is thereby shown to be possessed of a large and generous forbearance.

The recognition of the circumstances of the time, and hearkening to its requirements, explain, in paragraph 4, 'the retreat from the cavern,' which is not here repeated from the Text. The line being weak and divided, its subject knows his own incompetency, and takes this prudent step.

K'û says that he does not understand what is said under line 6,—that the occupant and the place are not suited to each other, for the yin line being in the sixth, an even place, seems to be where it ought to be. We are only surprised that cases of inconsistency in these explanations are not more numerous.

to him of old:’—(thus) following those above him, he will have good fortune.

4. ‘He returns to (the study of Heaven’s) ordinances, changes (his wish to contend), and rests in being firm and correct:’—he does not fail (in doing what is right).

5. ‘He contends;—and with great fortune:’—this is shown by his holding the due mean and being in the correct place.

6. ‘He receives the robe through his contention:’—but still he is not deserving of respect.

VII. (The trigram representing) the earth and in the midst of it that representing water, form Sze. The superior man, in accordance with this, nourishes and educates the people, and collects (from among them) the multitudes (of the hosts).

I. ‘The host goes forth according to the rules (for) such a movement:’—if those rules be not observed, there will be evil.

VI. The symbolism here is different from that in the Text of the Thwan. We have the visible sky ascending and water or rain descending, which indicate, one hardly sees how, opposition and contention. The lesson as to the course of the superior man is a good one, but might with equal propriety be deduced from many other hexagrams.

Hsiang An-shih (Sung dynasty) says that the first part of paragraph 2 is all to be taken as the language of the duke of Kâu, the characters being varied; the rest is the remark of the writer of this treatise.

It is observed that the returning to (the study of Heaven’s) ordinances, and changing the wish to contend, in paragraph 4, are not two things, but only one; ‘the ordinances (ming) meaning what is right in principle.’ The wish to contend was wrong in principle, and is now abandoned.

‘The robe’ takes the place of ‘the leathern sash’ in paragraph 6; but the sash was merely an appendage of the robe.

2. 'He is in the midst of the host, and there will be good fortune:—he has received the favour of Heaven. 'The king has thrice conveyed to him the orders (of) his favour:—(the king) cherishes the myriad regions in his heart.

3. 'The host with the possibility of its having many idle leaders:—great will be its want of success.

4. 'The host is in retreat; but there is no error:—there has been no failure in the regular course.

5. 'The oldest son leads the host:—its movements are directed by him in accordance with his position in the centre. 'Younger men idly occupy their positions:—the employment of such men is improper.

6. 'The great ruler delivers his charges:—thereby he rightly apportions merit. 'Small men should not be employed:—they are sure to throw the states into confusion.

VII. 'The Great Symbolism' here is not more satisfactory than in other paragraphs of it which have already come before us. *K'ü Hsi* says:—'As the water is not outside the earth, so soldiers are not outside the people. Therefore if (a ruler) be able to nourish the people, he can get the multitudes (of his hosts).' Is the meaning this,—that originally the people and soldiers are one body; that a portion of the people are taken out from among the mass, as occasion requires, to do the duty of soldiers; and that the nourishment and education of the people is the best way to have good soldiers ready for use on any emergency? Compare the saying of Confucius in *Analects XIII, xxx*.

What is said on the second line, that the general 'has received the favour of Heaven,' refers of course to the entire confidence reposed in him by the ruler or king, the subject of line 5. In this way Thien here is equal to Thien wang, so frequent in the 'Spring and Autumn,' and meaning—'King by the grace of

VIII. (The trigram representing) the earth, and over it (that representing) water, form P1. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, established the various states and maintained an affectionate relation to their princes.

1. From 'the seeking union with its object' shown in the first line, divided, there will be other advantages.

2. 'The movement towards union and attachment proceeds from the inward (mind):'—(the party concerned) does not fail in what is proper to himself.

3. 'Union is sought with such as ought not to be associated with:'—but will not injury be the result?

4. 'Union is sought (by the party intended here) with one beyond himself, and (in this case) with a worthy object:'—he is following (the ruler) above him.

5. 'The good fortune belonging to the most illustrious instance of seeking union and attachment' appears in the correct and central position (of the fifth line, undivided).

(The king's) neglecting (the animals) confronting him (and then fleeing), and (only) taking those who present themselves as it were obediently, is seen in

Heaven.' But the great powers given to the general are from the king's wish through him to promote the good of all the nation.

In military operations there must be one ruling will and mind. A divided authority is sure to be a failure. But 'a retreat' is no evidence of failure in a campaign. When advance would lead to disaster, retreat is the regular course to pursue.

Other ways can be found to reward small men. They ought not to be placed in situations where the condition of others will depend on them.

'his allowing the escape of those in front of him.' 'That the people of his towns do not warn one another (to prevent such escape),' shows how he, in his high eminence, has made them pursue the due course.

6. 'He seeks union and attachment without taking the first (step to such an end):'—there is no possibility of a (good) issue.

IX. (The trigram representing) the sky, and that representing wind moving above it, form Hsião *K'û*. The superior man, in accordance with this, adorns the outward manifestation of his virtue.

1. 'He returns and pursues his own path:'—it is right that there should be good fortune.

2. 'By the attraction (of the subject of the former line) he returns (to its own course),' and is in the central place:—neither will he err in what is due from him.

3. 'Husband and wife look on each other with averted eyes:'—(the subject of line three is like a

VIII. 'Water upon the face of the earth' is supposed to be an emblem of close union. Of the mere fact of close union this may be accepted as a fair illustration, and of its completeness. Some other symbolism might set forth better the tendency of parties to union, and their seeking it. What is said about the ancient kings is more pertinent to the meaning of the hexagram than in many other applications in 'the Great Symbolism.' The king appears in it not only as the centre, but as the cause, of union.

'The other advantages' under line 1 refer to all the benefits that will result from sincerity and union, which are in themselves good.

It is hardly possible to make what is said under line 5, on the royal huntings, agree with the account of them given on the same line in the duke of *K'âu*'s text. I suspect that there is some corruption of the text. The two verbs 'neglecting' and 'taking' seem to be used, the one for the other.

husband who) cannot maintain correctly his relations with his wife.

4. 'He is possessed of sincerity; his (ground for) apprehension is dismissed:—(the subjects of the lines) above agree in aim with him.

5. 'He is possessed of sincerity, and draws others to unite with him:—he does not use only his own rich resources.

6. 'The rain has fallen and (the onward progress) is stayed:—the power (denoted in the figure) has accumulated to the full. 'If the superior man prosecute his measures, there will be evil:—he will find himself obstructed.

IX. The suitability of the symbolism here is made all to turn on the wind. 'Wind,' says *K'ü*, 'is simply the air, without solid substance; it can restrain, but not for long.' The wind moves in the sky for a time, and then ceases. The process of thought from the symbol to the lesson is not easily traced. Is it meant to say that virtue manifesting itself outwardly—in the carriage and speech—is, however good, but a small matter, admirable in an officer, or even a feudal lord, but that we look for more in a king, the Head of a nation?

K'äng-ze calls attention to the addition to the duke of *K'âu*'s explanation in the notice on line 2, that 'it is in the central place,' adding that this explains how the subject of the line restrains himself, and does not go beyond what is due from him.

Only half of the symbolism in the Text of line 3 is taken up here. Line 1, it is said, is far from line 4, the *mauvais sujet* of the hexagram, and little affected by it; line 2 is nearer, but, being in the centre, suffers little; line 3 is close on it, and, not being in the centre, comes under its evil influence; while line 6 gives no help.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place, appropriate to it; and hence its subject is said to 'have sincerity.' Being the first line, moreover, of Sun, the two others take their character from it.

Line 5, being undivided, and occupying the most important place in the figure, according to the value usually attached to the lines, is

X. (The trigram representing) the sky above, and below it (that representing the waters of) a marsh, form Lt. The superior man, in accordance with this, discriminates between high and low, and gives settlement to the aims of the people.

1. 'He treads his accustomed path and goes forward:—singly and exclusively he carries out his (long-cherished) wishes.

2. 'A quiet and solitary man, to whom, being firm and correct, there will be good fortune:—holding the due mean, he will not allow himself to be thrown into disorder.

3. 'A one-eyed man (who thinks that he) can see:—he is not fit to see clearly. 'A lame man (who thinks that he can) tread well:—one cannot walk along with him. 'The ill fortune of being bitten' arises from the place not being the proper one for him. 'A (mere) bravo acting the part of a great ruler:—this is owing to his aims being (too) violent.

4. 'He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune:—his aim takes effect.

5. 'He treads resolutely; and though he be firm and correct, there is peril:—this is due to his being in the position that is correct and appropriate to him.

said 'to be rich,' or 'to have rich resources.' With these he unites with the 'subjects' of line 4 to effect their common object.

Under line 6 we are told that the restraint is at its height, and the restrained should keep still for a time. The paragraph is metrical. The paragraphs to lines 1, 2, 3, all rhyme together. So do those to 4, 5; and now under 6, we have a couplet:—

'Lo! rain, lo! rest, the power is full!
Good man! hold hard. Obstructions rule.'

6. 'There will be great good fortune,' and that in the occupancy of the topmost line :—this is great matter for congratulation.

XI. (The trigrams for) heaven and earth in communication together form Thái. The (sage) sovereign, in harmony with this, fashions and completes (his regulations) after the courses of heaven and earth, and assists the application of the adaptations furnished by them,—in order to benefit the people.

1. 'The good fortune of advance, (as suggested by the emblem of) the grass pulled up,' arises from the will (of the party intended) being set on what is external to himself.

2. 'He bears with the uncultivated, and proves himself acting in accordance with the due mean :—for (his intelligence is) bright and (his capacity is) great.

3. 'There is no going away so that there shall not be a return' refers to this as the point where the interaction of heaven and earth takes place.

4. 'He comes fluttering (down), not relying on

X. 'The sky above and a marsh lying below it is true,' says *Kháng-ze*, 'in nature and reason; and so should be the rules of propriety on which men tread.' This symbolism is far-fetched; and so is the application of it, if in any way drawn from it. But it is true that the members of a community or nation must keep their several places and duties in order to its being in a state of good order.

For lines 1, 2, 3, and 4, see notes on the Text.

If we might translate the conclusion of what is said on line 5, by—'in the position that is correctly appropriate to him,' the meaning would be more clear, though still the assumption which I have pointed out on the Text would underlie the statement; and as evidently as there, what is said under line 6 is but a truism.

his own rich resources:—both he and his neighbours are out of their real (place where they are). ‘They have not received warning, but (come) in the sincerity (of their hearts):’—this is what they have desired in the core of their hearts.

5. ‘By such a course there is happiness, and there will be great good fortune:’—(the subject of the line) employs the virtue proper to his central position to carry his wishes into effect.

6. ‘The city wall returned back into the moat’ shows how the (governmental) orders have (long) been in disorder.

XII. (The trigrams of) heaven and earth, not in intercommunication, form Phī. The superior man, in accordance with this, restrains (the manifestation) of) his virtue, and avoids the calamities (that threaten him). There is no opportunity of conferring on him the glory of emolument.

XI. It is difficult to translate the application of ‘the Great Symbolism’ here, so that it shall be intelligible to a reader. *Khǎng-ze* says:—‘A ruler should frame his laws and regulations so that the people may avail themselves of the seasons of heaven, and of the advantages afforded by the earth, assisting their transforming and nourishing services, and completing their abundant and admirable benefits. Thus the breath of spring, calling forth all vegetable life, gives the law for sowing and planting; the breath of autumn, completing and solidifying all things, gives the law for ingathering and storing,’ &c.

The subject of line 1 has ‘his will on what is external to himself:’—he is bent on going forward.

K’û Hsī explains what is said on paragraph 4, that the upper lines ‘are out of their real place where they are,’ or, literally, ‘have lost their substantiality,’ by the remark that ‘their proper place, as being weak lines, is below.’ The editors of the imperial edition prefer another explanation, on which I need not enter.

1. 'The good fortune through firm goodness, (suggested by) the pulling up of the grass,' arises from the will (of the parties intended) being bent on (serving) the ruler.

2. 'The great man, comporting himself as the distress and obstruction require, will have success:'—he does not allow himself to be disordered by the herd (of small men).

3. That 'his shame is folded in his breast' is owing to the inappropriateness of his position.

4. 'He acts in accordance with the ordination (of Heaven), and commits no error:'—the purpose of his mind can be carried into effect.

5. 'The good fortune of the great man' arises from the correctness of his position.

6. 'The distress and obstruction having reached its end, it is overthrown and removed:'—how could it be prolonged?

XII. 'The Great Symbolism' here is sufficiently explained in the first Appendix. The application, however, is here again difficult, though we may try to find in it a particular instance of the interruption of communication,—in great merit not meeting with its reward.

The subject of the first line is one of the cluster of small men who are able to change their mind, and set their hearts to love their ruler.

The subject of the second line is a 'great man,' and occupies the place in the centre.

The subject of the third line is weak, and does not occupy his correct position;—hence the symbolism.

The fourth line is near the fifth, the ruler's place. It is a strong line in an even place; but acting according to the will of Heaven or of the ruler, its subject gets his purpose carried out.

The subject of the fifth line is the great man, the ruler in his right place. Hence he is successful, and in the last line, we see

XIII. (The trigrams for) heaven and fire form Thung Zăn. The superior man, in accordance with this), distinguishes things according to their kinds and classes.

1. '(The representative of) the union of men is just issuing from his gate : '—who will blame him ?

2. '(The representative of) the union of men appears in relation with his kindred : '—that is the path to regret.

3. 'He hides his arms in the thick grass : '—because of the strength of his opponent. 'For three years he makes no demonstration : '—how can he do anything ?

4. 'He is mounted on his city-wall ; ' but yielding to the right, 'he does not proceed to make the attack (he contemplated).' (Where it is said), 'There will be good fortune,' (that shows how) he feels the strait he is in, and returns to the rule of law.

5. The first action of (the representative of) the union of men (here described) arises from his central position and straightforward character. 'The meeting secured by his great host' intimates that the opponents of it have been overcome.

6. '(The representative of) the union of men appears in the suburbs : '—his object has not yet been attained.

how the distress and obstruction are come to an end. It was in the order of change that they should do so.

XIII. The style of 'heaven and fire form Thung Zăn' is such as to suggest the appearance of fire ascending up, blazing to the sky, and uniting with it. The application of the symbolism is again perplexing.

In line 1, the party just issuing from his gate has all the world

XIV. (The trigram for) heaven and (that of) fire above it form Tâ Yû. The superior man, in accordance with this, represses what is evil and gives distinction to what is good, in sympathy with the excellent Heaven-conferred (nature).

1. This first line, undivided, of Tâ Yû shows no approach to what is injurious.

2. 'A large waggon with its load' refers to the (virtue) accumulated (in the subject of the line), so that he will suffer no loss (in the conduct of affairs).

3. 'A feudal prince presents his offerings to the son of Heaven:'—a small man (in such a position) does (himself) harm.

4. 'He keeps his great resources under restraint:'—his wisdom discriminates clearly (what he ought to do).

5. 'His sincerity is reciprocated by all the others:'—his sincerity serves to stir and call out what is in their minds. 'The good fortune springing from a display of proper majesty' shows how they might (otherwise) feel too easy, and make no preparation (to serve him).

before him, with which to unite. Selfish thoughts disposing to union have no place in him.

In line 2, union (only) with kindred implies narrowness of mind.

For line 3, see note on the Text.

In line 4, stress should be laid on 'yielding to the right.'

For line 5, see note on the Text.

The Khang-hsi editors append the following note to the last paragraph:—'Under line 1 it is said that "union in the open country indicates progress and success," while here it is only said that "with union in the suburbs there is no cause for repentance." Beyond the suburbs was the open country, and till the union reached so far, the object of the hexagram was not attained. We may truly say that Confucius was a skilful reader of the duke of K'au.' Of course the editors did not doubt Confucius' authorship of all the Appendixes.

6. 'The good' fortune attached to the topmost line of Tâ Yû' arises from the help of Heaven.

XV. (The trigram for) the earth and (that of) a mountain in the midst of it form *K'ien*. The superior man, in accordance with this, diminishes what is excessive (in himself), and increases where there is any defect, bringing about an equality, according to the nature of the case, in his treatment (of himself and others).

1. 'The superior man who adds humility to humility' is one who nourishes his (virtue) in lowliness.

2. 'The good fortune consequent on being firm and correct, where the humility has made itself recognised,' is owing to the possessor's having (the virtue) in the core of his heart.

3. 'The superior man of (acknowledged) merit, and yet humble:'—the myriads of the people will submit to him.

4. 'One, whose action would be in every way advantageous, stirs up his humility the more:'—(but in doing so) he does not act contrary to the (proper) rule.

5. 'He may advantageously use the force of arms:'—correcting, that is, those who do not submit.

XIV. 'Fire above the sky' will shine far; and this is supposed to symbolise the vastness of the territory or of the wealth implied in the possession of what is great. The superior man, in governing men, especially in a time of prosperity and wealth, must set himself to develop what is good in them, and repress what is evil. And this will be in accordance with the will of Heaven, which has given to all men a nature fitted for goodness.

All the comment that is necessary on the symbolism of the several lines may be gathered from the comments on the Text.

6. 'His humility has made itself recognised :— (but) all his aims have not yet been attained. 'He may employ the force of arms, (but only) in correcting (his own) towns and state.'

XVI. (The trigrams for) the earth and thunder issuing from it with its crashing noise form Yü. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, composed their music and did honour to virtue, presenting it especially and most grandly to God,

XV. The earth is low, and in the midst of it is a high mountain; but I fail to see how this can symbolise humility. Nor does Regis' representation of it much improve the case:—'Monte' (ait glossa) 'nihil est altius in terra, quae est summe abjecta. At cum is declivis sit, imago esse potest humilis modestiae.' I find the following note on the paragraph in my copy of the 'Daily Lessons' (see Preface):—'The five yin lines above and below symbolise the earth; the one yang line in the centre is "the mountain in the midst of the earth." The many yin lines represent men's desires; the one yang line, heavenly principle. The superior man, looking at this symbolism, diminishes the multitude of human desires within him, and increases the single shoot of heavenly principle; so does he become grandly just, and can deal with all things evenly according to the nature of each. In whatever circumstances or place he is, he will do what is right.' This is certainly very ingenious, but one shrinks from accepting a view that is not based on the component trigrams.

Under line 1, 'nourishes his (virtue)' is, literally, 'pastures himself.' He is all humility. That makes him what he is.

Under line 4, 'the (proper) rule' is the rule proper for the subject of the line in his circumstances so near the place of the ruler.

Under line 5, 'the refusal to submit' makes an appeal to force necessary. Even the best and humblest ruler bears the sword, and must not bear it in vain.

K'ü Hsi bases all that is said under line 6 on its being a weak line; so that the humble ruler is unable even at the close of the action described in the figure to accomplish all his objects, and must limit his field even in appealing to arms.

when they associated with Him (at the service) their highest ancestor and their father.

1. 'The (subject of the) first line proclaims his pleasure and satisfaction : '—there will be evil ; his wishes have been satisfied to overflowing.

2. '(He sees a thing) without waiting till it has come to pass ; with his firm correctness there will be good fortune : '—this is shown by the central and correct position (of the line).

3. 'He looks up (for favours), while he indulges the feeling of satisfaction ; there will be occasion for repentance : '—this is intimated by the position not being the appropriate one.

4. 'From him the harmony and satisfaction come ; great is the success which he obtains : '—his aims take effect on a grand scale.

5. '(The subject of) the fifth line has a chronic complaint : '—this is shown by his being mounted on the strong (line). 'He still lives on without dying : '—he is in the central position, (and its memories of the past) have not yet perished.

6. 'With darkened mind devoted to the harmony and satisfaction (of the time), 'as shown in the top-most (line) :—how can one in such a condition continue long ?

XVI. 'The Great Symbolism' here is more obscure than usual. A thunderstorm clears the air and removes the feeling of oppression, of which one is conscious before its occurrence. Is this all that is meant by making the trigrams of the earth and thunder form Yü, the hexagram of harmony and satisfaction ? What is meant, moreover, by making the thunder 'issue,' as the Chinese text says, from the earth ? Then as to the application of this symbolism, I can trace the author's idea but imperfectly. To say that the thunder crash suggested the use of music, as some critics do, is

XVII. (The trigram for the waters of) a marsh and (that for) thunder (hidden) in the midst of it form Sui. The superior man in accordance with this, when it is getting towards dark, enters (his house) and rests.

1. 'He is changing the object of his pursuit:'—but if he follow what is correct, there will be good fortune. 'He goes beyond (his own) gate to find associates:'—he will not fail (in the method he pursues).

2. 'He cleaves to the little boy:'—he cannot be with the two at the same time.

3. 'He cleaves to the man of age and experience:'—by the decision of his will, he abandons (the youth) below.

4. 'He is followed and obtains adherents:'—according to the idea (of the hexagram), this is evil. 'He is sincere in his course:'—showing his intelligence, and leading to achievement.

5. 'He is sincere in fostering what is excellent:'—his position is correct and in the centre.

absurd. The use of music at sacrifices, however, as assisting the union produced by those services between God and his worshippers, and the present and past generations, agrees with the general idea of the figure. I must suppose that the writer had in mind the sacrifices instituted by the duke of Kâu, as related in the Hsião King, chap. ix.

Pleasure has operated injuriously on the subject of line 1. He calls attention to himself.

Only a part of the symbolism of line 2 is referred to here. Such an omission is not uncommon;—as in lines 3 and 4 also.

With 'the memories of the past not perishing' compare Mencius, II, Section i, chap. 1. 6-13.

In line 6 the action of the hexagram is over. If one puts off changing his evil way any longer, there remains no more hope for him.

6. 'The sincerity is firmly held and clung to, as shown in the topmost line:—(the idea of the hexagram) has reached its extreme development.

XVIII. (The trigram for) a mountain, and below it that for wind, form Kû. The superior man, in accordance with this, (addresses himself to) help the people and nourish his own virtue.

1. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father:—he feels that he has entered into the work of his father.

2. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his mother:—he holds to the course of the due mean.

3. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father:—in the end there will be no error.

4. 'He views indulgently the troubles caused by his father:—if he go forward, he will not succeed.

5. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father, and obtains praise:—he is responded to (by the subject of line two) with all his virtue.

XVII. An explosion of thunder amidst the waters of a marsh would be succeeded by a tremulous agitation of those waters; so far there would be a following of the movement of the lower trigram by the upper. Then in the application of the symbolism we have an illustration of action following the time, that is, according to the time; which is a common use of the Chinese character Sui. Neither the symbolism, however, nor its application adds much to our understanding of the text.

Paragraph 1 consists of two lines that rhyme; and paragraphs 4 (two lines), 5, and 6 do the same. According to Kû Yen-wû, paragraphs 2 and 3 also rhyme; but this appears to me doubtful. The symbolism of these paragraphs is sufficiently explained in the notes on the Text. Some peculiarities in their style (in Chinese) are owing to the bonds of the rhyme.

6. 'He does not serve either king or feudal lord:—
but his aim may be a model (to others).

XIX. (The trigram for) the waters of a marsh
and that for the earth above it form Lin. The
superior man, in accordance with this, has his pur-
poses of instruction that are inexhaustible, and
nourishes and supports the people without limit.

1. 'The good fortune through the firm correct-
ness of (the subject of the first line) advancing in
company (with the subject of the second)' is due to
his will being set on doing what is right.

2. 'The good fortune and every possible advan-
tage attending the advance (of the subject of the
second line), in company (with the subject of the
first),' arises from the fact that those (to whom the
advance is made) are not yet obedient to the ordi-
nances (of Heaven).

3. 'He (shows himself) well pleased to advance:—
his position is not that appropriate to him. 'If he
become anxious, however, about his action,' his error
will not be continued.

4. 'The freedom from error consequent on the

XVIII. 'When the wind,' says *K'äng-ze*, 'encounters the
mountain, it is driven back, and the things about are all scattered
in disorder; such is the emblem of the state denoted by Kû.'
'The nourishing of virtue' appears especially in line 6; all the
other lines belong to the 'helping of the people.'

The subject of line 1 has entered into the work of his father,
and brings it about that his father is looked on as blameless. The
'due mean' of line 2 is according to the caution in the Text.
The Khang-hsi editors interpret the explanation of line 5 as 'he
takes up (the course of his father) with all his virtue.' I think they
are wrong.

advance in the highest mode' is due to the (various) appropriateness of the position.

5. 'What befits the great ruler' means the pursuing the course of the due mean.

6. 'The good fortune consequent on the advance of honesty and generosity' is due to the will (of the subject of the line) being set on the subjects of (the first two lines of) the inner (trigram).

XX. (The trigram representing) the earth, and that for wind moving above it, form Kwan. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, examined the (different) regions (of the kingdom), to see the (ways of the) people, and set forth their instructions.

1. 'The looking of a lad shown by the first line, divided,' indicates the way of the inferior people.

XIX. 'The earth descending or approaching the marsh' is, according to *K'ü Hsi*, symbolical of the approach of superiors to the inferior people, and then the two predicates about the superior man are descriptive of him in that approach, the instruction being symbolised by Tui, and the supporting by *Kh wän*. The *Khang-hsi* editors, wishing to defend the explanation of *lin* by 'great,' in Appendix VI, which they ascribe to Confucius, say:—'Lin means "great." The earth above the waters of the marsh shows how full those waters are, rising to the level of the earth, and thus expressing the idea of greatness.' This representation is lame and impotent.

K'ü Hsi says he does not understand what is said on line 2. The interpretation in my version is the ordinary one, but I am not satisfied with it. The *Khang-hsi* editors try to solve the difficulty; but I am not able to follow them.

The same editors compare the conclusion of paragraph 6 in the symbolism of hexagram 11. 'What is external' there, and 'what is internal here,' have, they say, the same reference,—the state, namely, of the whole kingdom, the expressions differing according to the different standpoints from which they are made. The view in the translation is that of *K'ü Hsi*. It is difficult to hold the balance between them. The newer view, perhaps, is the preferable.

2. 'The firm correctness of a woman, in peeping out from a door' is also a thing to be ashamed of (in a superior man).

3. 'He looks at (the course of) his own life, to advance or recede (accordingly):'—he will not err in the path (to be pursued).

4. 'He contemplates the glory of the kingdom:'—(thence) arises the wish to be a guest (at court).

5. 'He contemplates his own life(-course):'—he should (for this purpose) contemplate (the condition of) the people.

6. 'He contemplates his own character:'—he cannot even yet let his mind be at rest.

XXI. (The trigrams representing) thunder and lightning form Shih Ho. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, framed their penalties with intelligence, and promulgated their laws.

1. 'His feet are in the stocks, and he is deprived of his toes:'—there is no walking (to do evil).

2. 'He bites through the soft flesh, and (goes on)

XX. Wind moving above the earth has the widest sweep, and nothing escapes its influence; it penetrates everywhere. This symbolism is more appropriate to the subject in hand than that of many other hexagrams. Personal influence in a ruler effects much; but the ancient kings wished to add to that the power of published instructions, specially adapted to the character and circumstances of the people. Sun, representing the wind, is well adapted to denote this influence;—see the Analects, XII, xix.

The looking in line 1 is superficial, and does not reach far.

Line 3. 'He will not err in the path to be pursued;'—advancing or receding as is best.

Line 4. 'The glory of the kingdom' is the virtue of the sovereign and the character of his administration. With the sentiment compare Mencius, VII, i, chap. 21. 2.

to bite off the nose : '—(the subject of the line) is mounted on the strong (first line).

3. 'He meets with what is disagreeable and hurtful : '—his position is not the proper one for him.

4. 'It will be advantageous to him to realise the difficulty of his task and be firm, in which case there will be good fortune : '—his light has not yet been sufficiently displayed.

5. 'Let him be firm and correct, realising the peril (of his position), and there will be no error : '—he will possess every quality appropriate (to his position and task).

6. 'He wears the cangue and is deprived of his ears : '—he hears, but will not understand.

XXII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and that for fire under it form Pi. The superior man, in accordance with this, throws a brilliancy around his various processes of government, but does not dare (in a similar way) to decide cases of criminal litigation.

XXI. *Khǎng-ze* says that thunder and lightning are always found together, and hence their trigrams go together to give the idea of union intended in Shih Ho. The one trigram symbolising majesty and the other brightness or intelligence, the application of the hexagram here is easier and more natural than in many other cases.

1. 'There is no walking : '—that is, the subject of the line will not dare to offend any more.

2. "Being mounted on the strong first line" means,' says *Khǎng-ze*, 'punishing a strong and vehement man, when severity is required, as is denoted by the central position of the line.'

4. 'His light has not been sufficiently displayed ; ' that is, there is still something for him to do :—he has to realise the difficulty of his position and be firm.

1. 'He can discard a carriage and walk on foot :—righteousness requires that he should not ride.

2. 'He adorns his beard :—he rouses himself to action (only) along with the (subject of the) line above.

3. 'The good fortune consequent on his ever maintaining firm correctness' is due to this,—that to the end no one will insult him.

4. 'The place occupied by the fourth line, divided,' affords ground for doubt (as to its subject); but '(as the subject of the third pursues) not as a robber, but as intent on a matrimonial alliance,' he will in the end have no grudge against him.

5. 'The good fortune falling to the fifth line, divided,' affords occasion for joy.

6. 'The freedom from error attached to (the subject of) the topmost line, with no ornament but the (simple white),' shows how he has attained his aim.

XXII. 'A mountain,' says *Khāng-ze*, 'is a place where we find grass, trees, and a hundred other things. A fire burning below it throws up its light, and brings them all out in beauty; and this gives the idea of ornament, or being ornamented. The various processes of government are small matters, and elegance and ornament help their course; but great matters of judgment demand the simple, unornamented truth.'

The subject of line 1 does not care for and does not need ornament. He will walk in the way of righteousness without it.

Paragraph 3 tells us that it is not ornament, but correct firmness, which secures the respect of others.

In the fourth place, and cut off from line 1 by 2 and 3, we might doubt how far the subject of 4 would continue loyal to the subject of 1. But he does continue loyal, through the character and object of the subject of 3.

The *Khang-hsi* editors say :—'Line 5 occupies the place of honour, and yet prefers simplicity and exalts economy; its subject

XXIII. (The trigrams representing) the earth, and (above it) that for a mountain, which adheres to the earth, form Po. Superiors, in accordance with this, seek to strengthen those below them, to secure the peace and stability of their own position.

1. 'He overthrows the couch by injuring its legs:'—thus (he commences) his work of ruin with what is lowest (in the superior man).

2. 'He destroys the couch by injuring its frame:'—(the superior man) has as yet no associates.

3. That 'there will be no error on the part of this one among the overthrowers' arises from the difference between him and the others above and below.

4. 'He has overthrown the couch, and (proceeds to injure) the skin (of him who lies on it):'—calamity is very near at hand.

5. 'He obtains for them the favour that lights on the inmates of the palace:'—in the end there will be no grudge against him.

6. 'The superior man finds himself in a carriage:'—he is carried along by the people. 'The small men (by their course) overthrow their own dwellings:'—they can never again be of use to them.

might change and transform manners and customs;'—it is a small matter to say of him that he affords occasion for joy.

The subject of line 6 has more of the spirit of the hexagram than in most hexagrams. His being clothed in simple white crowns the lesson that ornament must be kept in a secondary place.

XXIII. 'A mountain,' says Yü Fan (towards the end of the Han dynasty), 'stands out high above the earth; here it appears as lying on the earth:—plainly it has been overturned.' On the

XXIV. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for thunder in the midst of it form Fû. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, on the day of the (winter) solstice, shut the gates of the passes (from one state to another), so that the travelling merchants could not (then) pursue their journeys, nor the princes go on with the inspection of their states.

1. 'Returning (from an error) of no great extent' is the prelude to the cultivation of the person.

2. 'The good fortune attendant on the admirable return (of the subject of the second line)' is due to his condescension to the virtuous (subject of the line) below.

3. Notwithstanding 'the perilous position of him

other hand, Liû Mû (early in the Sung dynasty) says:—'A mountain has the earth for its foundation. If the earth be thick, the mountain preserves its height. So it is with the sovereign and people.' The application might be deduced from either view.

It is hard to tell whether 'the lowest' in paragraph 1 should be supplemented as I have done. If not, then the explanation is a mere truism.

Khăng-ze is precise and decisive in supplementing the explanation of paragraph 2 as in the translation.

See on the Text of lines 3 and 4.

On paragraph 5, the Khang-hsi editors say admirably:—'The fifth line is weak, and yet occupies the most honourable place in the figure,—emblematic of a queen; and as its subject leads on the subjects of the other lines to obtain the favours given to the inmates of the palace, she, it is plain, has neither jealousy nor any other injurious temper that might incur blame for tending to overthrow the ruler.'

Paragraph 6 shows the ruler restored to the favour of the people, and the restoration of concord in the state. The small men have done their worst, and there is an end of their attempts—for a time.

who has made many returns,' there will be no error through (his aiming after righteousness).

4. 'He moves right in the centre (among those represented by the other divided lines), and yet returns alone :—his object is to pursue the (proper) path.

5. 'The noble return, giving no ground for repentance,' is due to (the subject of the line) striving to perfect himself in accordance with his central position.

6. 'The evil consequent on being all astray on the subject of returning' is because the course pursued is contrary to the proper course for a ruler.

XXIV. 'Thunder in the midst of the earth' is thunder shut up and silent, just able to make its presence felt. So is it with the first genial stirrings of life after the winter solstice ; so is it with the first returning steps of the wanderer to virtue. As the spring of life has to be nursed in quietness, so also has the purpose of good. The ancient statutes here referred to must have been like the present cessation from public and private business at the time of the new year, when all the Chinese people are for a time dissolved in festivity and joy.

Canon McClatchie translates here :—'The ancient kings on this culminating day (i. e. the seventh) closed their gates,' &c. 'Culminating day' does not give us the meaning so well as 'the day of the solstice ;' but where does the translator find the explanatory 'the seventh,' which he puts in parentheses? In my own 'salad' days of Chinese knowledge I fancied there might be in paragraph 1 of the Text some allusion to a primitive sabbath ; but there is no ground for introducing 'seven days,' or 'the seventh day,' into this paragraph of the Great Symbolism.

'The virtuous subject of the first line' is in paragraph 2 called *şăn*, 'the benevolent' or 'loving.' It is the only case in all the symbolism of the *Yî* where we find that term used as an adjective. It is emphatic here for 'humanity,' man in his ideal.

The other paragraphs present nothing for remark beyond what has been said on the Text of the duke of *Kâu*.

XXV. The thunder rolls all under the sky, and to (every)thing there is given (its nature), free from all insincerity. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, (made their regulations) in complete accordance with the seasons, thereby nourishing all things.

1. When 'he who is free from insincerity makes any movement,' he will get what he desires.

2. 'He reaps without having ploughed :'(the thought of) riches to be got had not risen (in his mind).

3. 'The passer-by gets the ox :'(this proves a calamity to the people of the neighbourhood.

4. 'If he can remain firm and correct there will be no error :'(he firmly holds fast (his correctness).

5. 'Medicine in the case of one who is free from insincerity!'—it should not be tried (at all).

6. 'The action (in this case) of one who is free from insincerity' will occasion the calamity arising from action (when the time for it is) exhausted.

XXV. The composition of the hexagram is given here in a manner different from what we have met with in the account of any of the preceding figures; and as the text is not called in question, I have made the best I could in the translation of the two commencing clauses. The application of the symbolism to what the ancient kings did is also hard to comprehend.

The paragraph on line 1 is another way of saying that in the course of things real goodness may be expected to be fortunate,—'by the appointment of Heaven.'

Paragraph 2. 'The thought of getting rich had not risen in his mind :'(he did what he did, because it was right, not because of the gain it would bring him.

On paragraph 3, it is said, 'The superior man seeks simply to be free from insincerity, and leaves the questions of happiness and calamity to Heaven.'

Paragraph 5. 'Sickness ought not to happen to one who

XXVI. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and in the midst of it that (representing) heaven, form Tâ *K'û*. The superior man, in accordance with this, stores largely in his memory the words and deeds of former men, to subserve the accumulation of his virtue.

1. 'He is in a position of peril; it will be advantageous for him to stop his advance:'—he should not rashly expose himself to calamity.

2. '(He is as) a carriage from which the strap under it has been removed:'—being in the central position, he will incur no blame.

3. 'There will be advantage in whatever direction he may advance:'—(the subject of) the topmost line is of the same mind with him.

4. 'The great good fortune indicated by the fourth line, divided,' shows that there is occasion for joy.

5. 'The good fortune indicated by the fifth line, divided,' shows that there is occasion for congratulation.

6. 'In command of the firmament of heaven:'—the way is grandly open for movement.

is perfectly sincere. If it do happen, he must refer it to some inexplicable will of Heaven. As that has afflicted, so it will cure.'

Paragraph 6. 'When a thing is over and done, submission and acquiescence are what are required, and not renewed attempts at action.'

XXVI. I have quoted, in the Introduction, p. 37, *K'û Hsi'*'s remark on the Great Symbolism here. *K'ang-ze* says:—'Heaven is the greatest of all things, and its being in the midst of a mountain gives us the idea of a very large accumulation. And so great

XXVII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and under it that for thunder form 1̄. The superior man, in accordance with this, (enjoins) watchfulness over our words, and the temperate regulation of our eating and drinking.

1. 'You look at me till your (lower) jaw hangs down :—(the subject of the line) is thus shown unfit to be thought noble.

2. 'The evil of advance by the subject of the second line, divided,' is owing to his leaving in his movements his proper associates.

3. 'For ten years let him not take any action :—his course is greatly opposed (to what is right).

4. 'The good fortune attached to looking downwards for (the power to) nourish,' shows how brilliant will be the diffusion (of that power) from (the subject of the line's) superior position.

5. 'The good fortune from abiding in firmness' is due to the docility (of the subject of the line) in following (the subject of the line) above.

6. 'The good fortune, notwithstanding the peril

is the labour of the superior man in learning, acquiring, and remembering, to accumulate his virtue.'

Paragraph 1. The 'calamity' is that of opposition from, or repression by, the subject of line 4.

Paragraph 3. When the action of the hexagram has reached line 6, its work is done. The subject of 6 will no longer exercise repression, but join with that of 3, assisting him to advance.

Paragraph 4. The subject of line 4 has indeed occasion for joy. Without the use of punishment for crimes committed, by precaution anticipating them, without any trouble he has repressed evil. The 'joy' gives place in paragraph 5 to 'congratulation,' the people being all interested in the action of the ruler.

of his position, of him from whom comes the nourishing,' affords great cause for congratulation.

XXVIII. (The trigram representing) trees hidden beneath that for the waters of a marsh forms Tâ Kwo. The superior man, in accordance with this, stands up alone and has no fear, and keeps retired from the world without regret.

1. 'He places mats of the white mâo grass under things set on the ground:'—he feels his weakness and his being in the lowest place, (and uses extraordinary care).

2. 'An old husband and a young wife:'—such association is extraordinary.

3. 'The evil connected with the beam that is weak' arises from this, that no help can be given (to the condition thus represented).

4. 'The good fortune connected with the beam curving upwards' arises from this, that it does not bend towards what is below.

5. 'A decayed willow produces flowers:'—but how can this secure its long continuance? 'An old

XXVII. I do not think that the Great Symbolism here is anything but that of a thunderstorm, dispersing the oppression that hangs over nature, and followed by genial airs, and the reviving of all vegetation. But there is nothing analogous to the thunder in the application. 'Words,' it is said, 'nourish virtue; food and drink nourish the body.'

Paragraph 1. As Mencius said, 'He that nourishes the little belonging to him is a little man.'

Paragraph 2. Neither the subject of line 1, nor of line 6, is the proper associate of 2.

The other paragraphs are sufficiently illustrated in the notes on the Text.

wife and a young husband : '—this also is a thing to be ashamed of.

6. 'Evil follows wading with (extraordinary) boldness (through the stream) : '—but (the act) affords no ground for blame.

XXIX. (The representation of) water flowing on continuously forms the repeated Khan. The superior man, in accordance with this, maintains constantly the virtue (of his heart) and (the integrity of) his conduct, and practises the business of instruction.

1. 'In the double defile, he enters a cavern within it : '—he has missed his (proper) way, and there will be evil.

2. 'He will get a little (of the deliverance) that he seeks : '—he will not yet escape from his environed position.

3. 'Whether he comes or goes, he is confronted by a defile : '—he will never (in such circumstances) achieve any success.

XXVIII. *K'ang-ze* says on the Great Symbolism :—'The waters of a marsh moisten and nourish the trees. When here it is said that they destroy and extinguish the trees, their action is very extraordinary.' This explanation is very far-fetched ; and so is what the same scholar says on the application of it. I need not give it here, nor have I found, or myself made out, any other more easy and natural.

Paragraph 2. 'Such an association is extraordinary : '—the characters also imply, perhaps, that it is successful.

Paragraph 3. The beam being broken, any attempt to sustain it will have no effect in supporting the roof.

Paragraph 5. The shoots produced in line 2 will grow into a new and vigorous tree. The flowers here will soon decay, and the withered trunk continue the same. For what will a young man marry an old woman ? There will be no children ;—it can only be from some mercenary object.

4. ' (Nothing but) a bottle of spirits and a subsidiary basket of rice: '—(these describe) the meeting at this point of (those who are represented by) the strong and weak lines.

5. ' The water in the defile is not full (so as to flow away): '—(the virtue indicated by) the central situation is not yet (sufficiently) great.

6. ' The sixth line, divided, shows its subject missing his (proper) course: '—' there will be evil for three years.'

XXX. (The trigram for) brightness, repeated, forms Li. The great man, in accordance with this, cultivates more and more his brilliant (virtue), and diffuses its brightness over the four quarters (of the land).

1. ' The reverent attention directed to his confused steps ' is the way by which error is avoided.

2. ' The great good fortune (from the subject of the second line) occupying his place in yellow ' is owing to his holding the course of the due mean.

3. ' A position like that of the declining sun: '—how can it continue long ?

4. ' How abrupt is the manner of his coming ! '—none can bear with him.

5. ' The good fortune attached to the fifth line,

XXIX. The application of the Great Symbolism is here more perplexing even than usual. What is said of the superior man is good, but there is no reference in it to the subject of danger.

The subject of line 3 goes and comes, moves up and down, backwards and forwards; making no advance. This can be of no use in extricating him from the danger.

Those represented in line 4 by the strong and weak lines are the ruler and his minister.

divided,' is due to its occupying the place of a king or a prince.

6. 'The king employs him in his punitive expeditions:'—the object is to bring the regions to a correct state.

SECTION II.

XXXI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for (the waters of) a marsh form Hsien. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps his mind free from pre-occupation, and open to receive (the influences of) others.

1. 'He moves his great toe:'—his mind is set on what is beyond (himself).

2. Though 'there would be evil; yet, if he abide (quiet) in his place, there will be good fortune:'—through compliance (with the circumstances of his condition and place) there will be no injury.

3. 'He moves his thighs:'—he still does not (want to) rest in his place. His will is set on 'following others:'—what he holds in his grasp is low.

4. 'Firm correctness will lead to good fortune,

XXX. In the Great Symbolism Li is used in the sense of brightness. There was no occasion to refer to its other meaning. 'The great man' rather confirms the interpretation of the 'double brightness' in the treatise on the Thwan as indicating the ruler.

Paragraph 2. As yellow is a 'correct' colour, so is the due mean the correct course.

Paragraph 3. 'The declining sun,' say the Khang-hsî editors, 'is an emblem of the obscuration coming over the virtue of the mind.'

Paragraph 4. 'None can bear with him' refers to the second part of the symbolism of the line, which is not given here.

and prevent all occasion for repentance : '—there has not yet been any harm from (a selfish wish to) influence. 'He is unsettled in his movements : '—(his power to influence) is not yet either brilliant or great.

5. 'He (tries to) move the flesh along the spine above the heart : '—his aim is trivial.

6. 'He moves his jaws and tongue : '—he (only) talks with loquacious mouth.

XXXI. In various ways the waters of a marsh, placed high above the adjacent land, will descend to water and fertilise them. This symbolism agrees sufficiently well with the idea of influence passing between a superior and inferior party in relation with each other. There is nothing in the representation, however, to suggest particularly the relation between husband and wife ; and the more I think of it, the more doubtful it becomes to me that king Wan intended by the trigrams of this figure to give the idea of man and wife. The application of the symbolism is sufficiently appropriate. The commentators see in it especially the lesson of humility—emptiness of self, or poverty of spirit—in order that the influences to which we are subjected may have free course.

Paragraph 1. What is beyond one's self is represented by line 4, a proper correlate of 1. There is the desire to influence ; but it is ineffectively exhibited.

Paragraph 2. 'Compliance (with the circumstances of his condition and place)' is merely another way of 'being firm and correct.'

Paragraph 3. The language, 'What he holds in his grasp is low,' makes *K'ü Hsü* and the older commentators generally understand low of lines 1 and 2, and their weak subjects. But 'following' leads the mind to the lines above, as the *Khang-hsü* editors point out. 'Low' is to be understood in the sense of 'mean.'

Paragraph 4. The 'being firm and correct' appears here as equivalent to the want of 'a selfish wish to influence.'

Paragraph 5. The triviality of the aim explains the ineffectiveness of the movement, but not its giving no occasion for repentance. That the *mei* which are moved are behind and above the region of the heart seems too mechanical and trivial an explanation.

XXXII. (The trigram representing) thunder and that for wind form Hǎng. The superior man, in accordance with this, stands firm, and does not change his method (of operation).

1. 'The evil attached to the deep desire for long continuance (in the subject of the first line)' arises from the deep seeking for it at the commencement (of things).

2. 'All occasion for repentance on the part of the subject of the second line, undivided, disappears:—he can abide long in the due mean.

3. 'He does not continuously maintain his virtue:—nowhere will he be borne with.

4. (Going) for long to what is not his proper place, how can he get game?

5. 'Such firm correctness in a wife will be fortunate:—it is hers to the end of life to follow with an unchanged mind. The husband must decide what is right, and lay down the rule accordingly:—for him to follow (like) a wife is evil.

6. 'The subject of the topmost line is exciting himself to long continuance:—far will he be from achieving merit.

XXXII. How the interaction of wind and thunder symbolises the lesson of the hexagram, and especially the application in this paragraph of that symbolism, is a question I have not been able to solve.

Paragraph 1. The stress of what is said under line 1 is here made to lie on its being the first line of the figure.

Paragraph 2. Line 2 is in the centre of its trigram, and that position, here as often elsewhere, symbolises the course of its subject.

Paragraph 3. The Khang-hsi editors make the application here= 'nowhere can he bear (to remain).'

XXXIII. (The trigram representing) the sky and below it that for a mountain form Thun. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps small men at a distance, not by showing that he hates them, but by his own dignified gravity.

1. There is 'the perilousness of the position shown by the retiring tail : '—but if 'no movement' be made, what disaster can there be?

2. 'He holds it as by (a thong from the hide of) a yellow ox : '—his purpose is firm.

3. 'The peril connected with the case of one retiring, though bound,' is due to the (consequent) distress and exhaustion. 'If he were (to deal as in) nourishing a servant or concubine, it would be fortunate for him : '—but a great affair cannot be dealt with in this way.

4. 'A superior man retires notwithstanding his likings; a small man cannot attain to this.'

5. 'He retires in an admirable way, and with firm correctness there will be good fortune : '—this is due to the rectitude of his purpose.

6. 'He retires in a noble way, and his doing so will be advantageous in every respect : '—he who does so has no doubts about his course.

From paragraph 5 it appears that what is right will vary in different cases. The lesson of the hexagram is perseverance in what is right in each particular case.

XXXIII. *K'ü Hsî* says :—'The sky is illimitable; a mountain is high, but has its limits; the union of these is an emblem of retiring.' I do not understand such emblemizing. *K'häng-ze* says :—'Below the sky is a mountain. The mountain rises up below the sky, and its height is arrested, while the sky goes up higher and higher, till they come to be apart from each other. In this we have an emblem of retiring and avoiding.' We feel somewhat as

XXXIV. (The trigram representing) heaven and above it that for thunder form Tâ Kwang. The superior man, in accordance with this, does not take a step which is not according to propriety.

1. 'He manifests his vigour in his toes : '—this will certainly lead to exhaustion.

2. 'The second line, undivided, shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune : '—this is due to its being in the centre, (and its subject exemplifying the due mean).

3. 'The small man uses all his strength ; in the case of the superior man it is his rule not to do so.'

4. 'The fence is opened and the horns are not entangled : '—(the subject of the line) still advances.

5. 'He loses his ram and hardly perceives it : '—he is not in his appropriate place.

6. 'He is unable either to retreat or to advance : '—this is owing to his want of care. 'If he realise the difficulty (of his position), there will be good fortune : '—his error will not be prolonged.

if there were a meaning in this ; but, as in many other cases, both the symbolism and its application are but dimly apprehended.

The symbolism of the various lines is sufficiently explained on the Text. Paragraph 5 is but a repetition of the Text without additional explanation.

XXXIV. In illustration of the symbolism of the trigrams here, *Kháng-ze* says well :—'Thunder rolling above in the sky and making all things shake is the emblem of great power.' In passing on to its application he starts with a beautiful saying of antiquity, that 'the strong man is he who overcomes himself.' That this thought was in the mind of the writer of the paragraph on the Great Symbolism I can well believe ; but the analogy between the natural and the moral and spiritual worlds in passing from the phenomenon of thunder to this truth is a thing to be felt, and that can hardly be described.

XXXV. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for the bright (sun) coming forth above it form 3in. The superior man, according to this, gives himself to make more brilliant his bright virtue.

1. 'He appears wishing to advance, but (at the same time) being kept back :—all-alone he pursues the correct course. 'Let him maintain a large and generous mind, and there will be no error :—he has not yet received an official charge.

2. 'He will receive this great blessing :—for he is in the central place and the correct position for him.

3. 'All (around) trust him :—their (common) aim is to move upwards and act.

4. '(He advances like) a marmot. However firm and correct he may be, his position is one of peril :—his place is not that appropriate for him.

5. 'Let him not concern himself whether he fails or succeeds :—his movement in advance will afford ground for congratulation.

6. 'He uses his horns only to punish (the rebellious people of) his city :—his course of procedure is not yet brilliant.

Paragraph 1. 'This will lead to exhaustion ;' and from that will follow distress and other evils.

The central position and the due moral mean in paragraph 2 is another instance of the felt analogy referred to above.

In paragraph 3 nothing is added to the Text ; and on the symbolism nothing is said.

Paragraph 5. 'He is not in his appropriate place :' this is said simply because an odd place ought to be filled by a strong line.

XXXV. The sun rising above the earth, and then travelling up to his meridian height, readily suggests the idea of advancing. On

XXXVI. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for the bright (sun) entering within it form Ming Í. The superior man, in accordance with this, conducts his management of men ;—he shows his intelligence by keeping it obscured.

1. 'The superior man (is revolving his) going away: '—(in such a case) he feels it right not to eat.

2. 'The good fortune of (the subject of) the second line, divided,' is due to the proper fashion of his acting according to his circumstances.

3. With the aim represented by 'hunting in the south' a great achievement is accomplished.

4. 'He has (just) entered into the left side of the belly (of the dark land): '—he is still able to carry out the idea in his (inner) mind.

5. 'With the firm correctness of the count of Kí,' his brightness could not be (quite) extinguished.

6. 'He had at first ascended to (the top of) the sky: '—he might have enlightened the four quarters

the application of this symbolism, Hû Ping-wăn (Yüan dynasty) says :—'Of strong things there is none so strong as heaven ; and hence the superior man after its pattern makes himself strong ; of bright things there is none so bright as the sun, and after its pattern he makes himself bright.'

If the subject of line 1 had received an official charge, then when unrecognised by his sovereign, and obstructed in his progress, his correct course would have been to cease to advance, and retire from the office in which he was not allowed to carry out his principles.

There is nothing said on line 2 to explain particularly the symbolism of 'the grandmother' in the Text.

'The course of procedure' in paragraph 6 has still an element of force in it, which is more than 'the firm correctness' that was to king Wăn the ideal character of a feudal lord, and therefore his light is not yet that of the full-orbed sun.

of the kingdom. 'His future shall be to go into the earth:'—he has failed to fulfil the model (of a ruler).

XXXVII. (The trigram representing) fire, and that for wind coming forth from it, form *K'ia Z'an*. The superior man, in accordance with this, orders his words according to (the truth of) things, and his conduct so that it is uniformly consistent.

1. 'He establishes restrictive regulations in his household:'—(he does so), before any change has taken place in their wills.

2. 'The good fortune attached to the second line, divided,' is due to the docility (of its subject), operating with humility.

3. When 'the members of the household are treated with stern severity,' there has been no (great) failure (in the regulation of the family). When 'wife and children are smirking and chattering,' the (proper) economy of the family has been lost.

4. 'The family is enriched, and there is great

XXXVI. The application of the Great Symbolism here is in itself sufficiently natural; but this meaning of the hexagram hardly appears in the text, till we come to the sixth line.

Paragraph 1. 'He thinks it right not to eat;'—he does not purposely fast; but when he has nothing to eat, he does not complain. He thinks it right that it should be so in the case.

Paragraph 2. 'The proper fashion of acting' is suggested by the weak line's being in the central place.

Paragraph 3. 'The great achievement is accomplished;' but such achievement was not what prompted to action.

Paragraph 4. 'The idea in his inner mind' is the idea of withdrawing from the position and escaping; but the meaning is obscure. See on the Text.

good fortune:—this is due to the docility (belonging to the subject of the line), and its being in its correct place.

5. 'The influence of the king extends to his family:—the intercourse between them is that of mutual love.

6. 'The good fortune connected with the display of majesty' describes (the result of) the recovery of the true character.

XXXVII. The Symbolism here is certainly far-fetched. 'As wind,' it is said, 'comes first from fire, so does transforming influence emanate from the family.' But the subject of the hexagram is the regulation and not the influence of the family. Then the application is good for the superior man's cultivation of himself; but this again is only connected indirectly with the regulation of the family.

The sooner preventive measures are presented to the youthful mind the better; but does not prohibition imply that a change in the good will has taken place?

In paragraph 2 'docility' is suggested by the weak line. 'The humility' comes out of Sun, the upper trigram, whose attribute is pliant flexibility.

Yü Yen (Yüan dynasty) ingeniously observes on paragraph 4 that the riches of a family are not to be sought in its wealth, but in the affection and harmony of its members. Where these prevail, the family is not likely to be poor, and whatever it has will be well preserved.

The mention 'of mutual love' is unusual in Chinese writings, and must be considered remarkable here. 'The husband,' says *K'ang-ze*, 'loves his helpmate in the house; the wife loves him who is the pattern for the family.' But however admirable the sentiment is, it comes from the mind of the writer, and is not drawn from the Text.

Paragraph 6. It is said on this, that the majesty is not designedly assumed or put on; but the effect of the character remoulded and perfected. The words of Mencius are aptly quoted in illustration of the lesson:—'If a man himself do not walk in the (right) path, it will not be walked in (even) by his wife and children.'

XXXVIII. (The trigram representing) fire above, and that for (the waters of) a marsh below, form Khwei. The superior man, in accordance with this, where there is a general agreement, yet admits diversity.

1. 'He meets with bad men (and communicates with them):'—(he does so), to avoid the evil of their condemnation.

2. 'He happens to meet with his lord in a bye-passage:'—but he has not deviated (for this meeting) from the (proper) course.

3. 'We see his carriage dragged back:'—this is indicated by the inappropriateness of the position (of the line).

'There is no (good) beginning, but there will be a (good) end:'—this arises from his meeting with the strong (subject of the topmost line).

4. 'They blend their sincere desires together, and there will be no error:'—their (common) aim is carried into effect.

5. 'With his hereditary minister (he unites closely and easily) as if he were biting through a piece of skin:'—his going forward will afford ground for congratulation.

6. 'The good fortune symbolised by meeting with (genial) rain' springs from the passing away of all doubts.

XXXVIII. The application here of the Symbolism is correct, but neither of them comes up to the idea of disunion which is in Khwei.

The various paragraphs seem to need no illustration beyond what may be found in the notes on the Text.

XXXIX. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and above it that for water, form *K'ien*. The superior man, in accordance with this, turns round (and examines) himself, and cultivates his virtue.

1. 'Advancing will conduct to (greater) difficulties, while remaining stationary will afford ground for praise:—the proper course is to wait.

2. 'The minister of the king struggles with difficulty on difficulty:—in the end no blame will be attached to him.

3. 'He advances, (but only) to (greater) difficulty; he remains stationary, and returns to his former associates:—they, (represented in) the inner (trigram), rejoice in him.

4. 'To advance will (only be to) encounter (greater) difficulties; he remains stationary, and unites (with the subject of the line above):—that is in its proper place and has the solidity (due to it in that position).

5. 'He struggles with the greatest difficulties, while friends are coming (to help him):—he is in the central position, and possesses the requisite virtue.

6. 'To advance will (only) increase the difficulties, while his remaining stationary will (be productive of) great (merit):—his aim is to assist the (subject of the line) inside of him.

'It will be advantageous to meet the great man:—by his course he follows that noble (lord of the figure).

XXXIX. The Symbolism is described here a little differently from the form of it in Appendix I. *K'hang-ze* brings the same meaning out of it, however, in the following way:—'We have here a steep and difficult mountain, and again on the top of that there

XL. (The trigram representing) thunder and that for rain, with these phenomena in a state of manifestation, form *K'ieh*. The superior man, in accordance with this, forgives errors, and deals gently with crimes.

1. The strong (fourth) line and the weak line here are in correlation:—we judge rightly in saying that 'its subject will commit no error.'

2. 'The good fortune springing from the firm correctness of the second line, undivided,' is due to its subject holding the due mean.

3. For 'a porter with his burden to be riding in a carriage' is a thing to be ashamed of. 'It is he himself that tempts the robbers to come:—on whom besides can we lay the blame? (See Appendix III, i, 48.)

4. 'Remove your toes:—the places (of this line

is water; each of the two trigrams is an emblem of perilousness. There is peril, both above and below, in the figure; and hence it represents the difficulties of the state.' The application of the symbolism is illustrated by the words of Mencius, 'When we do not, by what we do, realise (what we desire), we must turn inwards and examine ourselves in every point.'

From the lesson in paragraph 2 we saw that the moral value of conduct is independent of failure or success. It is said, 'Though the difficulties be too great for him to overcome, the sage accepts his desire, in order to stimulate others to loyal devotedness.'

On paragraph 3, Khung Ying-tâ says:—'Of the three lines of the lower trigram only the third is yang, above the two others which are of the yin nature. They cling to it, and are represented as if rejoicing in it.

The view given of paragraph 4 is that of the Khang-hsî editors.

'The friends' in paragraph 5 are the subjects of the second line, the correlate of 5, and also of the two other lines of the lower trigram.

Sû Shih (A. D. 1036-1101) remarks on paragraph 6 that by 'the inside,' and 'the noble,' we are to understand the subject of line 5.

and of the third and first) are all inappropriate to them.

5. When 'the superior man executes his function of removing (whatever is injurious to the idea of the hexagram),' small men will of themselves retire.

6. 'A prince with his bow shoots a falcon:—thus he removes (the promoters of) rebellion.

XLI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and beneath it that for the waters of a marsh form Sun. The superior man, in accordance with this, restrains his wrath and represses his desires.

1. 'He suspends his own affairs and hurries away (to help the subject of the fourth line):'—the (subject of that) upper (line) mingles his wishes with his.

XL. It is a common saying that thunder and rain clear the atmosphere, and a feeling of oppression is relieved. The last paragraph of Appendix I, however, leads us to understand the Symbolism of the phenomena of spring. The application seems to refer to the gentle policy of a conqueror forward to forgive the opposition of those who offer no more resistance.

The subject of line 2 is a minister or officer; and the Khang-hsi editors say that while straightforwardness, symbolised by the arrow, is the first duty of an officer, if he do not temper that quality by pursuing the due medium, which is symbolised by the yellow colour of the arrow, but proceed by main force, and that only, to remove what is evil, he will provoke indignation and rebellion. The 'three foxes' are not alluded to in this second paragraph.

On paragraph 4 the same editors say:—'The subject of this line is not in the central nor in an odd place; he has for his correlate the subject of line 1 and for his close associate that of line 3, both of which lines are weak in strong places. Hence it is said, that they are all in places inappropriate to them.'

What paragraph 5 says, that 'the small men retire,' means that believing in the sincerity of the ruler's determination to remove all evil men, they retire of themselves, or strive to conform to his wishes.

2. 'It will be advantageous for (the subject of) the second line, undivided, to maintain his firm correctness : '—his central position gives its character to his aim.

3. 'One man, walking,' (finds his friend) :—when three are together, doubts rise among them.

4. 'He diminishes the ailment under which he labours : '—this is matter for joy.

5. 'The great good fortune attached to the fifth line, divided,' is due to the blessing from above.

6. 'He gives increase to others without taking from what is his own : '—he obtains his wish on a grand scale.

XLI. 'The waters of a marsh are continually rising up in vapour to bedew the hill above it, and thus increase its verdure ; what is taken from the marsh gives increase to the hill.' This is very far-fetched. In the application again the superior man acts only on himself, and for himself ;—which has nothing to do with those of low degree giving to those above them. This application, however, agrees with what, as we have seen on the Text, was *Kháng-ze's* view of the meaning of the hexagram.

The explanation appended to paragraph 1 seems to be to account for the subject of line 1 hurrying away to the help of line 4.

'His aim' is to abide where he is, and help the subject of 5 by the exhibition of 'firm correctness.'

The *Khang-hsü* editors observe that paragraph 3 is true indeed of three men ; and not of three men only, but of many repetitions of thought or action.

The same editors say on paragraph 5 that 'the blessing from above is explained, by many, of the oracles obtained through divining with the tortoise-shell ; but that looking at the text on line 2 of the next hexagram, and that *Ti* (spoken of there) is the lord of all spirits, the term "above" here is most naturally explained of Heaven's mind, whose acceptance cannot be gainsaid by men or spirits.'

Kháng-ze says on paragraph 6, though I do not see the rele-

XLII. (The trigram representing) wind and that for thunder form Yt. The superior man, in accordance with this, when he sees what is good, moves towards it; and when he sees his errors, he turns from them.

1. 'If the movement be greatly fortunate, no blame will be imputed to him : '—though it is not for one in so low a position to have to do with great affairs.

2. 'Parties add to his stores : '—they come from beyond (his immediate circle) to do so.

3. 'Increase is given by means of what is evil and difficult : '—as he has in himself (the qualities called forth).

4. 'His advice to his prince is followed : '—his (only) object in it being the increase (of the general good).

5. '(The ruler) with sincere heart seeks to benefit (all below) : '—there need be no question (about the result). '(All below) with sincere heart acknowledge (his goodness) : '—he gets what he desires on a great scale.

6. 'To his increase none will contribute : '—this expresses but half the result. 'Many will seek to assail him : '—they will come from beyond (his immediate circle) to do so.

vancy of his remarks :—' Dwelling on high, and taking nothing from those below him, but on the contrary giving more to them, the superior man accomplishes his aim on a grand scale. The aim of the superior man is simply to be increasing what others have ;—that and nothing else.'

XLII. The Symbolism here is different from what we gather from the former Appendix. Sun no longer symbolises wood, but, as

XLIII. (The trigram representing) heaven and that for the waters of a marsh mounting above it form Kwâi. The superior man, in accordance with this, bestows emolument on those below him, and dislikes allowing his gifts to accumulate (undispensed).

1. 'Without (being able to) succeed, he goes forward:—this is an error.

2. 'Though hostile measures be taken against him, he need not be anxious:—he pursues the course of the due mean.

3. 'The superior man looks bent on cutting off the culprit:—there will in the end be no error.

4. 'He walks slowly and with difficulty:—he is not in the place appropriate to him.

'He hears these words, but does not believe them:—he hears, but does not understand.

5. 'If his action be in harmony with his central

it more commonly does, wind. Thunder and wind, it is supposed, increase each the other; and their combination gives the idea of increase. Then the application, good in itself, must be treated very nicely, as it is by the Khang-hsf editors, in order to make out any connexion between it and the Symbolism.

Paragraph 1. 'One in a low position should not move in great affairs;—not a son, it is said, while his father is alive; nor a minister, while his ruler governs; nor a member of an official department, while its head directs its affairs. If such a one do initiate such an affair, only great success will excuse his rashness.

Paragraph 2. Line 5 is the proper correlate of 2; and its subject will be among the contributing parties. But others 'beyond' will be won to take part with him.

Paragraph 3. There is a soul of good even in men who seem only evil; and adversity may quicken it.

Paragraph 6. As in line 2 the attractive power of benevolence is shown, so in line 6 we have the repulsive power of selfishness exhibited. Mark the 'from beyond' in both paragraphs.

position, there will be no error :—but his standing in the due mean is not yet clearly displayed.

6. 'There is the misery of having none on whom to call :—the end will be that he cannot continue any longer.

XLIV. (The trigram representing) wind and that for the sky above it form Kâu. The sovereign, in accordance with this, delivers his charges, and promulgates his announcements throughout the four quarters (of the kingdom).

1. 'Tied and fastened to a metal drag :—(this

XLIII. We can only understand the mounting of the waters of a marsh up into the sky of the phenomenon of evaporation ; and certainly the waters so formed into clouds will be condensed, and come down again as rain. This may be taken as an image of dispersion, but not of displacement in the sense of the Text of the hexagram.

The first clause of the application follows naturally enough from the above interpretation of the Symbolism. Kû Hsi says he does not understand the second clause. Many critics adopt the view of it which appears in the translation.

Paragraph 2 does not mention the precautionary measures taken in the Text by the subject of the line, from which the conclusion would follow quite as naturally as from his central position. The Khang-hsi editors, however, say that the not having recourse lightly to force is itself the due course.

Line 3 responding, and alone of all the strong lines responding to 6, may appear at first irresolute, and not prepared for decided measures ; but 'in the end' its subject does what is required of him.

The contiguity of line 5 to the divided 6, is supposed to have some bad effect on its subject, so that while he does what his central position requires, it is not without an effort. 'If a man,' says K'ang-ze, 'cherish a single illicit desire in his mind, he has left the right way. The admonition here conveyed is deep.'

describes the arrest of) the weak (line) in its advancing course.

2. 'He has a wallet of fish : '—it is right for him not to allow (the subject of the first line) to get to the guests.

3. 'He walks with difficulty : '—but his steps have not yet been drawn (into the course of the first line).

4. 'The evil' indicated by there being 'no fish in the wallet' is owing to (the subject of the line) keeping himself aloof from the people.

5. 'The subject of the fifth line, undivided, keeps his brilliant qualities concealed : '—as is indicated by his central and correct position.

'(The good issue) descends (as) from Heaven : '—his aim does not neglect the ordinances (of Heaven).

6. 'He receives others on his horns : '—he is exhausted at his greatest height, and there will be cause for regret.

XLIV. Wind, blowing all-under the sky, penetrates everywhere, and produces its natural effect; and it is a good application of this phenomenon that follows; but it has nothing to do with the meaning of Kâu and the interpretation of the hexagram, as taught in the Text. The Khang-hsi editors perceive this, and deal with the Symbolism after a method of their own, on which it is unnecessary to enter.

Paragraph 1. My supplement, 'This describes the arrest of,' is a conclusion from the whole of the Text on the line. All the commentaries have it.

In the 'Daily Lecture' it is said that the lesson of paragraph 2 is that 'the subject of the line should make the repression of 1 his own exclusive work, and not allow it to pass on to the subject of any of the other lines.' That view is rather different from the one indicated in my supplement.

'His steps have not been drawn into the course of the first

XLV. (The trigram representing the) earth and that for the waters of a marsh raised above it form 3hui. The superior man, in accordance with this, has his weapons of war put in good repair, to be prepared against unforeseen contingencies.

1. 'In consequence disorder is brought into the sphere of his union : '—his mind and aim are thrown into confusion.

2. 'He is led forward ; there will be good fortune, and freedom from error : '—(the virtue proper to) his central place has not undergone any change.

3. 'If he go forward, he will not err : '—in the subject of the topmost line there is humility and condescension.

4. 'If he be grandly fortunate, he will receive no blame : '—(this condition is necessary, because) his position is not the one proper to him.

5. 'There is the union (of all) under him in the place of dignity : '—(but) his mind and aim have not yet been brilliantly displayed.

line : '—we have to supply, 'and therefore there will be no great error.'

Paragraph 4. See what is said on the Text. But that the subject of the line stands alone is owing, it is here implied, to his own impatience. If he could exercise forbearance, he would find a proper opportunity to check the advance of the subject of line 1.

The subject of line 5, while mindful of his task in the hexagram,—to repress the advance symbolised by 1,—yet keeps his wise plans concealed till the period of carrying them into execution, determined by the ordinances of Heaven, has arrived. Then comes the successful stroke of his policy as if it were directly from Heaven.

The subject of line 6 really accomplishes nothing to repress the advance of the unworthy ; but he keeps himself from evil communication with them. He is not to be charged with blameable error, though more and better might have been expected of him.

6. 'He sighs and weeps : '—he does not yet rest in his topmost position.

XLVI. (The trigram representing) wood and that for the earth with the wood growing in the midst of it form Shǎng. The superior man, in accordance with this, pays careful attention to his virtue, and accumulates the small developments of it till it is high and great.

1. 'He is welcomed in his advance upwards, and there will be great good fortune : '—(the subjects of) the upper (trigram) are of the same mind with him.

2. 'The sincerity of the subject of the second line, undivided,' affords occasion for joy.

3. 'He advances upwards (as into) an empty city : '—he has no doubt or hesitation.

4. 'The king employs him to prevent his offerings on mount *K'hi* : '—such a service (of spiritual Beings) is according to (their mind).

XLV. What has this Great Symbolism to do with the idea and preservation of union? The question is answered in this way :—A marsh whose waters are high up above the earth must be kept in by banks and dykes, to keep them together, to preserve them from being dispersed. So the union of a people must be preserved by precautions against what would disturb and destroy it. Of such precautions the chief is to be prepared to resist attack from without, and to put down internal sedition.

Paragraph 3. The topmost line is the last in Tui, whose attribute is complacent satisfaction, appearing in flexibility or docility.

Paragraph 5. 'His mind and aim have not yet been brilliantly displayed : '—this is in explanation of the case that some may even still not have confidence in him.

Paragraph 6. The topmost position is that of the trigram ; the subject of the line might bid farewell to all the work of the hexagram ; but he cannot bear to do so.

5. 'He is firmly correct, and will therefore enjoy good fortune. He ascends the stairs (with all due ceremony):'—he grandly succeeds in his aim.

6. 'He blindly advances upwards,' and is in the highest place:—but there is decay in store for him, and he will not (preserve) his riches.

XLVII. (The trigram representing) a marsh, and (below it that for a defile, which has drained the other dry so that there is) no water in it, form Khwăn. The superior man, in accordance with this, will sacrifice his life in order to carry out his purpose.

1. 'He enters a dark valley:'—so benighted is he, and without clear vision.

2. 'He is straitened amidst his wine and viands:'—(but) his position is central, and there will be ground for congratulation.

XLVI. See what has been said on the Great Symbolism in Appendix I. The application which is made of it here may be accepted, though it has nothing to do with the teaching of the Text about the gradual rise of a good officer to high social distinction and influence.

Paragraph 1. Instead of finding in this the three lines of Khwăn and their subjects, *Khăng-ze* makes 'the upper' denote only line 2.

Paragraph 2. The subject of line 2 in his loyal devotion to 5, will do much good and benefit many; hence we have the words, 'affords occasion for joy.'

Paragraph 3. 'He has no doubt or hesitation:'—but this is presuming rather on his strength.

Paragraph 4. The Khang-hsî editors say:—'Such an employment of men of worth to do service to spiritual Beings is serving them according to their mind.'

Paragraph 6. When one has reached the greatest height, he should think of retiring. Ambition otherwise may overleap itself.

3. 'He lays hold of thorns : '—(this is suggested by the position of the line) above the strong (line).

'He enters his palace, and does not see his wife : '—this is inauspicious.

4. 'He proceeds very slowly (to help the subject of the first line) : '—his aim is directed to (help) that lower (line). Although he is not in his appropriate place, he and that other will (in the end) be together.

5. 'His nose and feet are cut off : '—his aim has not yet been gained.

'He is leisurely, however, in his movements, and is satisfied : '—his position is central and (his virtue) is correct.

'It will be well for him to be (as sincere as) in sacrificing : '—so shall he receive blessing.

6. 'He is straitened as if bound with creepers : '—(his spirit and action) are unsuitable.

'(He says), "If I move, I shall repent of it." And he does repent (of former errors), which leads to good fortune : '—so he (now) goes on.

XLVII. The first sentence of the Great Symbolism is constructed differently from any which has presented itself in the previous 46 hexagrams. Literally translated, it would be 'a marsh with no water is Khwân ;' and this might certainly suggest to us a condition of distress. But how does this come out of the trigrams? The upper one is Tui, representing a marsh ; and the lower is Khân, representing water in a defile. The collocation of the two suggests the running of the water from the marsh or lake into the stream, which will soon empty the other. Such is the view which occurred to myself ; and it is the same as that given by K'ü Hsi :—'The water descending and leaking away, the marsh above will become dry.' The application is good in itself, but the concatenation between it and the Symbolism is hardly discernible.

XLVIII. (The trigram representing) wood and above it that for water form 3ing. The superior man, in accordance with this, comforts the people, and stimulates them to mutual helpfulness.

1. 'A well so muddy that men will not drink of it:—this is indicated by the low position (of the line).

'An old well to which the birds do not come:—it has been forsaken in the course of time.

2. 'A well from which by a hole the water escapes, and flows away to the shrimps:—(the subject of this second line has) none co-operating with him (above).

3. 'The well has been cleared out, but is not used:—(even) passers-by would be sorry for this.

A prayer is made 'that the king were intelligent:—for then blessing would be received.

4. 'A well the lining of which is well laid. There will be no error:—the well has been put in good repair.

5. 'The waters from the cold spring are (freely) drunk:—this is indicated by the central and correct position (of the line).

6. 'The great good fortune' at the topmost place

So stupid is the subject of line 1 that by his own act he increases his distress.

The Khang-hsi editors say that the 'ground for congratulation in paragraph 2 is the banqueting and sacrificing.' I rather think it is the measure of help, which it is intimated the subject will give in removing the straitness and distress of the time.

See the extract from the Khang-hsi editors on the symbolism of the third line of the Text.

The difficulties attending the symbolism of the Text of lines 4, 5, and 6 are not lightened by what we find in this Appendix.

indicates the grand accomplishment (of the idea in the hexagram).

XLIX. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and that for fire in the midst of them form Ko. The superior man, in accordance with this, regulates his (astronomical) calculations, and makes clear the seasons and times.

1. 'He is bound with (the skin of) a yellow ox:—he should in his circumstances be taking action.

2. 'He makes his changes when some time has passed:—what he does will be matter of admiration.

3. 'The change (contemplated) has been three times fully discussed:—to what else should attention (now) be directed?

4. 'The good fortune consequent on changing (existing) ordinances' is due to the faith reposed in his aims.

5. 'The great man produces his changes as the tiger does when he changes his stripes:—their beauty becomes more brilliant.

XLVIII. The Great Symbolism here may well enough represent a well, it being understood that the water which is above the wood is that raised by it for irrigation and other uses. What is said, moreover, in the application is more akin to the idea of the hexagram than in most of the other cases. It is certainly one way in which the ruler should nourish the people.

It is said on paragraph 1:—'Those who have a mind to do something in the world, when they look at this line, and its symbolism, will learn how they ought to exert themselves.'

Rather in opposition to what I have said on the Text of line 4, the 'Daily Lecture' observes here:—'The cultivation of one's self, which is represented here, is fundamental to the government of others.'

6. 'The superior man produces his changes as the leopard does when he changes his spots:—their beauty becomes more elegant.

'Small men change their faces:—they show themselves prepared to follow their ruler.

L. (The trigram representing) wood and above it that for fire form Ting. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps his every position correct, and maintains secure the appointment (of Heaven).

1. 'The caldron is overturned, and its feet turned upwards:—but this is not (all) contrary (to what is right).

'There will be advantage in getting rid of what was bad:—thereby (the subject of the line) will follow the more noble (subject of the fourth line).

2. 'There is the caldron with the things (to be cooked) in it:—let (the subject of the line) be careful where he goes.

'My enemy dislikes me:—but there will in the end be no fault (to which he can point).

3. 'There is the caldron with (the places for) its

XLIX. Wise men, occupying themselves with the determination of the seasons and questions of time, have in all ages based their judgments on the observation of the heavenly bodies. We find this insisted on in the first book of the Shû, by the ancient Yáo. But how this application of the Great Symbolism really flows from it, I must confess myself unable to discover. Once, however, when I was conversing about the Yî with a high Chinese dignitary, who was a well-read scholar also so far as his own literature was concerned, he referred to this paragraph as proving that all our western science had been known to Fû-hsî and Confucius!

What is said on the several lines is sufficiently illustrated in the notes on the Text.

ears changed :—(its subject) has failed in what was required of him (in his situation).

4. 'The contents designed for the ruler's use are overturned and spilt :—how can (the subject of the line) be trusted ?

5. 'The caldron has yellow ears :—the central position (of the line) is taken as (a proof of) the solid (virtue of its subject).

6. 'The rings of jade' are at the very top :—the strong and the weak meet in their due proportions.

LI. (The trigram representing) thunder, being repeated, forms *K'ān*. The superior man, in accordance with this, is fearful and apprehensive, cultivates (his virtue), and examines (his faults).

1. 'When the (time of) movement comes, he will be found looking out with apprehension :—that feeling of dread leads to happiness.

L. The Great Symbolism here has come before us in the treatise on the *Thwan*. Of the application of that symbolism I can only say that, as has been seen in many other hexagrams, while good enough in itself, it is far-fetched.

The same remark may be made on the explanation of the Text of the first line. I can myself do little more than guess at its meaning. The *Khang-hsi* editors observe that nothing is said about the case of the 'concubine' in the Text; but that it is covered by the 'following the more noble,' 'so condensed and complete are the words of the sage!'

The same editors find a pregnant sense in the conclusion of paragraph 2 :—'There will be no fault in me to which my enemy can point, and his disposition to find fault will be diminished.'

'What was required of the caldron in the third line was that that line and line 5, instead of 6, should be correlates;' but there is little meaning in such a statement.

The subject of line 4 cannot be trusted again. He has failed in doing what was his proper work.

'He yet smiles and talks cheerfully:'—the issue (of his dread) is that he adopts (proper) laws (for his course).

2. 'When the movement approaches, he is in a position of peril:'—(a weak line) is mounted on a strong (one).

3. 'He is distraught amid the startling movements going on:'—(the third line) is in a position unsuitable to it.

4. 'Amid the startling movements, he sinks supinely in the mud:'—the light in him has not yet been brilliantly developed.

5. 'He goes and comes amid the startling movements, and (always) in peril:'—full of risk are his doings.

'What he has to do has to be done in his central position:'—far will he be from incurring any loss.

6. 'Amid the startling movements he is in breathless dismay:'—he has not found out (the course of) the due mean.

'Though evil (threatens), he will not fall into error:'—he is afraid of being warned by his neighbours.

LII. (Two trigrams representing) a mountain, one over the other, form Kǎn. The superior man, in

LI. The account of the Great Symbolism here calls for no remark. Nor does the application of it; but may it not be too late to fear, and order anew one's thoughts and actions when the retributions in providence are taking place? Commentators are haunted by the shadow of this question; but they are unable rightly to meet it.

Paragraph 1 is the same as 2 in Appendix I.

Paragraph 4. Compare paragraph 4 of hexagram 21, Appendix II.

accordance with this, does not go in his thoughts beyond the (duties of the) position in which he is.

1. 'He keeps his toes at rest : '—he does not fail in what is correct (according to the idea of the figure).

2. 'He cannot help him whom he follows : '—(he whom he follows) will not retreat to listen to him.

3. 'He keeps the loins at rest : '—the danger (from his doing so) produces a glowing heat in the heart.

4. 'He keeps the trunk of his body at rest : '—he keeps himself free (from agitation).

5. 'He keeps his cheek bones at rest : '—in harmony with his central position he acts correctly.

6. 'There is good fortune through his devotedly maintaining his restfulness : '—to the end he shows himself generous and good.

LII. According to the view of the Khang-hsî editors, the application should be translated :—'The superior man, in accordance with this, thinks anxiously how he shall not go beyond the duties of his position.' It is difficult to decide between this shade of the meaning, and the more common one which I have followed.

The toes play a great part in walking ; but they are here kept at rest, and so do not lose the correct idea of Kăn.

There is no correlation between lines 2 and 3, and thence the subject of 3 will hold on its upward way without condescending to 2.

K'ang-ze finds an unsatisfactory auspice in paragraph 4. Line 4 represents a great minister who should be able to guide all to rest where they ought to be ; but he can only keep himself from agitation.

Yü P'ăn (Ming dynasty) says on paragraph 5 :—'Words should not be uttered rashly. Then, when uttered, they will be found

LIII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for a tree form *K'ien*. The superior man, in accordance with this, attains to and maintains his extraordinary virtue, and makes the manners of the people good.

1. 'The danger of a small officer (as represented in the first line)' is owing to no fault of his in the matter of what is right.

2. 'They eat and drink joyfully and at ease : '—but not without having earned their food.

3. 'A husband goes and does not return : '—he separates himself from his comrades.

'A wife is pregnant, but will not nourish her child : '—she has failed in her (proper) course.

'It might be advantageous in resisting plunderers : '—by acting as here indicated men would preserve one another.

4. 'They may light on the flat branches : '—there is docility (in the line) going on to flexible penetration.

5. 'In the end the natural issue cannot be prevented. There will be good fortune : '—(the subject of the line) will get what he desires.

6. 'Their feathers can be used as ornaments. There will be good fortune : '—(the object and character of the subject of the line) cannot be disturbed.

accordant with principle. But it is only the master of the virtue belonging to the due mean who can attain to this.'

LIII. The Khang-hsi editors, to bring out the suitability of the Great Symbolism and its application, say :—'A tree springing up on the ground is a tree as it begins to grow. A tree on a hill is high and large. Every tree when it begins to grow, shows its

LIV. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and over it that for thunder form Kwei Mei. The superior man, in accordance with this, having regard to the far-distant end, knows the mischief (that may be done at the beginning).

1. 'The younger sister is married off in a position ancillary to that of the real wife:'—it is the constant practice (for such a case).

'Lame on one leg, she is able to tramp along:'—she can render helpful service.

2. 'There will be advantage in maintaining the firm correctness of a solitary widow:'—(the subject of

branches and twigs gradually becoming long. Every morning and every evening show some difference; and when the tree is high and great, whether it be of an ordinary or extraordinary size, it has taken years to reach its dimensions. This illustrates the difference between the advance in Shāng (46) and that in K'ien. Then the maintenance of extraordinary virtue in the application and the improvement of manners is a gradual process. The improvement of the manners, moreover, flows from the maintenance of the extraordinary virtue; which implies also a gradual operation and progress.'

Paragraph 1. The danger is the result of circumstances; the small officer has not brought it on himself.

Paragraph 2. Only the geese appear in this paragraph; but the writer is thinking of the advancing officer. I cannot but think that in the language and sentiment also there is an echo of the Shih King, I, ix, ode 6.

The 'separation from his comrades' has respect to line 3 not finding its correlate in 6. 'The wife's failing in her proper course' has respect to the line being undivided and not in the centre.

K'hang-ze says, on paragraph 4, that humility and right-doing will find rest and peace in all places and circumstances.

Paragraph 5. 'The natural issue cannot be prevented:'—the wife will have a child; minister and ruler will meet happily.

Paragraph 6. See on the Text. But it is difficult to see the aptness of the symbolism.

the line) has not changed from the constancy (proper to a wife).

3. 'The younger sister who was to be married off is in a mean position : '—this is shown by the improprieties (indicated in the line).

4. (The purpose in) 'protracting the time' is that, after waiting, the thing may be done (all the better).

5. 'The sleeves of the younger sister of (king) T'i-yü, when she was married away, were not equal to those of her (half-) sister, who accompanied her : '—such was her noble character, indicated by the central position of the line.

6. '(What is said in) the sixth line, divided, about there being nothing in the basket' shows that the subject of it is carrying an empty basket.

LV. (The trigrams representing) thunder and lightning combine to form Fäng. The superior man, in accordance with this, decides cases of litigation, and apports punishments with exactness.

1. 'Though they are both of the same character, there will be no error : '—if the subject of this

LIV. Thunder rolling above is supposed to produce movement in the waters of the marsh below. The combination of this symbolism in Kwei Mei is recognised as an evil omen in the case which the name denotes. The application of it is not inappropriate.

Paragraph 1. 'It is the constant practice (for such a case)' seems to mean that an ancillary wife has no right to the disposition of herself, but must do what she is told. Thus it is that the mean position of the younger sister does not interfere with the service she can render.

The addition to the Text of 'the purpose' in paragraph 4 is to show that the putting marriage off is on the part of the lady and not on the other side.

line seek to overpass that similarity, there will be calamity.

2. 'Let him cherish his feeling of sincere devotion, that it shall appear being put forth:'—it is by sincerity that the mind is affected.

3. 'There is an (additional) screen of a large and thick banner:'—great things should not be attempted (in such circumstances).

'He breaks his right arm:'—in the end he will not be fit to be employed.

4. 'He is surrounded by a screen large and thick:'—the position of the line is inappropriate.

'At midday he sees the constellation of the Bushel:'—there is darkness and no light.

'He meets with the subject of the line, undivided like himself. There will be good fortune:'—action may be taken.

5. 'The good fortune indicated by the fifth line, divided,' is the congratulation (that is sure to arise).

6. 'He has made his house large:'—he soars (in his pride) to the heavens.

'He looks at his door, which is still, with no one about it:'—he (only) keeps himself withdrawn from all others.

LV. Lightning appears here as the natural phenomenon of which Lî is the symbol. The virtues attributed to the two trigrams are certainly required in the application of them which is subjoined; but that application has little or nothing to do with the explanation of the hexagram supplied by the Text.

I hardly understand the conclusion of paragraph 1. My translation of it is according to the view of Kû Hsî, if I rightly understand that.

Paragraph 2. It is by such sincerity that the mind is affected,—that is, the mind of the ruler occupying line 5.

LVI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for fire form Lü. The superior man, in accordance with this, exerts his wisdom and caution in the use of punishments and not allowing litigations to continue.

1. 'The stranger is mean and meanly occupied :—his aim is become of the lowest character, and calamity will ensue.

2. 'He is provided with good and trusty servants :—he will in the end have nothing of which to complain.

3. 'The stranger burns his lodging-house :—and he himself also suffers hurt thereby. When, as a stranger, he treats those below him (as the line indicates), the right relation between him and them is lost.

4. 'The stranger is in a resting-place :—but he has not got his proper position.

'He has the means of livelihood, and the axe :—but his mind is not at ease.

5. 'In the end he will obtain praise and a (high) charge :—he has reached a high place.

6. 'Considering that the stranger is here at the very height (of distinction), with the spirit that possesses him, it is right he (should be emblemed by a bird) burning (its nest).

Line 3 has a correlate in 6, which is weak, and as it were out of the game. The light in 3 moreover is hidden. Hence the symbolism ; and through the blindness of its subject his hurt, which unfits him to be employed.

The line undivided like 4 is 1 ; perhaps we might translate—'He meets with the subject of the parallel line.'

No one but himself has any confidence in the subject of line 6. He holds himself aloof from others, and they leave him to himself.

‘He loses his ox(-like docility) too readily and easily :’—to the end he would not listen to (the truth about the course to be pursued).

LVII. (Two trigrams representing) wind, following each other, form Sun. The superior man, in accordance with this, reiterates his orders, and secures the practice of his affairs.

1. ‘(Now) he advances, (now) he recedes :’—his mind is perplexed.

‘It would be advantageous for him to have the

LVI. Different attempts are made to bring the idea of a travelling stranger out of the trigrams Kǎn and Lî; but none of them is satisfactory. Let Khung Ying-tá’s view serve as a specimen of them :—‘A fire on a mountain lays hold of the grass, and runs with it over the whole space, not stopping anywhere long, and soon disappearing ;—such is the emblem of the traveller.’ The application may be derived well enough from the attributes of the trigrams ; but does not fit in with the lessons of the Thwan and Hsiang.

The meanness of the subject of line 1 does not arise from the nature of his occupation ; but from his mind and aim being emptied of all that is good and ennobling.

Strong and trusty servants are the most important condition for the comfort and progress of the traveller ; and therefore it alone is resumed and expanded.

The subject of line 3 treats those below him with violence and arrogance, which of course alienates them from him.

‘He has not got into his proper position’ seems to say no more than that 4 is a strong line in an even place.

It is difficult to say what ‘he has reached a high place’ means. The fifth line is not in this hexagram the ruler’s seat ; but by his qualities and gifts the subject of it attracts the attention and regard of his friends and of his ruler.

The spirit that possesses the subject of line 6 is one of haughty arrogance, with which the humility that ought to characterise him cannot co-exist. His careless self-sufficiency has shut his mind against all lessons of wisdom.

firmness of a brave soldier:—his mind would in that case be well governed.

2. 'The good fortune springing from what borders on confusion' is due to the position (of the line) in the centre.

3. 'The regret arising from the violent and repeated efforts to penetrate' shows the exhaustion of the will.

4. 'He takes game in his hunting, enough for the threefold use of it:—he achieves merit.

5. 'The good fortune of (the subject of) the fifth line, undivided,' is owing to its correct position and its being in the centre.

6. 'The representative of penetration is beneath a couch:—though occupying the topmost place, his powers are exhausted.

'He has lost the axe with which he executed his decisions:—though he try to be correct, there will be evil.

LVII. I have said on the Thwan that some commentators make the upper trigram symbolical of the ordinances of the ruler and the lower symbolical of the obedience of the people. E. g., *Khǎng-ze* says:—'Superiors, in harmony with the duty of inferiors, issue their commands; inferiors, in harmony with the wishes of their superiors, follow them. Above and below there are that harmony and deference; and this is the significance of the redoubled Sun. When governmental commands and business are in accordance with what is right, they agree with the tendencies of the minds of the people who follow them.'

Paragraph 2 seems to say that the sincerity of purpose indicated by the central position of the second line conducts its subject to the right course, despite the many considerations that might distract him.

'The will is exhausted' in paragraph 3 intimates that 'the repeated efforts' made by its subject have exhausted him. He can now only regret his failures.

LVIII. (Two symbols representing) the waters of a marsh, one over the other, form Tui. The superior man, in accordance with this, (encourages) the conversation of friends and (the stimulus of) their (common) practice.

1. 'The good fortune attached to the pleasure of (inward) harmony' arises from there being nothing in the conduct (of the subject of the line) to awaken doubt.

2. 'The good fortune attached to the pleasure arising from (inward sincerity)' is due to the confidence felt in the object (of the subject of the line).

3. 'The evil predicated of one's bringing around himself whatever can give pleasure' is shown by the inappropriateness of the place (of the line).

4. 'The joy in connexion with (the subject of) the fourth line, undivided,' is due to the happiness (which he will produce).

5. 'He trusts in one who would injure him:'—his place is that which is correct and appropriate.

6. 'The topmost line, divided, shows the pleasure (of its subject) in leading and attracting others:'—his (virtue) is not yet brilliant.

What is said in paragraph 6 proceeds on a different view of the Text from that which I have followed.

LVIII. The application of the Great Symbolism here will recall to many readers the Hebrew maxims in Proverbs xxvii. 17, 19. The sentiment of it, however, does not readily fit in to the teaching of the hexagram as set forth in the Text.

There is nothing in the conduct of the subject of line 1 to awaken suspicion. He has as yet taken no action; but it was not necessary to say anything like this about the subject of line 2, his central position being an assurance that he would never do anything of a doubtful character.

LIX. (The trigram representing) water and that for wind moving above the water form Hwân. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, presented offerings to God and established the ancestral temple.

1. 'The good fortune attached to the first line, divided,' is due to the natural course (pursued by its subject).

2. 'Amidst the prevailing dispersion, he hurries to his contrivance (for security):'—he gets what he desires.

3. 'He has no regard to his own person:'—his aim is directed to what is external to himself.

4. 'He scatters the (different) parties (in the state), and there is great good fortune:'—brilliant and great (are his virtue and service).

5. 'The accumulations of the royal (granaries) are dispersed, and there is no error:'—this is due to the correctness of the position.

6. 'His bloody wounds are gone:'—he is far removed from the danger of injury.

Line 3 should be strong, and the desire of pleasure which is the idea of the hexagram leads its weak subject to the course which is so emphatically condemned.

Paragraph 5 is incomplete. Does the correctness and appropriateness of the position of the subject of the line afford any explanation of his trusting the subject of the weak line above, who would only injure him? It ought to keep him on the contrary from doing so. The commentators have seen this, and say that the paragraph is intended by way of caution.

The action of the hexagram should culminate and end in line 5. But the subject of it has not made brilliant attainment in the firmness and correctness by which the love of pleasure should be controlled.

LIX. The 'in accordance with this' must be equivalent to—'to remedy the state of things thus symbolised.' What follows certainly

LX. (The trigram representing) a lake, and above it that for water, form *Kieh*. The superior man, in accordance with this, constructs his (methods of) numbering and measurement, and discusses (points of) virtue and conduct.

1. 'He does not quit the courtyard outside his door:—he knows when he has free course and when he is obstructed.

2. 'He does not quit the courtyard inside his gate. There will be evil:—he loses the time (for action) to an extreme degree.

3. In 'the lamentation for not observing the (proper) regulations,' who should there be to blame?

4. 'The progress and success of the quiet and natural (attention) to all regulations' is due to the deference which accepts the ways of (the ruler) above.

5. 'The good fortune arising from the regulations enacted sweetly and acceptably' is due to (the line)

amounts to this, that the ancient kings considered the services of religion, sincerely and earnestly attended to, as calculated to counteract the tendency to mutual alienation and selfishness in the minds of men. How they operated to have this beneficial effect we are not told. Nor is it easy to account for the extension of what is said in the Text about the establishment of the ancestral temple to the presentation also of offerings to God. Probably the writer had the same idea in his mind as in the Great Symbolism of hexagram 16, q. v.

'The natural course' pursued by the subject of line 1 is, probably, that required by the time.

'What the subject of line 2 desired' would be his success in counteracting the prevailing tendency to disunion.

The view given of paragraph 5 is that propounded by *K'ü Hsi*.

For paragraph 6 see the note on line 6 under the Text.

occupying the place (of authority) and being in the centre.

6. 'The regulations are severe and difficult. Even with firm correctness there will be evil:—the course (indicated by the hexagram) is come to an end.

LXI. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and that for wind above it form *K'ung Fû*. The superior man, in accordance with this, deliberates about cases of litigation and delays (the infliction of) death.

1. 'The first line, undivided, shows its subject resting (in himself). There will be good fortune:—no change has yet come over his purpose.

2. 'Her young ones respond to her:—from the (common) wish of the inmost heart.

3. 'Now he beats his drum, and now he leaves off:—the position (of the line) is the appropriate one for it.

LX. Various explanations of the Great Symbolism have been attempted. E. g., *K'ang-ze* says:—'The water which a lake or marsh will contain is limited to a certain quantity. If the water flowing in exceed that, it overflows. This gives us the idea of *K'ieh*.' What is found on the application of it is to my mind equally unsatisfactory.

The subject of line 1 knows when he might have free course and when he is obstructed, and acts accordingly. He is regulated by a consideration of the time.

The subject of line 1 ought not to act, and he is still. The subject of line 2 ought to act, and he also is still. The error and the effect of it are great.

The subject of line 3 shows by his lamentation how he blames himself.

The other three paragraphs are sufficiently explained in what is said on the Text.

4. 'A horse the fellow of which disappears:—he breaks from his (former) companions, and mounts upwards.

5. 'He is perfectly sincere, and links others to him in closest union:—the place (of the line) is the correct and appropriate one.

6. 'Chanticleer (tries to) mount to heaven:—but how can (such an effort) continue long?

LXII. (The trigram representing) a hill and that for thunder above it form Hsião Kwo. The superior man, in accordance with this, in his conduct exceeds in humility, in mourning exceeds in sorrow, and in his expenditure exceeds in economy.

1. 'There is a bird flying (and ascending) till the result is evil:—nothing can be done to avoid this issue.

2. 'He does not attempt to reach his ruler:—

LXI. Dissatisfied with previous attempts to explain the Great Symbolism, the Khang-hsi editors say:—'The wind penetrates things. The grass and trees of the level ground are shaken and tossed by it; the rocky valleys and caverns in their sides have it blowing round about them; and it acts also on the depths of the collected waters, the cold of which disappears and the ice is melted before it. This is what makes it the emblem of that perfect sincerity which penetrates everywhere. The litigations of the people are like the deep and dark places of the earth. The kings examine with discrimination into all secret matters connected with them, even those which are here mentioned, till there is nothing that is not penetrated by their perfect sincerity.' But all this is greatly strained. The symbolism of the eight trigrams gets pretty well played out in the course of the 64 hexagrams.

1. 'No change has come over the purpose:—the sincerity, that is, perfect in itself and of itself, continues.

2. One bond of loving regard unites the mother bird and her young; so answers the heart of man to man.

a minister should not overpass the distance (between his ruler and himself).

3. 'Some in consequence find opportunity to assail and injure him. There will be evil :—how great will it be !

4. 'He meets the exigency (of his situation), without exceeding (the proper course) :—(he does so), the position being inappropriate (for a strong line).

'If he go forward, there will be peril, and he must be cautious :—the result would be that his course would not be long pursued.

5. 'There are dense clouds, but no rain :—(the line) is in too high a place.

6. 'He does not meet the exigency (of his situation), and exceeds (his proper course) :—(the position indicates) the habit of domineering.

LXIII. (The trigram representing) fire and that for water above it form *K'1* 31. The superior

LXII. The Khang-hsü editors endeavour to show the appropriateness of the Great Symbolism in this way :—'When thunder issues from the earth, the sound of it comes with a rush and is loud ; but when it reaches the top of a hill it has begun to die away and is small.' There is nothing in the Chinese about the hills being high ; and readers will only smile at the attempted explanation. The application of the symbolism, or rather of the idea of the hexagram, is good, and in entire accordance with what I have stated that idea to be.

Nothing can be done to avoid the issue mentioned in paragraph 1, for the subject of the line brings it on himself.

Paragraph 2 deals only with the symbolism in the conclusion of what is stated under line 2. The writer takes the view which I have given on the Text.

For paragraphs 3 and 4 see the notes on the Text.

In line 5 the yin line is too high. If the line were yang, the auspice would be different.

man, in accordance with this, thinks of evil (that may come), and beforehand guards against it.

1. 'He drags back his wheel:'—as we may rightly judge, there will be no mistake.

2. 'In seven days she will find it:'—for the course pursued is that indicated by the central position (of the line).

3. 'He was three years in subduing it:'—enough to make him weary.

4. 'He is on his guard all the day:'—he is in doubt about something.

5. 'The slaughtering of an ox by the neighbour in the east is not equal to (the small sacrifice of) the neighbour in the west:'—because the time (in the latter case is more important and fit).

'His sincerity receives the blessing:'—good fortune comes on a great scale.

6. 'His head is immersed; the position is perilous:'—how could such a state continue long?

LXIV. (The trigram representing) water and that for fire above it form Wei 31. The superior man, in accordance with this, carefully discriminates among (the qualities of) things, and the (different) positions they (naturally) occupy.

1. 'His tail gets immersed:'—this is the very height of ignorance.

LXIII. Water and fire coming together as here, fire under the water, each element occupies its proper place, and their interaction will be beneficial. Such is the common explanation of the Great Symbolism; but the connexion between it and the application of it, which also is good in itself, is by no means clear.

The notes on the different lines present nothing that has not been dealt with in the notes on the Text.

2. 'The second line, undivided, shows good fortune arising from being firm and correct:'—it is in the central place, and the action of its subject thereby becomes correct.

3. '(The state of things is) not yet remedied. Advancing will lead to evil:'—the place (of the line) is not that appropriate for it.

4. 'By firm correctness there is good fortune, and cause for repentance disappears:'—the aim (of the subject of the line) is carried into effect.

5. '(We see) the brightness of a superior man:'—the diffusion of that brightness tends to good fortune.

6. 'He drinks and gets his head immersed:'—he does not know how to submit to the (proper) regulations.

LXIV. In this last hexagram we have water below and fire above, so that the two cannot act on each other, and the Symbolism may represent the unregulated condition of general affairs, the different classes of society not harmonising nor acting together. The application follows naturally.

K'ü Hsî and others suspect an error in the text of paragraph 1; yet a tolerable meaning comes from it as it stands.

The Khang-hsî editors observe on paragraph 2 that an undivided line in the second place, and a divided line in the fifth place, are both incorrect, and yet it is often said of them that with firm correctness in their subjects there will be good fortune;—such is the virtue of the central position. This principle is at last clearly enunciated in this paragraph.

K'hang-ze says:—'The subject of line 4 has the ability which the time requires, and possesses also a firm solidity. He can carry out therefore his purpose. There will be good fortune, and all cause for repentance will disappear. The smiting of the demon region was the highest example of firm correctness.'

Both the symbols in paragraph 6 indicate a want of caution, and an unwillingness to submit one's impulses to the regulation of reason and prudence.

APPENDIX III.

THE GREAT APPENDIX. SECTION I.

Chapter I. 1. Heaven is lofty and honourable; earth is low. (Their symbols), *K'ien* and *Khwăn*, (with their respective meanings), were determined (in accordance with this).

Things low and high appear displayed in a similar relation. The (upper and lower trigrams, and the relative position of individual lines, as) noble and mean, had their places assigned accordingly.

Movement and rest are the regular qualities (of their respective subjects). Hence comes the definite distinction (of the several lines) as the strong and the weak.

(Affairs) are arranged together according to their tendencies, and things are divided according to their classes. Hence were produced (the interpretations in the *Yi*, concerning) what is good [or lucky] and evil [or unlucky].

In the heavens there are the (different) figures there completed, and on the earth there are the (different) bodies there formed. (Corresponding to them) ^{hence} were the changes and transformations exhibited (in the *Yi*).

2. After this fashion a strong and a weak line were manipulated together (till there were the eight trigrams), and those eight trigrams were added, each to itself and to all the others, (till the sixty-four hexagrams were formed).

3. We have the exciting forces of thunder and lightning; the fertilising influences of wind and rain; and the revolutions of the sun and moon, which give rise to cold and warmth.

4. The attributes expressed by *Khien* constitute the male; those expressed by *Khwañ* constitute the female.

5. *Khien* (symbolises Heaven, which) directs the great beginnings of things; *Khwañ* (symbolises Earth, which) gives to them their completion.

6. It is by the ease with which it proceeds that *Khien* directs (as it does), and by its unhesitating response that *Khwañ* exhibits such ability.

7. (He who attains to this) ease (of Heaven) will be easily understood, and (he who attains to this) freedom from laborious effort (of the Earth) will be easily followed. He who is easily understood will have adherents, and he who is easily followed will achieve success. He who has adherents can continue long, and he who achieves success can become great. To be able to continue long shows the virtue of the wise and able man; to be able to become great is the heritage he will acquire.

8. With the attainment of such ease and such freedom from laborious effort, the mastery is got of all principles under the sky. With the attainment of that mastery, (the sage) makes good his position in the middle (between heaven and earth).

Chapter I is an attempt to show the correspondency between the phenomena of external nature ever changing, and the figures of the *Yi King* ever varying. The first four paragraphs, it is said, show, from the phenomena of production and transformation in external

Chapter II. 9. The sages set forth the diagrams, inspected the emblems contained in them, and appended their explanations;—in this way the good fortune and bad (indicated by them) were made clear.

10. The strong and the weak (lines) displace each other, and produce the changes and transformations (in the figures).

11. Therefore the good fortune and evil (mentioned in the explanations) are the indications of the right and wrong (in men's conduct of affairs), and the repentance and regret (similarly mentioned) are the indications of their sorrow and anxiety.

nature, the principles on which the figures of the Yî were made. The fifth and sixth paragraphs show, particularly, how the attributes represented by the figures *K'ien* and *Khwân* are to be found in (the operations of) heaven and earth. The last two paragraphs show both those attributes embodied or realised in man. The realisation takes place, indeed, fully only in the sage or the ideal man, who thus becomes the pattern for all men.

In paragraph 3 we have five of the six derivative trigrams;—the six 'children,' according to the nomenclature of the *Wân* arrangement. 'Thunder' stands for *k'än* (䷏), 'lightning' for *lî* (䷓), 'wind' for *sun* (䷑), and 'rain' for *khan* (䷂). 'The sun,' however, is also an emblem of *lî*, and 'the moon' one of *k'än* (䷏), generally said to represent 'mountains,' while *tui* (䷗), representing 'collections of water,' has no place in the enumeration. *K'ü Hsü* says that in paragraph 3 we have the natural changes seen in the phenomena of the sky, while in 4 we have such changes as find body and figure on the earth.

Paragraphs 5 and 6 have both been misunderstood from neglect of the peculiar meaning of the character *zhî* (知), and from taking it in its common acceptance of 'knowing.' Both commentaries and dictionaries point out that it is here used in the sense of 'directing,' 'presiding over.' In paragraph 7, however, it resumes its ordinary significancy.

12. The changes and transformations (of the lines) are the emblems of the advance and retrogression (of the vital force in nature). Thus what we call the strong and the weak (lines) become the emblems of day and night. The movements which take place in the six places (of the hexagram) show the course of the three extremes (i. e. of the three Powers in their perfect operation).

13. Therefore what the superior man rests in, in whatever position he is placed, is the order shown in the Yî; and the study which gives him the greatest pleasure is that of the explanations of the several lines.

14. Therefore the superior man, when living quietly, contemplates the emblems and studies the explanations of them; when initiating any movement, he contemplates the changes (that are made in divining), and studies the prognostications from them. Thus 'is help extended to him from Heaven; there will be good fortune, and advantage in every movement.'

Chapter II, paragraphs 9-14, is divided into two parts. The former contains paragraphs 9-12, and tells us how the sages, king Wân and the duke of Kâu, proceeded in making the Yî, so that the good fortune and bad of men's courses should be indicated by it in harmony with right and wrong, and the processes of nature. Paragraphs 13, 14 form the second part, and speak of the study of the Yî by the superior man, desirous of doing what is right and increasing his knowledge, and the advantages flowing from it.

I can follow to some extent the first two statements of paragraph 12, so far as the ideas of the writer are concerned, though asserting any correspondence between the changes of the lines of the diagrams, and the operations of external nature, as in the succession of day and night, is merely an amusement of the fancy. I all but fail, however, to grasp the idea in the last statement. In the trigram, the first line represents earth; the second, man; and the

Chapter III. 15. The Thwan speak of the emblematic figures (of the complete diagrams). The Yâo speak of the changes (taking place in the several lines).

16. The expressions about good fortune or bad are used with reference to (the figures and lines, as) being right or wrong (according to the conditions of time and place); those about repentance or regret refer to small faults (in the satisfying those conditions); when it is said 'there will be no error,' or 'no blame,' there is reference to (the subject) repairing an error by what is good.

17. Therefore the distinction of (the upper and lower trigrams and of the individual lines) as noble or mean is decided by the (relative) position (of the lines); the regulations of small and great are found in the diagrams, and the discriminations of good and bad fortune appear in the (subjoined) explanations.

18. Anxiety against (having occasion for) repentance or regret should be felt at the boundary line (between good and evil). The stirring up the thought of (securing that there shall be) no blame arises from (the feeling of) repentance.

third, heaven; in the hexagram, the first and second lines are assigned to earth; the third and fourth, to man; and the fifth and sixth, to heaven. These are the three Powers, and each Power has 'a Grand Extreme,' where its nature and operation are seen in their highest ideal. This is to some extent conceivable; but when I try to follow our author, and find an analogy between the course of these extremes and the movements in the places of the diagrams, I have no clue by which to trace my way. For the concluding sentence of paragraph 14 see the duke of Kâu on the last line of hexagram 14.

19. Thus of the diagrams some are small, and some are great; and of the explanations some are startling, and some are unexciting. Every one of those explanations has reference to the tendencies (indicated by the symbols).

Chapter IV. 20. The Y† was made on a principle of accordance with heaven and earth, and shows us therefore, without rent or confusion, the course (of things) in heaven and earth.

21. (The sage), in accordance with (the Y†), looking up, contemplates the brilliant phenomena of the heavens, and, looking down, examines the definite arrangements of the earth;—thus he knows the causes of darkness (or, what is obscure) and light (or, what is bright). He traces things to their beginning, and follows them to their end;—thus he knows what can be said about death and life. (He

Chapter III, paragraphs 15–19, gives additional information about the constituent parts of the Y†, that is, the Text of the classic as we have it from king Wăn and his son. The imperial editors say that it expands the meaning of the fourth paragraph, the third of chapter 2. It does do so, but this account hardly covers all its contents.

To understand the names 'small and great,' as used of the diagrams in paragraphs 17 and 19, it should be noted that hexagrams to which the divided or yin line gives their character are termed 'small,' and those where the undivided or yang line rules are called 'great.' *Kâu* (44, ) , *Thun* (33, ) , and *Phei* (12, ) are instances of the former class; *Fû* (24, ) , *Lin* (19, ) , and *Thâi* (11, ) of the other.

It is observed by *Shâi K'ing* (early in the Ming dynasty) that the terms 'diagrams' and 'explanations' must be understood not only of the whole figures but also as embracing the several lines.

perceives how the union of) essence and breath form things, and the (disappearance or) wandering away of the soul produces the change (of their constitution);—thus he knows the characteristics of the *anima* and *animus*.

22. There is a similarity between him and heaven and earth, and hence there is no contrariety in him to them. His knowledge embraces all things, and his course is (intended to be) helpful to all under the sky;—and hence he falls into no error. He acts according to the exigency of circumstances without being carried away by their current; he rejoices in Heaven and knows its ordinations;—and hence he has no anxieties. He rests in his own (present) position, and cherishes (the spirit of) generous benevolence;—and hence he can love (without reserve).

23. (Through the *Yî*), he comprehends as in a mould or enclosure the transformations of heaven and earth without any error; by an ever-varying adaptation he completes (the nature of) all things without exception; he penetrates to a knowledge of the course of day and night (and all other connected phenomena);—it is thus that his operation is spirit-like, unconditioned by place, while the changes which he produces are not restricted to any form.

Chapter IV, paragraphs 20–23, is intended still more to exalt the *Yî*, and seems to say that the sage by means of it can make an exhaustive study of all principles and of human nature, till he attains to the knowledge of the ordinances of Heaven. Such is the account of the chapter given by *K'û Hsî*; but the second character in paragraph 21 must be understood in the signification which it has in all the sixty-four sentences which explain the emblematic structure of the hexagrams, as=‘in accordance with’ and not ‘by means of.’ The

Chapter V. 24. The successive movement of the inactive and active operations constitutes what is called the course (of things).

imperial editors append to their statement of *K'ü*'s account, that it must be borne in mind that the sages had not to wait till the *Yî* was made to conduct their exhaustive study. They had done that before, and the *Yî* may be considered as a talk on the results, drawn out in its own peculiar style. It holds the mirror up to nature; but its authors knew nature before they made it.

In paragraph 21, 'the brilliant phenomena of the heavens' are the various shining bodies of the sky, with their rising and setting; 'the definite arrangements of the earth' are the different situations of its parts according to the points of the compass, and its surface as diversified by mountain and valley; and by the study of these the causes of day and night are known as being the expansion and contraction of the elementary ether. The same thing produces the facts of birth or life and death.

Ĵing, which I have translated 'essence,' denotes the more subtle and pure part of matter, and belongs to the grosser form of the elementary ether; *khî*, or 'spirit,' is the breath, still material, but purer than the *Ĵing*, and belongs to the finer, and more active form of the ether. Here *khî* is 'the breath of life.' In the *hwun* or 'soul (animus),' the *khî* predominates, and the *Ĵing* in the *pho* or animal soul. At death the *hwun* wanders away, ascending, and the *pho* descends and is changed into a ghostly shade. So did the ancient Chinese grope their way from material things to the concept and representation of what was immaterial.

For my 'characteristics of the anima and animus,' Dr. Medhurst rendered 'the circumstances and conditions of the *Kwei Shāns*' (Theology of the Chinese, pp. 10-12); but he observes that 'the *Kwei Shāns* in the passage are evidently the expanding and contracting principles of human life.' The *kwei shāns* are brought about by the dissolution of the human frame, and consist of the expanding and ascending *shān*, which rambles about in space, and of the contracted and shrivelled *kwei*, which reverts to earth and nonentity. It is difficult to express one's self clearly on a subject treated so briefly and enigmatically in the text.

We must understand that the subject of the predicates in this and the next two paragraphs is 'the sage,' who has endeavoured to give a transcript of his views and doings in the *Yî*. The character,

25. That which ensues as the result (of their movement) is goodness; that which shows it in its completeness is the natures (of men and things).

26. The benevolent see it and call it benevolence. The wise see it and call it wisdom. The common people, acting daily according to it, yet have no knowledge of it. Thus it is that the course (of things), as seen by the superior man, is seen by few.

27. It is manifested in the benevolence (of its operations), and (then again) it conceals and stores up its resources. It gives their stimulus to all things, without having the same anxieties that possess the sage. Complete is its abundant virtue and the greatness of its stores!

28. Its rich possessions is what is intended by 'the greatness of its stores;' the daily renovation which it produces is what is meant by 'the abundance of its virtue.'

29. Production and reproduction is what is called (the process of) change.

30. The formation of the semblances (shadowy forms of things) is what we attribute to *K'ien*; the giving to them their specific forms is what we attribute to *Khwăn*.

31. The exhaustive use of the numbers (that turn

which I have translated by 'spirit-like' in paragraph 23, is different from *shên* in paragraph 21. It is *shên*, a character of the phonetic class, while its primary material signification has not been satisfactorily ascertained. 'The Chinese,' says P. Regis (vol. ii. p. 445), 'use it in naming the soul, true angels, and the genii of idolaters; and the Christian Chinese use it when they speak of God, of the Holy Spirit, of angels, and of the soul of man. For what else could they do?'

up in manipulating the stalks), and (thereby) knowing (the character of) coming events, is what we call prognosticating; the comprehension of the changes (indicated leads us to) what we call the business (to be done).

32. That which is unfathomable in (the movement of) the inactive and active operations is (the presence of a) spiritual (power).

Chapter V, paragraphs 24-32, still shows us the Yî fashioned so as to give a picture of the phenomena of the external universe; but the writer dwells more on the latter, and the different paragraphs give an interesting view of his ideas on the subject. He supposes a constant change from rest to movement and from movement to rest, through which all things are formed, now still, now in motion, now expanding, now contracting. It is customary to speak of two forms of an original ether as the two elementary principles, but they are really one and the same ether, in a twofold condition, with a twofold action. By their successive movement the phenomena of existence are produced,—what I have called ‘the course (of things)’ in paragraph 24. It is attempted, however, by many native scholars and by some sinologists, to give to *tão*, the last character in that paragraph, the meaning of ‘reason,’ that which intelligently guides and directs the movements of the two elements. But this view is not in harmony with the scope of the chapter, nor can the characters be fairly construed so as to justify such an interpretation.

The imperial editors say that the germ of the Mencian doctrine about the goodness of human nature is in paragraph 25; but it says more widely, that ‘every creature is good,’ according to its ideal as from the plastic yin and yang. But few, the next paragraph tells us, can understand the measure of this goodness.

‘The benevolent operations’ in the course of things in paragraph 27 are illustrated from the phenomena of growth and beauty in spring and summer; and the cessation of these in autumn and winter may be called ‘a concealing and storing them up.’

Paragraph 29 seems to state the origin of the name Yî as applied to the book, the Yî King.

In paragraph 30 the names *Khien* and *Khwän* take the place of yin and yang, as used in paragraphs 24 and 32. In *Khien*,

Chapter VI. 33. Yes, wide is the Yt and great! If we speak of it in its farthest reaching, no limit can be set to it; if we speak of it with reference to what is near at hand, (its lessons are) still and correct; if we speak of it in connexion with all between heaven and earth, it embraces all.

34. There is *Khien*. In its (individual) stillness it is self-absorbed; when exerting its motive power it goes straight forward; and thus it is that its productive action is on a grand scale. There is *Khwăn*. In its (individual) stillness, it is self-collected and capacious; when exerting its motive power, it develops its resources, and thus its productive action is on a wide scale.

35. In its breadth and greatness, (the Yt) corre-

the symbol of heaven, every one of its three lines is undivided; it is the concentration of the yang faculty; so *Khwăn*, the symbol of the earth, is the concentration of the yin. The critics themselves call attention to the equivalence of the symbolic names here given to yin and yang. The connexion of the two is necessary to the production of any one substantial thing. The yang originates a shadowy outline which the yin fills up with a definite substance. So actually in nature Heaven (*Khien*) and Earth (*Khwăn*) operate together in the production of all material things and beings.

The 'numbers,' mentioned in paragraph 31, are not all or any numbers generally, but 7, 8, 9, 6, those assigned to the four 'emblematic figures,' that grow out of the undivided and divided lines, and by means of which the hexagrams are made up in divination. The 'future or coming events' which are prognosticated are not particular events, which the diviner has not already forecast, but the character of events or courses of actions already contemplated, as good or evil, lucky or unlucky, in their issue.

The best commentary on paragraph 32 is supplied by paragraphs 8-10 of Appendix VI. The 'Spirit' is that of 'God;' and this settles the meaning of *tão* in paragraph 24, as being the course of nature, in which, according to the author, 'God worketh all in all.'

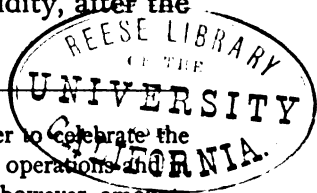
sponds to heaven and earth; in its ever-recurring changes, it corresponds to the four seasons; in its mention of the bright or active, and the dark or inactive operation, it corresponds to the sun and moon; and the excellence seen in the ease and ready response (of its various operations) corresponds to the perfect operations (presented to us in the phenomena of nature).

Chapter VII. 36. The Master said:—‘Is not the *Yi* a perfect book?’ It was by the *Yi* that the sages exalted their virtue, and enlarged their sphere of occupation. Their wisdom was high, and their rules of conduct were solid. That loftiness was after the pattern of heaven; that solidity, after the pattern of earth.

Chapter VI, paragraphs 33–35, goes on further to celebrate the *Yi* as holding up the mirror to nature in all its operations and its widest extent. The grandiloquent language, however, amounts only to this, that, when we have made ourselves acquainted with the phenomena of nature, we can, with a heated fancy, see some analogy to them in the changes of the diagrams and lines of the *Yi* book.

K'ien and *Khwan* must be taken as the same names are understood in paragraph 30 above.

‘The *Yi*,’ with which paragraph 33 begins, must be understood also at the commencement of paragraph 35. The character which I have translated by ‘corresponds’ throughout this last chapter, should not, it is observed, have stress laid upon it. *K'ü Hsi* says that it is simply equal to the ‘there is a similarity’ of paragraph 22. ‘The bright or active element’ and ‘the dark or inactive’ are in the original, ‘the yang and the yin.’ The correspondence predicated between them and the sun and moon, the brightness and warmth of the one, and the paleness and coldness of the other, shows us how those names arose, and that it is foreign to the original concept of them to call them ‘the male and female principles:’—with the last clause compare paragraphs 6–8.



37. Heaven and earth having their positions as assigned to them, the changes (of nature) take place between them. The nature (of man) having been completed, and being continually preserved, it is the gate of all good courses and righteousness.

Chapter VIII. 38. The sage was able to survey all the complex phenomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character. Hence these (diagrams) are denominated *Semblances* (or emblematic figures, the *Hsiang*).

39. A (later) sage was able to survey the motive influences working all under the sky. He contemplated them in their common action and special nature, in order to bring out the standard and proper tendency of each. He then appended his

Chapter VII, paragraphs 36, 37, is understood to set forth how the sages embodied the teachings of the *Yi* in their character and conduct. But when it is said that 'it was by the *Yi* that they exalted their virtue and enlarged their sphere of occupation,' the meaning can only be that what they did in these directions was in harmony with the principles which they endeavoured to set forth in the symbols of the *Yi*.

'Their rules of conduct were solid,' in paragraph 36, is, literally, 'their rules were low.' To the height of heaven reached by the wisdom of the sages, the author opposes the low-lying earth, between which and their substantial practices and virtues he discovered some analogy.

It will be seen that the chapter commences with 'The Master said.' *K'ü Hsi* observes that 'as the Ten Appendixes were all made by the Master, these words are out of place, and that he conjectures that wherever they occur here and elsewhere, they were added after the sage's time.' Their occurrence very seriously affects the question of the authorship of the Appendixes, which I have discussed in the Introduction, pages 28-31.

explanation (to each line of the diagrams), to determine the good or evil indicated by it. Hence those (lines with their explanations) are denominated Imitations (the Yâo).

40. (The diagrams) speak of the most complex phenomena under the sky, and yet there is nothing in them that need awaken dislike ; the explanations of the lines speak of the subtlest movements under the sky, and yet there is nothing in them to produce confusion.

41. (A learner) will consider what is said (under the diagrams), and then speak ; he will deliberate on what is said (in the explanations of the lines), and then move. By such consideration and deliberations he will be able to make all the changes which he undertakes successful.

42. 'Here hid, retired, cries out the crane ;
Her young's responsive cry sounds there.
Of spirits good I drain this cup ;
With thee a cup I'll freely share.'

The Master said :—'The superior man occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they be good, they will be responded to at a distance of more than a thousand li ;—how much more will they be so in the nearer circle ! He occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they be evil, they will awaken opposition at a distance of more than a thousand li ;—how much more will they do so in the nearer circle ! Words issue from one's person, and proceed to affect the people. Actions proceed from what is near, and their effects are seen at a distance. Words and actions are the hinge and spring of the superior man. The movement of that

hinge and spring determines glory or disgrace. His words and actions move heaven and earth ;—may he be careless in regard to them?’

43. ‘(The representative of) the union of men first cries out and weeps, and afterwards laughs.’ The Master said, on this :—

‘The ways of good men (different seem).
This in a public office toils ;
That in his home the time beguiles.
One man his lips with silence seals ;
Another all his mind reveals.
But when two men are one in heart,
Not iron bolts keep them apart ;
The words they in their union use,
Fragrance like orchid plants diffuse.’

44. ‘The first line, undivided, shows its subject placing mats of the white grass beneath what he sets on the ground.’ The Master said :—‘To place the things on the ground might be considered sufficient ; but when he places beneath them mats of the white grass, what occasion for blame can there be ? Such a course shows the height of carefulness. The white grass is a trivial thing, but, through the use made of it, it may become important. He who goes forward using such careful art will not fall into any error.’

45. ‘A superior man toiling laboriously and yet humble ! He will bring things to an end, and with good fortune.’ The Master said on this :—‘He toils with success, but does not boast of it ; he achieves merit, but takes no virtue to himself from it ;—this is the height of generous goodness, and speaks of the man who with (great) merit yet places

himself below others. He wishes his virtue to be more and more complete, and in his intercourse with others to be more and more respectful;—he who is so humble, carrying his respectfulness to the utmost, will be able to preserve himself in his position.'

46. 'The dragon (is seen) beyond his proper haunts; there will be occasion for repentance.' The Master said on this:—'He is noble, but is not in his correct place; he is on high, but there are no people to acknowledge him; there is a man of virtue and ability below, but he will not assist him. Hence whatever movement he may make will give occasion for repentance.'

47. 'He does not quit the courtyard before his door;—there will be no occasion for blame.' The Master said on this:—'When disorder arises, it will be found that (ill-advised) speech was the stepping-stone to it. If a ruler do not keep secret (his deliberations with his minister), he will lose that minister. If a minister do not keep secret (his deliberations with his ruler), he will lose his life. If (important) matters in the germ be not kept secret, that will be injurious to their accomplishment. Therefore the superior man is careful to maintain secrecy, and does not allow himself to speak.'

48. The Master said:—'The makers of the Yî may be said to have known (the philosophy of) robbery. The Yî says, "He is a burden-bearer, and yet rides in a carriage, thereby exciting robbers to attack him." Burden-bearing is the business of a small man. A carriage is the vehicle of a gentleman. When a small man rides in the vehicle of a gentle-

man, robbers will think of taking it from him. (When one is) insolent to those above him, and oppressive to those below, robbers will wish to attack him. Careless laying up of things excites to robbery, (as a woman's) adorning of herself excites to lust. What the Yî says about the burden-bearer's riding in a carriage, and exciting robbers to attack him, (shows how) robbery is called out.'

Chapter VIII, paragraphs 38-48. In the first two paragraphs here we have an account of the formation of the diagrams, and of the explanation of the whole hexagrams and of the individual lines. 'The sage' in paragraph 38 is intended presumably of Fû-hsî; but we cannot say, from it, whether the writer thought of him as having formed only the eight trigrams, or all the sixty-four hexagrams. In the diagrams, however, we have semblances, or representations, of the phenomena of nature, even the most complex, and hard to be disentangled. Paragraph 39 goes on to speak of the explanation more especially of the individual lines, by the duke of K'âu, as symbolical of good luck or evil, as they turned up in the processes of divination.

Paragraph 40 declares the usability (so to speak) of the diagrams and the explanations of them; and 41 shows us how a learner or consulter of the Yî would actually proceed in using it.

In paragraphs 42-48 we have the words of Confucius on seven lines in so many hexagrams, or rather his amplification of the words of the duke of K'âu's explanations of their symbolism. The lines are 2 of hexagram 61; 5 of 13; 1 of 28; 3 of 15; 6 of 1; 1 of 60; and 3 of 40. What Confucius says is not without interest, but does not make the principles on which the Yî was made any clearer to us. It shows how his object was to turn the symbolism that he found to a moral or ethical account; and no doubt he could have varied the symbolism, if he had been inclined to do so.

I have spoken in the preceding chapter of the difficulty which the phrase 'The Master said' presents to our accepting the Appendix as from the hand of Confucius himself. But his words in paragraph 43 are in rhyme. He did not speak so. If he rhymed his explanation of the symbolism of the line that is the groundwork of that paragraph, why did he not rhyme his explanations of

Chapter IX. 49. To heaven belongs (the number) 1; to earth, 2; to heaven, 3; to earth, 4; to heaven, 5; to earth, 6; to heaven, 7; to earth, 8; to heaven, 9; to earth, 10.

50. The numbers belonging to heaven are five, and those belonging to earth are (also) five. The numbers of these two series correspond to each other (in their fixed positions), and each one has another that may be considered its mate. The heavenly numbers amount to 25, and the earthly to 30. The numbers of heaven and earth together amount to 55. It is by these that the changes and transformations are effected, and the spirit-like agencies kept in movement.

51. The numbers of the Great Expansion, (multiplied together), make 50, of which (only) 49 are used (in divination). (The stalks representing these) are divided into two heaps to represent the two (emblematic lines, or heaven and earth). One is then taken (from the heap on the right), and placed (between the little finger of the left hand and the next), that there may thus be symbolised the three (powers of heaven, earth, and man). (The heaps on both sides) are manipulated by fours to represent the four seasons; and then the remainders are returned, and placed (between) the two middle fingers of the left hand, to represent the intercalary month. In five years there are two intercalations, and therefore there are two operations; and afterwards the whole process is repeated.

52. The numbers (required) for *K'ien* (or the

the other lines? To answer these questions categorically is beyond our power. The facts that suggest them increase the difficulty in ascribing this and the other additions to the Yî to the later sage.

undivided line) amount to 216; those for Khwăn (or the divided line), to 144. Together they are 360, corresponding to the days of the year.

53. The number produced by the lines in the two parts (of the Yî) amount to 11,520, corresponding to the number of all things.

54. Therefore by means of the four operations is the Yî completed. It takes 18 changes to form a hexagram.

55. (The formation of) the eight trigrams constitutes the small completion (of the Yî).

56. If we led on the diagrams and expanded them, if we prolonged each by the addition of the proper lines, then all events possible under the sky might have their representation.

57. (The diagrams) make manifest (by their appended explanations), the ways (of good and ill fortune), and show virtuous actions in their spiritual relations. In this way, by consulting them, we may receive an answer (to our doubts), and we may also by means of them assist the spiritual (power in its agency in nature and providence).

58. The Master said:—‘He who knows the method of change and transformation may be said to know what is done by that spiritual (power).’

Chapter IX, paragraphs 49–58, is of a different character from any of the preceding, and treats, unsatisfactorily, of the use of numbers in connexion with the figure of the Yî and the practice of divination.

In the Thang edition of the Yî, published in the seventh century, paragraph 49 is the first of the eleventh chapter according to the arrangement now followed. *Khâng-ze* restored it to its present place, which it occupied, as has been proved, during the Han

Chapter X. 59. In the Yî there are four things characteristic of the way of the sages. We should set the highest value on its explanations to guide

dynasty, and to which it properly belongs. It and the next paragraph should be taken together, and are distinct from what follows, though the Thang edition is further confused in placing 51 before 50.

In 49 and 50 'heaven' and 'earth' are used as we have seen *K'ien* and *Khwan* are in paragraphs 30 and 34. Odd numbers belong to the strong or undivided line, which is symbolical of the active operation in nature, and the even numbers to the weak or divided line, symbolical of its inaction. The phraseology of the paragraphs, however, can only be understood by a reference to 'the river map,' which has been given in the Introduction, pages 15, 16.

The map, as it appeared on the back of 'the dragon-horse,' consisted of so many circles, and so many dark circular markings, the former, it was assumed, being of the yang character, and the latter of the yin. Fû-hsî for the circle substituted the strong or undivided line (——), and for the dark markings the weak or divided (— —). It will be seen that the yang symbols are the 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 circles, and the yin are the 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 circular markings, which is the pictorial delineation of paragraph 49. The only thing to be said upon it is that the arrangement of the five circles and ten circular markings is peculiar, and evidently devised 'for a purpose.' So far, however, as we know, no figure of the map was attempted till after the beginning of our twelfth century.

The same figure is supposed to illustrate what is said in paragraph 50: 'The numbers of the two series correspond to each other in their fixed positions.' 1 and 2, and 3 and 4 certainly front each other, and perhaps 5 and 6; but 7 and 8, and 9 and 10 do not do so in the same way. It is said also that 'each has another that may be considered its mate.' So it is with 1 and 6, 2 and 7, 3 and 8, 4 and 9, but hardly with 5 and 10. Further, $1+3+5+7+9=25$; $2+4+6+8+10=30$; and $25+30=55$; all of which points are stated.

The last statement in the paragraph, however, derives no illustration, so far as I can see, from the figure. How can the numbers effect the things that are predicated of them? There is a

us in speaking; on its changes for (the initiation of) our movements; on its emblematic figures for (definite action as in) the construction of implements;

jargon indeed about the formation of the five elements, but in order to make it appear not reasonable, but capable of being related, writers call in 'the Lo writing' to the aid of 'the Ho map;' and 'the five elements' is a division of the constituents of material things, which is foreign to the Yî.

Paragraph 51 is intended to describe the process of divination in manipulating the stalks, but the description is confused by introducing into it the four seasons and the subject of intercalation, so as to be very difficult to understand.

In the middle of the Ho map are the five circles symbolical of heaven and the ten dark terrestrial markings (five above and five below the others). These multiplied together give fifty, which form 'the great expansion.' But 50 divining stalks or slips, when divided, give either two odd numbers or two even; and therefore one was put on one side. The remaining 49, however divided, were sure to give two parcels of stalks, one containing an even number of stalks, and the other an odd, and so might be said fancifully to represent the undivided or strong, and the divided or weak line. It is needless to go minutely into the other steps of the process. Then comes in the counting the stalks by four, because there are four seasons in the year, and those that remain represent the intercalary days. But how could such a process be of any value to determine the days necessary to be intercalated in any particular year? The paragraph shows, however, that, when it was written, the rule was to intercalate two months in five years. But it does not say how many days would remain to be carried on to the sixth year after the second intercalation.

Paragraph 52. The actual number of the undivided and divided lines in the hexagrams is the same, 192 of each. But the representative number of an undivided line is 9, and of a divided line 6. Now 9×4 (the number of the emblematic figures) $\times 6$ (the lines of each hexagram) = 216; and $6 \times 4 \times 6$ = 144. The sum of these products is 360, which was assumed, for the purpose of working the intercalation, as the standard length of the year. But this was derived from observation, and other considerations;—it did not come out of the Yî.

Paragraphs 53–56. The number in 53 arises thus:—192 (the

and on its prognostications for our practice of divination.

60. Therefore, when a superior man is about to take action of a more private or of a public character, he asks (the Yî), making his inquiry in words. It receives his order, and the answer comes as the echo's response. Be the subject remote or near, mysterious or deep, he forthwith knows of what kind will be the coming result. (If the Yî) were not the most exquisite thing under heaven, would it be concerned in such an operation as this?

61. (The stalks) are manipulated by threes and fives to determine (one) change; they are laid on opposite sides, and placed one up, one down, to make sure of their numbers; and the (three necessary)

number of each series of lines in the sixty-four hexagrams) $\times 36$ (obtained as above) = 6912, and $192 \times 24 = 4608$, the sum of which = 11,520. This is said to be 'the number of all things,' the meaning of which I do not know. The 'four operations' are those described in paragraph 31. They were thrice repeated in divination to determine each new line, and of course it took eighteen of them to form a hexagram. The diagrams might be extended ad infinitum, both in the number of lines and of figures, by the natural process of their formation as shown in the Introduction, page 14, without the aid of the divining stalks; and no sufficient reason can be given why the makers of the figures stopped at sixty-four.

It is difficult to believe the first statement in paragraph 57 and to understand the second. What is it 'to Shān or spiritualise virtuous actions?' The concluding statement approximates to impiety.

We may grant what is affirmed in paragraph 58, but does the Yî really give us any knowledge of the processes of change and transformation in nature? What wiser are we after all the affirmations about numbers? 'Change' = changings, understood actively:—the work of Heaven; 'transformations' = evolution:—the finish given by earth to the changing caused by Heaven.

changes are gone through with in this way, till they form the figures pertaining to heaven or to earth. Their numbers are exactly determined, and the emblems of (all things) under the sky are fixed. (If the Yî were not the thing most capable of change of all things under heaven, how could it effect such a result as this ?

62. In (all these operations forming) the Yî, there is no thought and no action. It is still and without movement ; but, when acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky. If it were not the most spirit-like thing under the sky, how could it be found doing this ?

63. The (operations forming the) Yî are the method by which the sages searched out exhaustively what was deep, and investigated the minutest springs (of things).

64. 'Those operations searched out what was deep : '—therefore they could penetrate to the views of all under the sky. 'They made apparent the minutest springs of (things) : '—therefore they could bring to a completion all undertakings under the sky. 'Their action was spirit-like : '—therefore they could make speed without hurry, and reached their destination without travelling.

65. This is the import of what the Master said, that 'In the Yî there are four things indicating the way of the sages.'

Chapter X, paragraphs 59–65, enlarges on the service rendered to men by the Yî, owing to the way in which it was made by the sages to express their views and carry into effect their wishes.

Paragraph 59 mentions the four things in which its usefulness appears. 'The emblematic figures' are the four hsiang, which are produced by the manipulation of the undivided and divided

Chapter XI. 66. The Master said :—‘What is it that the Yî does? The Yî opens up (the knowledge of the issues of) things, accomplishes the undertakings (of men), and embraces under it (the way of) all things under the sky. This and nothing more is what the Yî does. Thereby the sages, through (divination by) it, would give their proper course to the aims of all under the sky, would give stability to their undertakings, and determine their doubts.’

67. Therefore the virtue of the stalks is versatile

lines, and whose representative numbers are 9, 8, 7, 6. ‘Divination’ appears in the paragraph as pû-shih, which means ‘divination by the tortoise-shell and by the stalks.’ But the tortoise-shell had nothing to do with the use of the Yî. Before the composition of these Appendixes the two terms must have been combined to express the practice of divination, without reference to its mode.

Paragraph 60 speaks of the explanations and prognostications of the Yî. The ‘exquisiteness’ ascribed to it would be due to the sages who had devised it, and appended their explanations to it; but the whole thing has no existence save in cloud-land.

Paragraph 61 speaks of the operations with the stalks till the various changes in the results issued in the determination of the emblematic figures, and then in the fixing of the individual lines and entire hexagrams. Even Kû Hsi admits that the references to the different processes are now hardly intelligible.

Paragraph 62. How could the writer speak of the Yî without thought or action as being most ‘spirit-like?’ If it did what he asserts, those who contrived it might be so described? They would have been beings whose operation was indeed like that of spirits, inscrutable, ‘unfathomable’ (paragraph 32), even like that of the Spirit of God (VI, 10).

Paragraphs 63 and 64 ought not to be taken as saying that the sages did the things described for themselves by the Yî. They knew them of themselves, and made the Yî that others might come by it to do the same. So the writer imagined. No words could indicate more clearly than those of paragraph 65 that the paragraphs between it and 59 did not come from Confucius, but from the compiler of the Great Appendix, whoever he was.

and spirit-like; that of the diagrams is exact and wise; and the meaning given by the six lines is changeful to give (the proper information to men). The sages having, by their possession of these (three virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness). But their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil. By their spirit-like ability they knew (the character of) coming events, and their wisdom had stored up (all experiences of) the past. Who could be able to accomplish all this? (Only our) ancient sages, quick in apprehension and clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, and with a majesty, going spirit-like to its objects;—it was only they who could do so.

68. Therefore (those sages), fully understanding the way of Heaven, and having clearly ascertained the experience of the people, instituted (the employment of) these spirit-like things, as a provision for the use of the people. The sages went about the employment of them (moreover) by purifying their hearts and with reverent caution, thereby giving (more) spirituality and intelligence to their virtue.

69. Thus, a door shut may be pronounced (analogous to) *Kh wăn* (or the inactive condition), and the opening of the door (analogous to) *K'ien* (or the active condition). The opening succeeding the being shut may be pronounced (analogous to what we call) a change; and the passing from one of these states to the other may be called the constant course (of things).

The (first) appearance of anything (as a bud) is

what we call a semblance ; when it has received its complete form, we call it a definite thing.

(The divining-plant having been produced, the sages) set it apart and laid down the method of its employment,—what we call the laws (of divination). The advantage arising from it in external and internal matters, so that the people all use it, stamps it with a character which we call spirit-like.

70. Therefore in (the system of) the Y† there is the Grand Terminus, which produced the two elementary Forms. Those two Forms produced the Four emblematic Symbols, which again produced the eight Trigrams.

71. The eight trigrams served to determine the good and evil (issues of events), and from this determination was produced the (successful prosecution of the) great business (of life).

72. Therefore of all things that furnish models and visible figures there are none greater than heaven and earth ; of things that change and extend an influence (on others) there are none greater than the four seasons ; of things suspended (in the sky) with their figures displayed clear and bright, there are none greater than the sun and moon ; of the honoured and exalted there are none greater than he who is the rich and noble (one) ; in preparing things for practical use, and inventing and making instruments for the benefit of all under the sky, there are none greater than the sages ; to explore what is complex, search out what is hidden, to hook up what lies deep, and reach to what is distant, thereby determining (the issues) for good or ill of all events under the sky, and making all men under heaven full of strenuous endeavours, there

are no (agencies) greater than those of the stalks and the tortoise-shell.

73. Therefore Heaven produced the spirit-like things, and the sages took advantage of them. (The operations of) heaven and earth are marked by (so many) changes and transformations; and the sages imitated them (by means of the Yî). Heaven hangs out its (brilliant) figures from which are seen good fortune and bad, and the sages made their emblematic interpretations accordingly. The Ho gave forth the map, and the Lo the writing, of (both of) which the sages took advantage.

74. In the (scheme of the) Yî there are the four symbolic figures by which they inform men (in divining of the lines making up the diagrams); the explanations appended to them convey the significance (of the diagrams and lines); and the determination (of the divination) as fortunate or the reverse, to settle the doubts (of men).

Chapter XI, paragraphs 66–74, treats of divination, and the scheme of it supplied in the Yî. That scheme must be referred first to Heaven, which produced the spirit-like things,—the divining-plant and the tortoise; and next to the sages, who knew the mind of Heaven, and made the plant and shell subservient to the purpose for which they were intended.

Paragraph 66 answers the question of what the Yî does; and if there were truth or reason in it, the book and its use would be most important. I have closed the quotation of “the Master’s” words at the end of the paragraph; but really we do not know if they extend so far, or farther.

Paragraphs 67 and 68 glorify the sages and their work. The virtues of the divining-plant all belonged to them, and it was thus that they were able to organise the scheme of divination. The production of ‘the spirit-like things’ is, in paragraph 73, ascribed to ‘Heaven;’ the characters about them in these paragraphs mean no more than is expressed in the translation.

Chapter XII. 75. It is said in the Yî, 'Help is given to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune ; advantage in every respect.' The Master

Paragraph 69 shows how the antinomy of the yin and yang pervades all nature, and how the sages turned it, as existing pre-eminently in the divining-plant, to account.

Paragraph 70. Evidently the author had in view here the genesis of the diagrams of the Yî, the number of figures increasing in a geometrical progression with the ratio of 2, while the lines of the figures form an arithmetical progression with the common difference of 1. This is quite plain after 'the two elementary forms (—— and — —)' have been made. They give birth to 'the four emblematic symbols,' each of two lines (====, ====, ====, ====, known, in this order, as the Grand or old Yang, the young Yin, the young Yang, and the Grand or old Yin). By the addition to each of these symbols first of the yang line, and then of the yin, there arise the eight trigrams, each of three lines ; and the process of formation might be continued indefinitely.

But how was the first step taken in the formation of the two elementary lines? Here, it is said, they were produced by the Thâi Kî, or the Grand Terminus. This is represented in K'ü Hsî's 'Youth's Introduction to the Study of the Yî,' by a circle ; but he tells us that that representation of it was first made by K'au-ze (A.D. 1017-1073, called also K'au Tun-fî, K'au Mâu-shû, and, most of all, K'au Lien-khi), and that his readers must be careful not to suppose that Fû-hsî had such a figure in his mind's eye. I fail myself to understand how there can be generated from a circle the undivided and the broken line. Given those two lines, and the formation of the sixty-four hexagrams proceeds regularly according to the method above described. We must start from them, whether we can account or not for the rise of the idea of them in the mind of Fû-hsî.

Leaving the subject of the figure of the Thâi Kî, the name gives us hardly any clue to its meaning. Kî is used for the extreme term of anything, as the ridge-pole of a house, or the pinnacle of a pagoda. The comment on the first sentence in the paragraph by Wang Pi (A.D. 226-249) is:—'Existence must begin in non-existence, and therefore the Grand Terminus produced the two elementary Forms. Thâi Kî is the denomination of what has no denomination. As it cannot be named, the text takes the extreme

said:—‘Yü (祐) is the symbol of assisting. He whom Heaven assists is observant (of what is right); he whom men assist is sincere. The individual here indicated treads the path of sincerity and desires to be observant (of what is right), and studies to exalt the worthy. Hence “Help is given to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune, advantage in every respect.”’

76. The Master said:—‘The written characters are

point of anything that exists as an analogous term for the *Thâi K'î*.' Expanding Wang's comment, Khung Ying-tâ says:—‘*Thâi K'î* means the original subtle matter, that formed the one chaotic mass before heaven and earth were divided;’ and then he refers to certain passages in Láo-ze's *T'ao Teh King*, and identifies the *Thâi K'î* with his *T'ao*. This would seem to give to *Thâi K'î* a material meaning. The later philosophers of the Sung school, however, insist on its being immaterial, now calling it *lî*, the principle of order in nature, now *t'ao*, the defined course of things, now *T'î*, the Supreme Power or God, now *shân*, the spiritual working of God. According to *K'ang-ze*, all these names are to be referred to that of ‘Heaven,’ of which they express so many different concepts.

Paragraph 71 speaks of divination in practice, and paragraph 72 celebrates the service done by that through the plant and shell, as equal to, and indeed the complement of, all the other services rendered by heaven and earth, the seasons, the sun and moon, the sages, and the greatest potentates. Surely, it is all very extravagant.

The last two paragraphs resume the theme of the making of the *Yi* by the sages, and their teaching the practice of divination. Of the Ho map and the Lo writing, I have spoken in the Introduction, pages 14–18. But if we accept the statement that the Lo writing had anything to do with the making of the *Yi*, we must except *Fû-hsî* from the sages to whom we are indebted for it. It was to the Great *Yü*, more than a thousand years later than *Fû-hsî*, that the Lo disclosed its writing; and *Yü* is never said to have had anything to do with the *Yi*. Nor is either of these things mentioned in Section ii, paragraph 11, where the work of *Fû-hsî* is described more in detail.

not the full exponent of speech, and speech is not the full expression of ideas;—is it impossible then to discover the ideas of the sages?’ The Master said:—‘The sages made their emblematic symbols to set forth fully their ideas; appointed (all) the diagrams to show fully the truth and falsehood (of things); appended their explanations to give the full expression of their words; and changed (the various lines) and made general the method of doing so, to exhibit fully what was advantageous. They (thus) stimulated (the people) as by drums and dances, thereby completely developing the spirit-like (character of the Yi).’

77. May we not say that *Khien* and *Khwan* [= the *yang* and *yin*, or the undivided and divided lines] are the secret and substance of the Yi? *Khien* and *Khwan* being established in their several places, the system of changes was thereby constituted. If *Khien* and *Khwan* were taken away, there would be no means of seeing that system; and if that system were not seen, *Khien* and *Khwan* would almost cease to act.

78. Hence that which is antecedent to the material form exists, we say, as an ideal method, and that which is subsequent to the material form exists, we say, as a definite thing.

Transformation and shaping is what we call change; carrying this out and operating with it is what we call generalising the method; taking the result and setting it forth for all the people under heaven is, we say, (securing the success of) the business of life.

79. Hence, to speak of the emblematic figures:—(The sage) was able to survey all the complex phe-

nomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character. Hence those (diagrams) are denominated Semblances. A (later) sage was able to survey the motive influences working all under the sky. He contemplated them in their common action and special nature, in order to bring out the standard and proper tendency of each. He then appended his explanation (to each line), to determine the good or evil indicated by it. Hence those (lines with their explanations) are denominated Imitations (the Yáo).

80. The most thorough mastery of all the complex phenomena under the sky is obtained from the diagrams. The greatest stimulus to movement in adaptation to all affairs under the sky is obtained from the explanations.

81. The transformations and shaping that take place are obtained from the changes (of the lines); the carrying this out and operating with it is obtained from the general method (that has been established). The seeing their spirit-like intimations and understanding them depended on their being the proper men; and the completing (the study of) them by silent meditation, and securing the faith of others without the use of words, depended on their virtuous conduct.

Chapter XII, paragraphs 75-81, endeavours to show how we have in the Yí a representation of the changing phenomena of nature, and such a representation as words or speech could not convey.

Paragraph 75 has a good meaning, taken by itself; but it has no apparent connexion with the rest of the chapter. K'ü Hsî thought

SECTION II.

Chapter I. 1. The eight trigrams having been completed in their proper order, there were in each the (three) emblematic lines. They were then

it was misplaced in its present position, and should be at the end of chapter 8. Compare paragraph 14.

The first two statements of paragraph 76 are general, but made here specially to exalt the Yî, as teaching more clearly and fully than written characters could have done. The Khang-hsi editors decide that 'the emblematic figures' here are the eight trigrams of Fû-hsî,—against the view of Kû Hsî, which restricts them to signify the undivided and divided lines. The repetition of the words, 'The Master said,' is probably the error of an early transcriber.

Paragraphs 77 and 78 refer to the phenomena of nature and the course of human affairs, as suggesting and controlling the formation of the system of the Yî. The formation of that becomes the subject in paragraph 79. *K'ien* and *Khwan* are used, as we have already seen them more than once, for the active and inactive conditions in nature, indicated by the divided and undivided lines. It is difficult to translate what is said in paragraph 78, about T'ao and *K'hi*;—what I have called, 'an ideal method' and 'a definite' thing. P. Regis translates the text by—'Quod non est inter figurata aut corporea sed supereminet est rationale, est ratio, T'ao; quod (est) inter figurata subjacetque certae figurae est sensibile, est instrumentum.' But *t'ao* cannot here signify ratio or reason; for *t'ao* and *k'hi* are names for the same thing under different conditions; first as a possibility, and next as an actuality. Such is the natural interpretation of the text, and so all the great scholars of the Sung dynasty construed it, as may be seen in the 'Collected Comments' of the imperial edition. So far they were correct, however many of them might stumble and fall in confounding this 'ideal method' with God.

What follows in the paragraph has no connexion with these two statements. P. Regis, who divides his translation into two paragraphs, says:—'Satis patet utramque textus hujus partem non cohaerere.

multiplied by a process of addition till the (six) component lines appeared.

2. The strong line and the weak push themselves each into the place of the other, and hence the changes (of the diagrams) take place. The appended explanations attach to every form of them its character (of good or ill), and hence the movements (suggested by divination) are determined accordingly.

3. Good fortune and ill, occasion for repentance or regret, all arise from these movements.

4. The strong and the weak (lines) have their fixed and proper places (in the diagrams); their changes, however varied, are according to the requirements of the time (when they take place).

5. Good fortune and ill are continually prevailing each against the other by an exact rule.

6. By the same rule, heaven and earth, in their course, continually give forth (their lessons); the sun and moon continually emit their light; all the movements under the sky are constantly subject to this one and the same rule.

Quod ergo illas divisimus, id fecimus majoris perspicuitatis causa, non ratione ordinis qui certe nullus est, ut in re potius assuta quam connexa.'

Paragraph 79 is a repetition of paragraphs 38, 39, 'to introduce,' says *K'ü Hsi*, 'the two paragraphs' that follow.

The editors of the imperial edition find in 80, 81, an amplification mainly of 76, showing how what is said there of the natural phenomena is exhibited in the *Yî*. The concluding sentence is a declaration (hardly necessary) about the sage makers, to the effect that they were as distinguished for virtuous conduct as for wisdom,—'the proper men' to stand between Heaven and the mass of men as they did.

7. *K'ien*, (the symbol of heaven, and) conveying the idea of strength, shows to men its easy (and natural) action. *K'wăn*, (the symbol of earth, and) conveying the idea of docility, shows to men its compendious (receptivity and operation).

8. The *Yáo* (or lines) are imitative representations of this. The *Hsiang*, or emblematic figures, are pictorial representations of the same.

9. The movements of the lines and figures take place (at the hand of the operator), and are unseen; the good fortune or ill is seen openly and is beyond. The work to be done appears by the changes; the sympathies of the sages are seen in their explanations.

10. The great attribute of heaven and earth is the giving and maintaining life. What is most precious for the sage is to get the (highest) place—(in which he can be the human representative of heaven and earth). What will guard this position for him? Men. How shall he collect a large population round him? By the power of his wealth. The right administration of that wealth, correct instructions to the people, and prohibitions against wrong-doing;—these constitute his righteousness.

Chapter I, paragraphs 1–10, is an amplification, according to *Khung Ying-tâ* and the editors of the imperial edition of the present dynasty, of the second chapter of Section i. The latter say that as all the chapters of Section i from the third onwards serve to elucidate chapter 2, so it is with this chapter and all that follow in this Section. The formation of the diagrams, and of their several lines, their indication of good fortune and bad, and the analogy between the processes of nature and the operations of divination, and other kindred subjects, are all touched on.

The order of the eight trigrams in paragraph 1, is *k'ien*, *tui*,

Chapter II. 11. Anciently, when Pão-hsi had come to the rule of all under heaven, looking up, he contemplated the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky, and looking down he surveyed the patterns shown on the earth. He contemplated the ornamental appearances of birds and beasts and the (different) suitabilities of the soil. Near at hand, in his own person, he found things for consideration, and the same at a distance, in things in general. On this he devised the eight trigrams, to show fully the

lí, kǎn, sun, khan, kǎn, khwǎn. The three lines of each are emblematic,—the first of heaven, the second of man, the third of earth. This is the most likely explanation of hsiang, ‘the emblems’ or ‘similitudes’ here. Why the maker—‘sages’—stopt at sixty-four figures, of six lines each, is a question that cannot be answered.

Paragraph 2. Of course it was a great delusion to suppose that the changes of lines consequent on divination could be so connected with the movements of life as to justify the characterising them as good or evil, or afford any guidance in the ordering of conduct.

Paragraph 4. Who can tell ‘the requirements of the time’ amid the complexity of the phenomena of nature or the ever-varying events of human experience and history? The wiser men are, the more correct will be their judgments in such matters; but is there any reason for trusting to divination about them?

Paragraphs 5, 6. It is difficult to say what is ‘the exact rule’ intended here; unless it be that the factors in every movement shall act according to their proper nature. The Khang-hsi editors say:—‘We see the good sometimes meeting with misfortune, and the bad with good fortune; but such is not the general rule.’ ‘The lessons that heaven and earth give forth’ are those concerning the method of their operation as stated in paragraph 7, and more fully in 6, 7, 8 of Section i.

What is said in paragraph 10 is striking and important, and in harmony with the general strain of Confucian teaching;—as in the Great Learning, chapter 10, and many other places; but I fail to see its appropriateness in its present place in the Yi.

attributes of the spirit-like and intelligent (operations working secretly), and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things.

12. He invented the making of nets of various kinds by knitting strings, both for hunting and fishing. The idea of this was taken, probably, from L1 (the third trigram, and thirtieth hexagram).

13. On the death of Pão-hst, there arose Shăn-năng (in his place). He fashioned wood to form the share, and bent wood to make the plough-handle. The advantages of ploughing and weeding were then taught to all under heaven. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Y1 (the forty-second hexagram).

14. He caused markets to be held at midday, thus bringing together all the people, and assembling in one place all their wares. They made their exchanges and retired, every one having got what he wanted. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Shih Ho (the twenty-first hexagram).

15. After the death of Shăn-năng, there arose Hwang T1, Yáo, and Shun. They carried through the (necessarily occurring) changes, so that the people did (what was required of them) without being wearied; yea, they exerted such a spirit-like transformation, that the people felt constrained to approve their (ordinances) as right. When a series of changes has run all its course, another change ensues. When it obtains free course, it will continue long. Hence it was that 'these (sovereigns) were helped by Heaven; they had good fortune, and their every movement was advantageous.' Hwang T1, Yáo, and Shun (simply) wore their upper and

lower garments (as patterns to the people), and good order was secured all under heaven. The idea of all this was taken, probably, from *Khien* and *Khwăn* (the first and eighth trigrams, or the first and second hexagrams).

16. They hollowed out trees to form canoes; they cut others long and thin to make oars. Thus arose the benefit of canoes and oars for the help of those who had no means of intercourse with others. They could now reach the most distant parts, and all under heaven were benefited. The idea of this was taken, probably, from *Hwân* (the fifty-ninth hexagram).

17. They used oxen (in carts) and yoked horses (to chariots), thus providing for the carriage of what was heavy, and for distant journeys,—thereby benefiting all under the sky. The idea of this was taken, probably, from *Sui* (the seventeenth hexagram).

18. They made the (defence of the) double gates, and (the warning of) the clapper, as a preparation against the approach of marauding visitors. The idea of this was taken, probably, from *Yü* (the sixteenth hexagram).

19. They cut wood and fashioned it into pestles; they dug in the ground and formed mortars. Thus the myriads of the people received the benefit arising from the use of the pestle and mortar. The idea of this was taken, probably, from *Hsião Kwo* (the sixty-second hexagram).

20. They bent wood by means of string so as to form bows, and sharpened wood so as to make arrows. This gave the benefit of bows and arrows, and served to produce everywhere a feeling of awe.

The idea of this was taken, probably, from Khwei (the thirty-eighth hexagram).

21. In the highest antiquity they made their homes (in winter) in caves, and (in summer) dwelt in the open country. In subsequent ages, for these the sages substituted houses, with the ridge-beam above and the projecting roof below, as a provision against wind and rain. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Tâ K'wang (the thirty-fourth hexagram).

22. When the ancients buried their dead, they covered the body thickly with pieces of wood, having laid it in the open country. They raised no mound over it, nor planted trees around; nor had they any fixed period for mourning. In subsequent ages the sages substituted for these practices the inner and outer coffins. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Tâ K'wo (the twenty-eighth hexagram).

23. In the highest antiquity, government was carried on successfully by the use of knotted cords (to preserve the memory of things). In subsequent ages the sages substituted for these written characters and bonds. By means of these (the doings of) all the officers could be regulated, and (the affairs of) all the people accurately examined. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Kwâi (the forty-third hexagram).

Chapter II, paragraphs 11-23, treats of the progress of civilisation in China, and how the great men of antiquity who led the way in the various steps of that progress were guided by the Yî. Only five of these are mentioned;—the first, Fû-hsî, the beginning of whose reign, according to the least unlikely of the chronological accounts, must be placed in the 34th century B.C., while Shun's

Chapter III. 24. Therefore what we call the Yî is (a collection of) emblematic lines. They are styled emblematic as being resemblances.

reign ended in B.C. 2203. The time embraced in this chapter therefore is about twelve centuries and a half. But the writer gives his own opinion that the various discoveries and inventions mentioned were suggested to their authors by certain hexagrams of the Yî. The most commonly received view, however, is that Fû-hsî had only the eight trigrams, and that the multiplication of them to the 64 hexagrams was the work of king Wăn, fully a thousand years later than Shun. This is the view of the editors of the imperial Yî. If it be contended that Fû-hsî himself multiplied his trigrams, and gave their names to the resulting hexagrams, how could he have wrapped up in them the intimations of discoveries which were not made till many centuries after his death? The statements in the chapter cannot be received as historical. It came from another hand, and not from Confucius himself. The writer or compiler gives the legends current about the various inventions of his time. The making of the trigrams is placed first of all to do honour to the Yî. The account of it is different from that given in paragraph 73 of the former Section, and we hear nothing of the Ho map or Lo writing.

Paragraph 11. Pão-hsî here and in 13 is the same as Fû-hsî. As Pão is written here, there is no meaning in it; but another character Phão (庖) is more common, and Phão-hsî would mean the inventor of the kitchen and cookery. This was the first step towards civilisation, and was appropriately followed by the hunting and fishing—both by means of nets—in paragraph 12.

Paragraphs 13, 14 celebrate the work of Shăn-năng, 'the marvellous or spirit-like husbandman.' There was no metal about the primitive plough. The market for the exchange of commodities, without the use of coin, was an important advance.

The invention of the robes, or of dress, mentioned in paragraph 15, would seem to show that previously men had been in a very rude state. The passage indicates, however, the courtesies and proprieties of social life, in which dress plays an important part, and which now began to be organised.

The infant navigation in paragraph 16 was as little indebted to the use of metal as the agriculture of 13.

Paragraphs 17 and 18 show that in those primitive times there

25. What we call the Thwan (or king Wǎn's explanations) are based on the significance (of each hexagram as a whole).

26. We call the lines (of the figures) Yáo from their being according to the movements taking place all under the sky.

27. In this way (we see) the rise of good fortune and evil, and the manifestation of repentance and regret.

were already the practices of rapine and war. 'The double gates' were those of the city wall, and of the enclosed suburb. The clapper may still be heard all over China. Bows and arrows, however, came rather later, as in 20.

I suppose 'the sages' in paragraphs 21, 22, 23 refer generally to the great names mentioned in the previous chapters; nor can we define the distinction in the writer or compiler's mind between 'antiquity' and 'the highest antiquity.' Compare what is said on the rise of the coffin in 22 with Mencius' remarks on the same subject in Book III, ii, 5. 4. He would hardly have expressed himself as he did, if he had been familiar with this text. The invention of written characters is generally ascribed to Fû-hsî. Paragraph 23 does not say so, but the inventor is said to have been a sage of a subsequent age to the time of 'high antiquity.' That 'high antiquity' must stretch back very far.

Chapter III, paragraphs 24-27, treats of the Yî as made up of figurative diagrams, which again are composed of lines ever changing, in accordance with the phenomena of nature and human experience, while to the resulting figures their moral character and providential issues are appended by the sages. It may be regarded as an epitome of chapter 2 in Section i.

Paragraph 24. It is observed by the editors of the imperial edition that a chapter should not begin with a 'therefore;' and they are inclined to agree with many critics who would enter this as the last paragraph of the preceding chapter. In that case it would be a summing-up of the concluding sentences of the different paragraphs, the truth and genuineness of which are deservedly suspected. The characters for 'therefore,' however, are very loosely used in these Appendixes.—The lines, as they were intended by

Chapter IV. 28. In the Yang trigrams (or those of the undivided line) there are more of the Yin lines, and in the Yin trigrams (or those of the divided line) there are more of the Yang lines.

29. What is the cause of this? It is because the Yang lines are odd (or made by one stroke), and the Yin lines are even (or made by two strokes).

30. What (method of) virtuous conduct is thus intimated? In the Yang trigrams we have one ruler, and two subjects,—suggesting the way of the superior man. In the Yin trigrams we have two rulers, and one subject,—suggesting the way of the small man.

Fû-hsí, were emblematic; and they are still more so, as interpreted by the duke of K'áu. Meanings are drawn from the figures that resemble or illustrate principles in the subjects to which they are applied.

Paragraph 25. The character rendered 'the significance' means materials, and is illustrated by reference to all the different materials out of which a house is composed. So there are half-a-dozen things about the diagrams, their lineal structure, emblematic intention, their attributes, &c., out of which their interpretation is fashioned.

Paragraph 26. E. g. an undivided line may appear in an odd place, which is right, or in an even place, which is wrong; and the case is the opposite with the divided lines. But what has this to do with the right or wrong of the events divined about?

Chapter IV, paragraphs 28–30. Of the distinction of the trigrams into Yang and Yin.

The trigrams that contain only one undivided line—*hân* (☰☷), *khan* (☷☰), and *k'ân* (☰☰)—are called Yang. The undivided line is called 'the lord' in them. It is just the opposite with the Yin trigrams, in which there are two undivided lines, and one divided,—*sun* (☷☷), *li* (☷☰), and *tui* (☰☷). These together constitute the 'six children,' or 'three

Chapter V. 31. It is said in the Yt, 'Full of anxious thoughts you go and come; (only) friends will follow you and think with you.' The Master said:—'In all (the processes taking place) under heaven, what is there of thinking? what is there of anxious scheming? They all come to the same (successful) issue, though by different paths; there is one result, though there might be a hundred anxious schemes. What is there of thinking? what is there of anxious scheming?'

32. The sun goes and the moon comes; the moon goes and the sun comes;—the sun and moon thus take the place each of the other, and their shining is the result. The cold goes and the heat comes; the heat goes and the cold comes;—it is by this mutual succession of the cold and heat that the year is completed. That which goes becomes less and less, and that which comes waxes more and more;—it is by the influence on each other of this contraction and expansion that the advantages (of the different conditions) are produced.

33. When the looper coils itself up, it thereby straightens itself again; when worms and snakes

sons' and 'three daughters' in the later arrangement of the trigrams, ascribed to king Wăn.

Paragraph 29. Each part of the divided line counts as one; hence a yang trigram counts as $1 + 2 + 2 = 5$ strokes, four of which are yin, while a yin trigram counts as $2 + 1 + 1 = 4$, only two of which are yang. But this is mere trifling.

In explanation of paragraph 30 it is said that 'we have in the yang trigrams two (or more) subjects serving one ruler, and in the yin one subject serving two rulers, and two rulers striving together for the allegiance of one subject.' This is ingenious, but fanciful; as indeed this distinction of the trigrams into a yang class and a yin is a mere play of fancy.

go into the state of hybernation, they thereby keep themselves alive. (So), when we minutely investigate the nature and reasons (of things), till we have entered into the inscrutable and spirit-like in them, we attain to the largest practical application of them; when that application becomes the quickest and readiest, and all personal restfulness is secured, our virtue is thereby exalted.

34. Going on beyond this, we reach a point which it is hardly possible to know. We have thoroughly comprehended the inscrutable and spirit-like, and know the processes of transformation;—this is the fulness of virtue.

35. It is said in the Yt, ‘(The third line shows its subject) distressed before a rock, and trying to lay hold of thorns; entering into his palace and not seeing his wife:—there will be evil.’ The Master said:—‘If one be distressed by what need not distress him, his name is sure to be disgraced; if he lay hold on what he should not touch, his life is sure to be imperilled. In disgrace and danger, his death will (soon) come;—is it possible for him in such circumstances to see his wife?’

36. It is said in the Yt, ‘The duke with (his bow) shoots at the falcon on the top of the high wall; he hits it:—his every movement will be advantageous.’ The Master said:—‘The falcon is a bird (of prey); the bow and arrow is a weapon (of war); the shooter is a man. The superior man keeps his weapon concealed about his person, and waits for the proper time to move;—doing this, how should his movement be other than successful? There is nothing to fetter or embarrass his movement; and hence, when he comes forth, he succeeds in his object.

The language speaks of movement when the instrument necessary to it is ready and perfect.'

37. The Master said:—'The small man is not ashamed of what is not benevolent, nor does he fear to do what is not righteous. Without the prospect of gain he does not stimulate himself to what is good, nor does he correct himself without being moved. Self-correction, however, in what is small will make him careful in what would be of greater consequence;—and this is the happiness of the small man. It is said in the Yt, "His feet are in the stocks, and he is disabled in his toes:—there will be no (further) occasion for blame."'

38. If acts of goodness be not accumulated, they are not sufficient to give its finish to one's name; if acts of evil be not accumulated, they are not sufficient to destroy one's life. The small man thinks that small acts of goodness are of no benefit, and does not do them; and that small deeds of evil do no harm, and does not abstain from them. Hence his wickedness becomes great till it cannot be covered, and his guilt becomes great till it cannot be pardoned. This is what the Yt says, 'He wears the cangue and his ears are destroyed:—there will be evil.'

39. The Master said:—'He who keeps danger in mind is he who will rest safe in his seat; he who keeps ruin in mind is he who will preserve his interests secure; he who sets the danger of disorder before him is he who will maintain the state of order. Therefore the superior man, when resting in safety, does not forget that danger may come; when in a state of security, he does not forget the possibility of ruin; and when all is in a state of order, he does not

forget that disorder may come. Thus his person is kept safe, and his states and all their clans can be preserved. This is according to what the Yî says, "(Let him say), 'Shall I perish? shall I perish?' (so shall this state be firm, as if) bound to a clump of bushy mulberry trees."

40. The Master said:—"Virtue small and office high; wisdom small and plans great; strength small and burden heavy:—where such conditions exist, it is seldom that they do not end (in evil). As is said in the Yî, "The tripod's feet are overthrown, and the ruler's food is overturned. The body of him (who is thus indicated) is wet (with shame):—there will be evil."

41. The Master said:—"Does not he who knows the springs of things possess spirit-like wisdom? The superior man, in his intercourse with the high, uses no flattery, and, in his intercourse with the low, no coarse freedom:—does not this show that he knows the springs of things? Those springs are the slight beginnings of movement, and the earliest indications of good fortune (or ill). The superior man sees them, and acts accordingly without waiting for (the delay of) a single day. As is said in the Yî, "He is firm as a rock, (and acts) without the delay of a single day. With firm goodness there will be good fortune." Firm as a rock, how should he have to wait a single day to ensure his knowing (those springs and his course)? The superior man knows the minute and the manifested; he knows what is weak, and what is strong:—he is a model to ten thousand."

42. The Master said:—"I may venture to say that the son of the Yen family had nearly attained (the

standard of perfection). If anything that he did was not good, he was sure to become conscious of that; and when he knew it, he did not do the thing again. As is said in the Yt, "(The first line shows its subject) returning from an error that has not led him far away. There is no occasion for repentance. There will be great good."

43. There is an intermingling of the genial influences of heaven and earth, and transformation in its various forms abundantly proceeds. There is an intercommunication of seed between male and female, and transformation in its living types proceeds. What is said in the Yt, 'Three individuals are walking together and one is made to disappear; there is (but) one man walking, and he gets his mate,' tells us of the effort (in nature) at oneness (of operation).

44. The Master said:—"The superior man (in a high place) composes himself before he (tries to) move others; makes his mind restful and easy before he speaks; settles (the principles of) his intercourse with others before he seeks anything from them. The superior man cultivates these three things, and so is complete. If he try to move others while he is himself in unrest, the people will not (act) with him; if he speak while he is himself in a state of apprehension, the people will not respond to him; if without (certain principles of) intercommunication, he issue his requests, the people will not grant them. When there are none to accord with him, those who (work to) injure him will make their appearance. As is said in the Yt, "(We see one) to whose advantage none will contribute, while some will seek to assail him. He observes no

regular rule in the ordering of his heart:—there will be evil.”’

Chapter V, paragraphs 31–44, gives the words of the duke of Kâu on eleven different lines in the Text of the Yî, along with remarks of Confucius in farther illustration of them. But they seem also to be intended to bring forth more fully the meaning of certain previous utterances about the structure and scope of the Yî.

Paragraphs 31–34 start from the fourth line of the 31st hexagram, which would seem merely to require a steady and unvarying purpose in any one, in order to the full development of his influence. The editors of the imperial edition, however, make the whole a sequel of paragraph 5. But granted that there is no ‘anxious scheming’ in the processes of the natural world or in the phenomena of insect life, there is really no analogy to their proceedings in the course of the man who makes himself master of ‘the nature and reasons of things,’ as described in 33 and 34. Nor are ‘the nature and reasons of things’ to be found in the Yî, as the writer believed they were. Such as it is, it requires immense thought to understand it, and when we have laid hold of it, there is nothing substantial in our grasp. The ‘virtue’ predicated of such attainment is not so much moral excellence, as apprehension and the power and ability to invent, and to affect others.

Paragraph 35. See on the third line of Khwân, the 47th hexagram. If we were to translate the explanations of the line after Confucius, we should put the first two statements hypothetically; but the four that compose it seem to run on in the same way. They are all, I apprehend, hypothetical.

Paragraph 36. See on the last line of Kieh, the 40th hexagram.

Paragraph 37. See on the first line of Shih Ho, the 21st hexagram. The ‘self-correction in what is small’ implies of course that the small man has been ‘awed.’ What is said about him here is true; but we hardly expect it in this place.

Paragraph 38 should probably begin, like those before and after it, with ‘The Master said.’ The characters quoted from the Yî are again from the text of Shih Ho, on the last line.

Paragraph 39. See on the fifth line of Phî, the 12th hexagram.

Paragraph 40 gives Confucius’ views on the fourth line of Ting, the 50th hexagram.

In paragraph 41 we are conducted to the 16th hexagram,—the

Chapter VI. 45. The Master said :—‘(The tri-grams) *K’hien* and *Khwăn* may be regarded as the gate of the *Yi*.’ *K’hien* represents what is of the yang nature (bright and active); *Khwăn* what is of the yin nature (shaded and inactive). These two unite according to their qualities, and there comes the embodiment of the result by the strong and weak (lines). In this way we have the phenomena of heaven and earth visibly exhibited, and can comprehend the operation of the spiritual intelligence.

46. The appellations and names (of the diagrams and lines) are various, but do not go beyond (what is to be ascribed to the operation of these two conditions). When we examine the nature and style

second line of it. The being ‘firm as a rock’ is understood to symbolise the state of ‘rest,’ the quiet self-possession out of which successful movement and action is understood to spring.

In paragraph 42, ‘the son of the Yen family’ is Yen Hui, the favourite disciple of Confucius. The passage quoted from the *Yi* is that on the first line of *Fû*, the 24th hexagram.

To paragraph 43, as to paragraph 38, I would prefix the characters for ‘The Master said.’ ‘Male and female’ is to be taken generally, and not confined to the individuals of the human pair. One Chinese writer says that in the transformations ascribed to heaven and earth, birds, fishes, animals, and plants are included, but from the ‘transformation in its living types’ plants are excluded, because in their generation there is nothing analogous to the emission and reception of seed. Other Chinese writers, however, are well enough acquainted with the sexual system of plants. It would seem to me that Confucius, if the paragraph were really his, intended only plants or the vegetable world in his reference to the operation of heaven and earth, and had all living tribes in view in his mention of male and female. The passage of the *Yi* referred to is on the third line of *Sun*, the 41st hexagram. The application of it is far-fetched.

Paragraph 44. See on the fifth line of *Yî*, the 42nd hexagram.

(of the appended explanations), they seem to express the ideas of a decaying age.

47. The Yî exhibits the past, and (teaches us to) discriminate (the issues of) the future; it makes manifest what is minute, and brings to light what is obscure. (Then king Wăn) opened (its symbols), and distinguished things in accordance with its names, so that all his words were correct and his explanations decisive;—(the book) was now complete.

48. The appellations and names (of the diagrams and lines) are but small matters, but the classes of things comprehended under them are large. Their scope reaches far, and the explanations attached to them are elegant. The words are indirect, but to the point; the matters seem plainly set forth, but there is a secret principle in them. Their object is, in cases that are doubtful, to help the people in their conduct, and to make plain the recompenses of good and evil.

The principal object, it is said, of chapter VI, paragraphs 45–48, is to set forth the views of king Wăn and his son in the explanations which they appended to the diagrams and lines; and in doing this the writer begins in 45, with Fû-hsî's starting, in the formation of his eight trigrams, from the devising of the whole and divided lines, to represent the two primitive forms in nature. The two 'pure' trigrams formed of these lines, unmixed, give rise to all the others, or rather the lines of which they are formed do so; and are thus compared to a gate by which the various diagrams enter to complete the system that is intended to represent the changing phenomena of nature and experience. The next sentence in the above version of paragraph 45 appears in Canon McClatchie's translation of the Yî, as follows:—'*K'zien* is the membrum virile, and *Khwăn* is the pudendum muliebre (the sakti of *K'zien*).' It is hardly possible, on reading such a version, to suppress the exclamation *proh pudor!* Can a single passage be adduced in support of it from among all the Chinese critics in the

Chapter VII. 49. Was it not in the middle period of antiquity that the Yî began to flourish? Was not he who made it familiar with anxiety and calamity?

50. Therefore (the 10th diagram), Lî, shows us the foundation of virtue; (the 15th), Hsien, its handle; (the 24th), Fû, its root; (the 32nd), Hăng, its solidity; (the 41st), Sun, its cultivation; (the 42nd), Yî, its abundance; (the 47th), Khwăn, its exercise of discrimination; (the 48th), 3ing, its field; and (the 57th), Sun, its regulation.

51. In Lî we have the perfection of harmony; in Hsien, we have the giving honour to others,

line of centuries? I believe not. The ideas which it expresses are gratuitously and wantonly thrust into this text of the Yî. 'K'ien' and 'Khwăn' are not spoken of thus. If the latter half of the paragraph be unintelligible, this interpretation of the former would make the whole disgusting.

In paragraph 46 the writer passes from the work of Fû-hsî to that of king Wăn and his son, and the composition of the written Yî is referred to 'a decaying age,'—the age, namely, of the tyrant Kâu. Then king Wăn and the duke of Kâu, it is said, deploring the degeneracy of their times and the enormities of the government, indicated, by their treatment of the ancient symbols, their sense of right and wrong, and the methods by which the prevailing evils might be rectified.

Paragraphs 47 and 48 follow and expand the meaning of 45. The editors of the imperial edition say that the former sentence of 47 is the sequel of 45, and the latter of 46, bringing us finally to the explanations and decisions of king Wăn, as the most important portion of the Yî. K'ü Hsî, moreover, observes that throughout the chapter, as well as in the chapters that follow, there must be many characters wanting in the text, while there are many also that are doubtful. This is specially the case with 48. Where the order of the characters has been disarranged merely, correction is easy; but where characters are evidently missing, attempts to fill the lacunae are merely guess-work.

and the distinction thence arising; in Fû we have what is small (at first), but there is in it a (nice) discrimination of (the qualities of) things; in Hăng we have a mixed experience, but without any weariness; in Sun we have difficulty in the beginning and ease in the end; in Yt we have abundance of growth without any contrivance; in Khwăn we have the pressure of extreme difficulty, ending in a free course; in 3ing we have abiding in one's place and at the same time removal (to meet the movement of others); and in Sun we have the weighing of things (and action accordingly), but secretly and unobserved.

52. (The use of) Lt appears in the harmony of the conduct; of Hsien, in the regulation of ceremonies; of Fû, in self-knowledge; of Hăng, in uniformity of virtue; of Sun, in keeping what is harmful at a distance; of Yt, in the promotion of what is advantageous; of Khwăn, in the diminution of resentments; of 3ing, in the discrimination of what is righteous; and of Sun, in the doing of what is appropriate to time and to circumstances.

Chapter VII, paragraphs 49-52, is occupied with nine hexagrams, as specially indicating how the superior man, or the ruler, should deal with a time of trouble and solicitude, specially by the cultivation of his own virtue. Not, we are told, that the same thing might not be learned from other diagrams, but these nine specially occurred to the writer, or, as many think, to Confucius.

Paragraph 49 is important as agreeing in its testimony with 46. The Yt was made in middle-antiquity; that is, in the end of the Shang dynasty, and the rise of the Kâu; and the maker or makers had personal and public reasons for anxiety about the signs of the times.

Paragraph 50 shows the particular phase of virtue in each of the nine hexagrams that are mentioned; 51, the marvellous character-

Chapter VIII. 53. The Yî is a book which should not be let slip from the mind. Its method (of teaching) is marked by the frequent changing (of its lines). They change and move without staying (in one place), flowing about into any one of the six places of the hexagram. They ascend and descend, ever inconstant. The strong and the weak lines change places, so that an invariable and compendious rule cannot be derived from them ;—it must vary as their changes indicate.

54. The goings forth and comings in (of the lines) are according to rule and measure. (People) learn from them in external and internal affairs to stand in awe.

55. (The book), moreover, makes plain the nature of anxieties and calamities, and the causes of them. Though (its students) have neither master nor guardian, it is as if their parents drew near to them.

56. Beginning with taking note of its explanations, we reason out the principles to which they point. We thus find out that it does supply a constant and standard rule. But if there be not the proper men (to carry this out), the course cannot be pursued without them.

istics of each phase ; and 52, its use. The 'therefore' with which paragraph 50 commences shows the process of thought by which the writer passed from the anxiety that possessed the mind of the author of the Yî to the use to be derived, in such circumstances, from the study of Lî and the other hexagrams.

Chapter VIII, paragraphs 53–56, describes the method of studying the Yî as consisting very much in watching the changes that take place in the lines, and reflecting on the appended explanations ; while, after all, much must depend on there being 'the proper men,' to carry its lessons into practice.

Chapter IX. 57. The Yt is a book in which the form (of each diagram) is determined by the lines from the first to the last, which must be carefully observed. The six lines are mixed together, according to the time (when they enter the figure) and their substance (as whole and divided).

58. There is difficulty in knowing (the significance of) the first line, while to know that of the topmost line is easy;—they form the beginning and the end (of the diagram). The explanation of the first line tasks the calculating (of the makers), but in the end they had (but) to complete this.

59. As to the variously-disposed intermediate lines with their diverse formations, for determining their qualities, and discriminating the right and wrong in them, we should be unprovided but for the explanations of them.

60. Yea, moreover, if we wish to know what is likely to be preserved and what to perish, what will be lucky and what will be unlucky, this may easily be known (from the explanations of the different lines). But if the wise will look at the explanations of the entire diagrams, their thoughts will embrace more than half of this knowledge.

61. The second and fourth lines are of the same

There seems to be a contradiction between the statements in paragraphs 53 and 56 about the book supplying, and not supplying, a standard rule; but the meaning, probably, is that while it does not give a rule generally applicable, it gives rules for particular cases.

K'ü Hsî says he does not understand 54, and thinks some characters must have been lost. 'The six places of the hexagram' in 53 are, literally, 'the six empties.' The places are so called, because it is only a temporary possession of them, which is held by the fugitive lines, whether whole or divided.

quality (as being in even places), but their positions (with respect to the fifth line) are different, and their value is not the same; but the second is the object of much commendation, and the fourth the subject of many apprehensions,—from its nearness (to that line). But for a line in a place of weakness it is not good to be far (from the occupant of the place of strength), and what its subject should desire in such a case is (merely) to be without blame. The advantage (here) is in (the second line) being in the central place.

62. The third and fifth lines are of the same quality, (as being in odd places), but their positions are different; and the (occupant of) the third meets with many misfortunes, while the occupant of the fifth achieves much merit:—this arises from one being in the noble position and the other in the mean. Are they occupied by the symbol of weakness? There will be peril. By that of strength? There will be victory.

Chapter IX, paragraphs 56–62, speaks of the hexagrams as made up of the different lines, and various things to be attended to in those lines to determine their meaning.

Paragraph 57. The time or order in which the lines enter determines of course the place and number of each in the figure. Their 'substance' is their form, as whole or divided, being yang or yin.

Paragraph 58 belongs to the first and sixth lines. We are hardly prepared for the statement that 'the maker or makers' had so much difficulty in determining the meaning of the first line. Of course when they had fixed that and completed the figure, explaining all the lines, it was easy for the student to follow their exposition, as paragraph 59 says.

Paragraph 60 seems to say that the work of the duke of Kâu on each line was but an indicating in detail of the processes of his father's mind in explaining the whole figure.

Chapter X. 63. The Yt is a book of wide comprehension and great scope, embracing everything. There are in it the way of heaven, the way of man, and the way of earth. It then takes (the lines representing) those three Powers, and doubles them till they amount to six. What these six lines show is simply this,—the way of the three Powers.

64. This way is marked by changes and movements, and hence we have the imitative lines. Those lines are of different grades (in the trigrams), and hence we designate them from their component elements. These are mixed together, and elegant forms arise. When such forms are not in their appropriate places, the ideas of good fortune and bad are thus produced.

The last two paragraphs mention several points important to be attended to in studying, more especially, the duke of Kâu on the several lines. Three different views of the concluding statement,—‘are they occupied,’ &c.,—are given in the imperial edition. ‘It belongs,’ says Wû Kǎng, ‘to the fifth line;’ ‘to the third line,’ says Hû Ping-wǎn (also of the Yüan dynasty); while Hân Hsing-kwo (of the Thang dynasty) held that it belonged to both. The Khang-hsi editors say that ‘by discriminating and combining these views, we get to the meaning of the text.’ I am unable to do so.

Chapter X, paragraphs 63, 64, speaks of the great comprehensiveness of the Yî, its figures and explanations being applicable to the three Powers—heaven, earth, and man.

With paragraph 63, compare paragraph 4, Appendix VI. In the trigram the upper line represents heaven, the middle line man, and the lowest earth. This paragraph and that other are the nearest approach I know to an attempt to account for the doubling of the number of lines, and stopping with the hexagram; but the doing so was entirely arbitrary. Kû Hsi says:—‘The upper two characters belong to heaven, the middle two to man, and the lower two to earth.’ No words could be more express; and yet Canon McClatchie says (p. 354):—‘The two upper strokes represent Heaven, or Thây-yî, the husband; the two middle strokes, Earth, his wife; and the

Chapter XI. 65. Was it not in the last age of Yin, when the virtue of *K'âu* had reached its highest point, and during the troubles between king Wăn and (the tyrant) *K'âu*, that the (study of the Yf) began to flourish? On this account the explanations (in the book) express (a feeling of) anxious apprehension, (and teach) how peril may be turned into security, and easy carelessness is sure to meet with overthrow. The method in which these things come about is very comprehensive, and must be acknowledged in every sphere of things. If at the beginning there be a cautious apprehension as to the end, there will probably be no error or cause for blame. This is what is called the way of the Yf.

two lower strokes, Man, their son; all being animated by the same Divine Reason (*t'ao*) or Supreme God (*Chih Shăn*).’ This note shows how one error, or misunderstanding of the Chinese original, draws other errors with it. The character *t'ao* in the paragraph has not at all the sense of reason, human or divine, but its primary and ordinary signification of the path or course. As *Lû Sî* (Han dynasty) says:—‘In the way of heaven there are the changes of day and night, sun and moon; in that of earth, those of hardness and softness, dryness and moisture; in that of man, those of action and rest, of movement and stillness, of good fortune and bad, of good and evil.’

‘The imitative lines’ in the translation of 64, is simply ‘the *Y'ao*’ in the Chinese text, which I have rendered according to the account of them in paragraph 8, et al. Their different grades are their position as high or low in the figures (paragraph 1, Section i), and their ‘component elements,’ literally ‘their substance, or thing-nature,’ is their structure as being yang or yin, according to the use of wuh in paragraphs 57, 59, et al. A yang line in an even place, or a yin line in an odd, is not in its appropriate place, and gives an indication of what is bad.

Chapter XI, paragraph 65. P. Regis observes on this chapter:—
‘I do not hesitate to say that there is found nowhere in the whole

Chapter XII. 66. (The hexagram) *K'ien* represents the strongest of all under the sky. Through this quality its operations are always manifested with ease, for it knows where there would be peril and embarrassment. (The hexagram) *Khwăn* represents the most docile of all under the sky. Through this quality its operations are always manifested with the promptest decision, for it knows where there would be obstruction.

67. (The sages, who are thus represented, and who made the *Yî*.) were able to rejoice in heart (in the absolute truth of things), and were able (also) to weigh carefully all matters that could occasion anxiety; (thus) they fixed the good and bad fortune (of all things) under the sky, and could accomplish the things requiring strenuous efforts.

68. Therefore amid the changes and transformations (taking place in heaven and earth), and the words and deeds of men, events that are to be fortunate have their happy omens. (The sages) knew the definite principles underlying the prognostications of the former class, and the future of

Yî a passage which affords more light for the explanation of the book.' Paragraph 49 told us that 'the study of the *Yî* flourished in the middle period of antiquity, and that the author of it was familiar with anxiety and troubles.' That information becomes here more particular. The *Yî*, existing when this Appendix was written, was made in the closing period of the Yin dynasty, and the making of it was somehow connected with the attempts of the tyrant *K'âu* against king *Wăn*. We are not told expressly that the book was written, in part at least, by king *Wăn*; but the tradition to that effect derives a certain amount of support from what is said here. The general object of the author is also stated clearly enough,—to inculcate a cautious and reverent administration of affairs, never forgetful of the uncertainties of life and fortune.

those of the latter, (now to be) ascertained by divination.

69. The places of heaven and earth (in the diagrams) having been determined, the sages were able (by means of the Yt) to carry out and complete their ability. (In this way even) the common people were able to share with them in (deciding about) the counsels of men and the counsels of spiritual beings.

70. The eight trigrams communicate their information by their emblematic figures. The explanations appended to the lines and the completed figures tell how the contemplation of them affected (the makers). The strong and the weak lines appear mixed in them, and (thus) the good and the evil (which they indicate) can be seen.

71. The changes and movements (which take place in the manipulation of the stalks and the formation of the diagrams) speak as from the standpoint of what is advantageous. The (intimations of) good and evil vary according to the place and nature (of the lines). Thus they may indicate a mutual influence (in any two of them) of love or hatred, and good or evil is the result; or that mutual influence may be affected by the nearness of the lines to, or their distance from, each other, and then repentance or regret is the result; or the influence may be that of truth or of hypocrisy, and then the result is what is advantageous, or what is injurious. In all these relations of the (lines in the) Yt, if two are near and do not blend harmoniously, there may be (all these results),—evil, or what is injurious, or occasion for repentance and regret.

72. The language of him who is meditating a

revolt (from the right) betrays his inward shame ; that of him whose inward heart doubts about it diverges to other topics. The words of a good man are few ; those of a coarse man are many. The words of one who slanders what is good are un-

Chapter XII, paragraphs 66-72, is generally divided into three sections ;—the first, embracing 66-68, and treating of the sages, the makers of the Yî, as themselves independent of it, knowing all that it enables us to know, and able to accomplish all that it enables us to accomplish ; the second, embracing 69-71, and telling how the sages formed the Yî, and made all men, by means of it, partakers of their now unlimited knowledge and power ; the third, comprised in paragraph 72, and saying, if it be genuine and in its proper place, that the ordinary speech of men is as mysterious and indicative of what is in them, as the explanations of the Yî are, when we consider who were its authors.

‘The sages,’ who are the subject of 65-68, are not mentioned in the text ; but 67 makes it plain that the subject must be some personal being or beings. Neither *Khien* nor *Khwan* can ‘rejoice in heart, and weigh carefully matters occasioning anxiety.’ The commentators generally interpolate ‘the sages ;’ even Ying-tâ of the Thang dynasty, who does not introduce the sages in his exposition, yet makes the subject to be ‘the disposer and nourisher of all things.’ He gets to his view by an unnatural interpretation of two characters in 67, which are now thrown out of the text by all critics as not genuine. That ‘the sages’ is really the subject in the mind of the writer appears from the express mention of them in 69, when also ‘heaven and earth’ take the place of *Khien* and *Khwan*. It is absurd, not to say blasphemous, to assume that the sages who made the Yî had the knowledge and ability here ascribed to them ; but the theory of the Yî as containing a scheme for the discovery of the future necessitated the ascribing such attributes to them. Compare with the whole Section, and especially with paragraph 68, what is said in ‘the Doctrine of the Mean,’ chapter 24.

The first Section shows how the sages were themselves independent of the Yî, and had no need of it ; the second goes on to tell how they devised and constructed it, to make all men equal to themselves in a knowledge of phenomena and human events, and of their indications of, and issues in, the future. Summing up its

substantial; those of him who is losing what he ought to keep are crooked.

lessons, the editors of the imperial edition say, 'There is no passage in the Appendix more full and clear than this on the five points in regard to the lines which the student of the Yî has to attend to. Those points are :—their time, position, quality, mutual nearness, and responsive relation. It is by a consideration of the two latter points, moreover, that he must form his judgment on their appropriateness or inappropriateness in the three others.'

Paragraph 72 has really no connexion with the rest of the chapter. I have stated above how the critics attempt to make out such a connexion; but I agree myself with P. Regis, who appends to his version of the paragraph this note :—'*Quae sententiae quidem sapiunt doctrinam Confucianam, at non ordinem, utpote cum praecedentibus minime cohaerentes, sed omnino ab iis abscissae avulsaeque.*'

APPENDIX IV.

Supplementary to the Thwan and Yáo on the first and second Hexagrams, and showing how they may be interpreted of man's nature and doings.

SECTION I. *K'HIEN*.

Chapter I. 1. What is called (under *K'hién*) 'the great and originating' is (in man) the first and chief quality of goodness; what is called 'the penetrating' is the assemblage of excellences; what is called 'the advantageous' is the harmony of all that is right; and what is called 'the correct and firm' is the faculty of action.

2. The superior man, embodying benevolence, is fit to preside over men; presenting the assemblage of excellences, he is fit to show in himself the union of all propriety; benefiting (all) creatures, he is fit to exhibit the harmony of all that is right; correct and firm, he is fit to manage (all) affairs.

3. The fact that the superior man practises these four virtues justifies the application to him of the words—'*K'hién* represents what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm.'

The title of this Appendix is in Chinese the Wǎn Yen Kwan, 'The Record of Wǎn Yen;' and according to the analogy of the titles of the three Appendixes that follow, Wǎn should perform the part of a verb and Yen that of a substantive. So the characters are usually taken, and to Wǎn is given the meaning of 'Explaining (Shih);' and to Yen that of 'Words or Sentences,' meaning the Thwan of king Wǎn, and the Yáo of the duke of Káu on the first two hexagrams. The document treats of these,

Chapter II. 4. What is the meaning of the words under the first line undivided, 'The dragon lies hid (in the deep);—it is not the time for active doing?' The Master said:—'There he is, with the powers of the dragon, and yet lying hid. The influence of the world would make no change in him; he would do nothing (merely) to secure his fame. He can live, withdrawn from the world, without regret; he can experience disapproval without trouble of mind. Rejoicing (in opportunity), he carries his principles

and of no others. 'It shows the amount and depth of meaning in them,' says *K'ü Hsî*, 'and the other hexagrams may be treated after the analogy supplied here.' Confucius, it is said by others, died before he was able to carry out the plan which he had formed. But, as I have shown in the Introduction (pp. 28–30), it is more than doubtful whether we have in this Appendix anything at all directly from the sage.

Chapter I, paragraphs 1–3, shows how the attributes of *K'ien*, as explained by king *Wăn*, are to be understood of the constituent principles of human nature. What is remarkable is, that we find paragraphs 1, 2, with very little variation, in one of the narratives of the *30 Kwan*, as having been spoken by a marchioness-dowager of *Lü* in B.C. 564, several years before Confucius was born. One so familiar as *K'ü Hsî* was with all the classical literature of his country could not be ignorant of this. His solution of the questions arising from it is, that anciently there was this explanation of the characters of king *Wăn*; that it was employed by *Shü Kiang* (of *Lü*), and that Confucius also availed himself of it; while the chronicler used, as he does below, the phraseology of 'The Master said,' to distinguish the real words of Confucius from such ancient sayings. But who was this chronicler? No one can tell. The legitimate conclusion from *K'ü*'s criticism is this, that so much of this Appendix as is preceded by 'The Master said' is from Confucius;—so much and no more.

The ascription in paragraph 3 of 'the four virtues' to the superior or normal man, man in his best estate, and yet inferior to 'the sagely man,' is Confucian,—after the style of the teaching of the Master in the *Analects*.

into action ; sorrowing (for want of opportunity), he keeps with them in retirement. Yes, he is not to be torn from his root (in himself).’ This is ‘the dragon lying hid.’

5. What is the meaning of the words under the second line, ‘The dragon shows himself and is in the field ;—it will be advantageous to see the great man ?’ The Master said :—‘ There he is, with the dragon’s powers, and occupying exactly the central place. He is sincere (even) in his ordinary words, and earnest in his ordinary conduct. Guarding against depravity, he preserves his sincerity. His goodness is recognised in the world, but he does not boast of it. His virtue is extensively displayed, and transformation ensues. The language of the Yî, “ The dragon shows himself and is in the field ;—it will be advantageous to see the great man,” refers to a ruler’s virtue.’

6. What is the meaning of the words under the third line, ‘The superior man is active and vigilant all the day, and in the evening (still) careful and apprehensive ;—the position is dangerous, but there will be no mistake ?’ The Master said :—‘ The superior man advances in virtue, and cultivates all the sphere of his duty. His leal-heartedness and good faith are the way by which he advances in virtue. His attention to his words and establishing his sincerity are the way by which he occupies in his sphere. He knows the utmost point to be reached, and reaches it, thus showing himself in accord with the first springs (of things) ; he knows the end to be rested in, and rests in it, thus preserving his righteousness in accordance with that end. Therefore he occupies a high position without pride, and a low

position without anxiety. Thus it is that, being active and vigilant, and careful (also) and apprehensive as the time requires, though his position be perilous, he will make no mistake.'

7. What is the meaning of the words under the fourth line, 'He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep;—there will be no mistake?' The Master said:—'He finds no permanent place either above or below, but he does not commit the error (of advancing). He may advance or recede;—there is no permanent place for him: but he does not leave his fellows. The superior man, advancing in virtue and cultivating the sphere of his duty, yet wishes (to advance only) at the (proper) time, and therefore there is no mistake.'

8. What is the meaning of the words under the fifth line, 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky;—it will be advantageous to see the great man?' The Master said:—'Notes of the same key respond to one another; creatures of the same nature seek one another; water flows towards the place that is (low and) damp; fire rises up towards what is dry; clouds follow the dragon, and winds follow the tiger:—(so) the sage makes his appearance, and all men look to him. Things that draw their origin from heaven move towards what is above; things that draw their origin from the earth cleave to what is below:—so does everything follow its kind.'

9. What is the meaning of the words under the topmost line, 'The dragon exceeds the proper limits;—there will be occasion for repentance?' The Master said:—'The position is noble, but it is not that of office; (its occupant) dwells on high, but he has no people (to rule); and the men of talent

and virtue in the positions below will give him no aid ;—should he move in such a case, there will be occasion for repentance.'

In chapter II, paragraphs 4–9, Confucius is introduced, explaining, with considerable amplification, what is said by the duke of Kâu under the several lines of the hexagram. 'The dragon' becomes the symbol of 'the superior man,' and of 'the great man,' or the sage upon the throne. The language approaches at times to the magniloquence of Mencius, while in paragraph 8 the voice hardly seems to be that of the sage at all.

With paragraph 5, compare chapters 8 and 14 of 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' agreeing much in language and sentiment with what we have here. The line, a strong or undivided line, and therefore yang, is said to be 'exactly in the central place;' but the line is in the second, an even place, that proper to a yin line ; and in other passages this might be explained in an unfavourable way. The Chinese character *k'ang* has the meaning given to it, now of 'exact,' and now of 'correct,' the latter being always favourably interpreted.

Paragraph 8. The fifth is almost always the place of honour and authority in the hexagram, and therefore 'the great man' here continues to be the great man, 'the sage.' The argument is that as things of the same kind respond to and seek one another, so is it with the sage and ordinary man. They are of the same kind, though far apart ; and when a sage appears, all other men look to him with admiration and hope. The continuity of the illustrations, however, is broken by the introduction of the dragon and clouds, and the tiger and wind. Are these of the same kind? K'ü Hsi says he does not think that the real dragon and real tiger are intended ; but he does not tell us how he understood the terms. Ts'ai K'ing (early in the Ming dynasty) says :—'The dragon feels the influence of the clouds surcharged with rain, and rises from the deep, and when the tiger feels the approach of the cold winds he roars. Thus when the dragon rises, the clouds are sure to collect ; and when the tiger screams, the winds follow ;' but all this does not help us to appreciate any better the words of the text. And the concluding illustration is nearly as foreign to our way of conceiving things. By 'things that draw their origin from heaven' all animals—moving creatures—are intended ; and by those that draw their origin from the earth are intended all plants,—things that stand and

Chapter III. 10. 'The dragon lies hid;—it is not the time for active doing:—the position is (too) low.

11. 'The dragon shows himself and is in the field:—the time (requires him still) to be unemployed.

12. 'All the day active and vigilant:—(he now) does his (proper) business.

13. 'He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep:—he is making trial of himself.

14. 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky:—(the subject of the line) is on high and ruling.

15. 'The dragon exceeds the proper limit, and there will be occasion for repentance:—when things have been carried to extremity, calamity ensues.

16. Undivided lines appear in all these representations of the great and originating power denoted by *K'ien*:—(what follows in the *Yáo* tells us how) all under the sky there will be good order.

do not move. The former turn their heads to the sky, and the latter their roots to the earth. So we read in *K'ü Hsi*; but I continue to wonder that Confucius selected such illustrations and spoke in such a style.

Paragraph 9. As I have said above, the place of honour and authority in the hexagram belongs to the fifth line, and no other plays so unimportant a part as the sixth; and hence it is represented here as having 'no place' at all. Before he whom it represents is called to act, the battle has been won or lost. Movement from him will only accelerate and intensify the result.

Chapter III, paragraphs 10–16, goes over again the *Yáo* of the duke of *K'au* with very brief explanations, grounded chiefly on the consideration of the place or position occupied by the several lines, and the time of their introduction into the action of the hexagram.

Paragraph 16. See the note on the Text of *K'ien*, corresponding to this line, page 58, and also that on paragraph 7 of the symbolism of the figures and lines, Section i, page 165. There is the same

Chapter IV. 17. 'The dragon lies hid in the deep;—it is not the time for active doing:—the energy denoted by the undivided line is laid up and hid away as in the deep.

18. 'The dragon appears in the field:—all under heaven (begins to be) adorned and brightened.

19. 'All the day active and vigilant:—continually, as the time passes and requires, does he act.

20. 'He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep:—a change is taking place in the method indicated by (this) *K'hien* diagram.

21. 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky:—this shows that his place is based on his heavenly virtue.

22. 'The dragon exceeds the (proper) limit;—there will be occasion for repentance:—the time is come to an end, and so also is his opportunity.

23. Undivided lines appear in all these representations of the great and originating power denoted by *K'hien*:—and (from what follows in the *Yâo*) we see the model (of action) afforded by heaven.

difficulty in understanding the first part of the short paragraph; the conclusion of it must be a consequence of the language of the *Yâo*, though it is not repeated here.

Chapter IV, paragraphs 17–23, goes over the same ground for a third time, treating the various paragraphs chiefly from the standpoint of time.

Paragraph 17 tells us that time and circumstances are essential, as well as inward power, to successful development and demonstration. In paragraph 18, the words of the *Yâo* about meeting with the great man are not quoted, but they prompted the latter half of it.

Paragraph 19. Compare the language on paragraph 6, towards the end.

Paragraph 20. The subject passes here from the lower trigram and enters into the upper. We are told not to lay stress on 'the method of *K'hien*.' In paragraph 21 we have the sage upon the

Chapter V. 24. The 'greatness' and 'originating' represented by *Khien* refer to it as (the symbol of) what gives their beginning (to all things), and (also) secures their growth and development.

25. 'The advantageousness and the correctness and firmness' refer to its nature and feelings (as seen in all the resulting things).

26. *Khien*, (thus) originating, is able with its admirable benefits to benefit all under the sky. We are not told how its benefits are conferred; but how great is (its operation)!

27. How great is (what is emblemed by) *Khien*!—strong, vigorous, undeflected, correct, and (in all these qualities) pure, unmixed, exquisite!

28. The six lines, as explained (by the duke of *Kâu*), bring forth and display (its meaning), and everything about it is (thus) indirectly exhibited.

29. (The great man) at the proper time drives with these six dragons through the sky. The clouds move, and the rain is distributed; all under heaven enjoys repose.

throne. Time and opportunity are both in progress in 19; here in 22, they are both passed, have reached their extremity or end.

Paragraph 23:—see on paragraph 16. 'The model of heaven,' says *Wû Khăng*, 'is the due blending of the strong and active with the weak and passive, the regulation of movement in accordance with the highest reason, so that there shall be neither excess nor deficiency.'

Chapter V, paragraphs 24–29. The author here, leaving the treatise on the symbolism of the *Yáo*, turns to that on the *Thwan*, or expositions of king *Wán*, and amplifies it, not quoting from it, however, so fully and exactly, as he has done in the previous chapters from the *Yáo*.

Paragraphs 24 and 25 are based on the statement of the significance of the *Thwan* under *Khien*, and not on the treatise on the symbolism. The originating power cannot be separated from that of penetration and development. The latter issues from the former

Chapter VI. 30. In the superior man his conduct is (the fruit of) his perfected virtue, which might be seen therefore in his daily course; but the force of that phrase, 'lying hid,' requires him to keep retired, and not yet show himself, nor proceed to the full development of his course. While this is the case, the superior man (knows that) it is not the time for active doing.

31. The superior man learns and accumulates the results of his learning; puts questions, and discriminates among those results; dwells magnanimously and unambitiously in what he has attained to; and carries it into practice with benevolence. What the Yî says, 'The dragon appears in the field:—it will be advantageous to meet with the great man,' has reference to the virtuous qualities of a ruler (as thus described).

32. In the third line there is a twofold (symbol of) strength, but (the position) is not central. (Its

as the summer follows on the spring, according to an illustration of *K'ü Hsî*. 'The advantageousness' and 'firm correctness,' he compares also to the autumn and winter, saying that the *K'ien* power in its essence, as it is in itself, is best described by these two latter characteristics, while the two former describe it in its operation. It is thus that he tries to give his readers an idea of what he understood by 'nature and feelings' in 25. But this chapter treats of the *K'ien* power in nature rather than in humanity. Confining our view to the power so operating, we cannot say that the description of it in 26 and 27 is magniloquent or hyperbolic.

Paragraph 28 returns to the explanations of the lines of the hexagram by the duke of *K'âu*, which exhibit the power in different positions and relations, bringing out all its significance; and then 29 confines us to the fifth line, in which we have its ideal. The spheres of nature and of men seem to be in the view of the author, and therefore I introduce 'the great man,' as the subject, after the example of the best critics. Like the clouds and the rain to the thirsty earth, so is the rule of the sage to expectant humanity.

occupant) is not in heaven above, nor is he in the field beneath. Therefore there must be active vigilance and cautious apprehension as the time requires ; and though (the position be) perilous, there will be no mistake.

33. In the fourth line there is (the symbol of) strength, but (the position) is not central. (Its occupant) is not in heaven above, nor is he in the field beneath, nor is he in the place of man intermediate. Hence he is in perplexity ; and being so, he has doubts about what should be his movements, and so will give no occasion for blame.

34. The great man is he who is in harmony, in his attributes, with heaven and earth ; in his brightness, with the sun and moon ; in his orderly procedure, with the four seasons ; and in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous, in harmony with the spirit-like operations (of Providence). He may precede Heaven, and Heaven will not act in opposition to him ; he may follow Heaven, but will act (only) as Heaven at the time would do. If Heaven will not act in opposition to him, how much less will men ! how much less will the spirit-like operation (of Providence) !

35. The force of that phrase—'exceeding the proper limits'—indicates the knowing to advance but not to retire ; to maintain but not to let perish ; to get but not to lose.

36. He only is the sage who knows to advance and to retire, to maintain and to let perish ; and that without ever acting incorrectly. Yes, he only is the sage !

Chapter VI, paragraphs 30-36. The author leaving the Thwan, turns again to the treatise on the symbolism of the Yáo, his main

SECTION II. KHWĀN.

Chapter I. 1. (What is indicated by) Khwăn is most gentle and weak, but, when put in motion, is

object being to show how reasonable are the decisions and lessons of the duke of Kâu.

The subject of paragraph 30 has the virtue; but his position in the lowest place shows that his time is not yet come.

In paragraph 31 we have the superior man developing, by means of the processes described, into 'the great man,' with the attributes of a ruler, the appearance of whom is a blessing to men.

The twofold symbol of strength in paragraph 32 is the yang or undivided line in the third place (odd) proper to it. There will be no mistake, because the subject of the line, in the exercise of his caution, will abstain from any forward movement.

According to paragraph 63 of last Appendix, Section ii, both the third and fourth lines in the hexagram belong to man, and are intermediate between those of heaven and those of earth. Khung Ying-tâ, to get over the difficulty in what is said on the fourth line, says that, as a matter of fact and locally, man is nearer earth than heaven, and is aptly represented therefore by the third line and not by the fourth;—I prefer to point out the inconsistency, and leave it. The subject of this fourth line will move very cautiously, and so escape blame.

The eulogium of 'the great man' in paragraph 34 cannot fail to recall to the classical scholar the thirty-first and other chapters of 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' where the sage is described as 'The Equal of Heaven.' In one sentence here he is spoken of as sometimes taking precedence of Heaven, which then does not act in opposition to him! I do not know of any statement about the sage, coming without doubt from Confucius, that is so extravagant as this. It is difficult—in fact impossible—to say from the Yî itself, what we are to understand by the kwei shăn, which I have translated here by 'the spirit-like operations (of Providence).' The compound denomination does not often occur in the book. In Appendix III, Section i, 21, kwei is the anima and shăn the animus; and in paragraph 50, I have translated the terms by 'the contracting and expanding operations.' In Appendix I, page 226 and page 259, the name is used as in the present text. That second instance and this

hard and strong; it is most still, but is able to give every definite form.

2. 'By following, it obtains its (proper) lord,' and pursues its regular (course).

3. It contains all things in itself, and its transforming (power) is glorious.

4. Yes, what docility marks the way of Khwăn! It receives the influences of heaven, and acts at the proper time.

Chapter II. 5. The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery. The murder of a ruler by

paragraph were evidently constructed, the one on the model of the other. I think it likely that the breath or air, *khi*, became the name with the earliest Chinese for their first concept of spirit; then the breath inspired or inhaled was called *kwei*, and became the name for the grosser part of the spirit, returning to the earth; and *shăn*, the breath exhaled or expired, the name for the subtler and intellectual spirit, ascending to a state of activity and enjoyment. The explanations of the terms in the *R Yâ* and other dictionaries seem to justify this view. The combination *kwei shăn* is sometimes best translated by 'spiritual beings.' The school of the Sung philosophy understand by it—the contracting and expanding of the primary matter, or that matter conceived of in two forms or with two opposite qualities. *Khâng-ze* says here that 'Heaven and earth are another name for *tâo*, and *kwei shăn* another name for "the vestiges of making and transformation;" and that the sage being in harmony with the *tâo* or practical reason of the universe, how can men or the *kwei shăn* be contrary to him?' Whatever be thought of the Sung speculations and theories, I think that a translator ought to give an indication of the primary meaning of the name *kwei shăn*.

Paragraphs 35 and 36 suggest the description of Confucius by Mencius, V, ii, 1, 5, as the one among the sages who was most governed by the consideration of time, doing continually what the circumstances of the time required.

his minister, or of his father by a son, is not the result of the events of one morning or one evening. The causes of it have gradually accumulated,—through the absence of early discrimination. The words of the Yt, ‘He treads on the hoar-frost; the strong ice will come (by and by),’ show the natural (issue and growth of things).

6. ‘Straight’ indicates the correctness (of the internal principle), and ‘square,’ the righteousness (of the external act). The superior man, (thus represented), by his self-reverence maintains the inward (correctness), and in righteousness adjusts his external acts. His reverence and righteousness being (thus) established, his virtues are not solitary instances or of a single class. ‘Straight, square, and great, working his operations, without repeated efforts, in every respect advantageous :’—this shows how (such a one) has no doubts as to what he does.

7. Although (the subject of) this divided line has excellent qualities, he (does not display them, but) keeps them under restraint. ‘If he engage with them in the service of the king, and be successful, he will not claim that success for himself :’—this is the way of the earth, of a wife, of a minister. The way of the earth is—‘not to claim the merit of achievement,’ but on behalf (of heaven) to bring things to their proper issue.

8. Through the changes and transformations produced by heaven and earth, plants and trees grow luxuriantly. If (the reciprocal influence of) heaven and earth were shut up and restrained, we should have (a state that might suggest to us) the case of men of virtue and ability lying in obscurity. The words of the Yt, ‘A sack tied up :—there will be

no ground for blame or for praise,' are in reality a lesson of caution.

9. The superior man (emblemized here) by the 'yellow' and correct (colour), is possessed of comprehension and discrimination. He occupies the correct position (of supremacy), but (that emblem) is on (the lower part of) his person. His excellence is in the centre (of his being), but it diffuses a complacency over his four limbs, and is manifested in his (conduct of) affairs:—this is the perfection of excellence.

10. (The subject of) the yin (or divided line) thinking himself equal to the (subject of the) yang, or undivided line, there is sure to be 'a contest.' As if indignant at there being no acknowledgment of the (superiority of the subject of the) yang line, (the text) uses the term 'dragons.' But still the (subject of neither line) can leave his class, and hence we have 'the blood' mentioned. The mention of that as being (both) 'azure and yellow' indicates the mixture of heaven and earth. Heaven's (colour) is azure and earth's is yellow.

The hexagram Khwăn is dealt with in Section ii, and much more briefly than *K'ien* in Section i. Much less distinct, moreover, is the attempt in it to show how the attributes of the hexagram are to be understood of the principles of human nature. The most important portion of the Section, perhaps, is paragraph 5, the first of chapter II, and I have spoken of it in the Introduction, pages 47 and 48.

APPENDIX V.

Treatise of Remarks on the Trigrams.

Chapter I. 1. Anciently, when the sages made the Yî, in order to give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences, they produced (the rules for the use of) the divining plant.

2. The number 3 was assigned to heaven, 2 to earth, and from these came the (other) numbers.

3. They contemplated the changes in the divided and undivided lines (by the process of manipulating the stalks), and formed the trigrams; from the movements that took place in the strong and weak lines, they produced (their teaching about) the separate lines. There ensued a harmonious conformity to the course (of duty) and to virtue, with a discrimination of what was right (in each particular case). They (thus) made an exhaustive discrimination of what was right, and effected the complete development of (every) nature, till they arrived (in the Yî) at what was appointed for it (by Heaven).

Chapter I, paragraphs 1-3, treats of the rise of the scheme of the Yî from the wonderful qualities of the divining plant, the use of certain numbers, and the formation of the lineal figures.

P. Regis translates paragraph 1 by—'The ancient (sages), the most excellent men, were the authors of the Yî-king, in making which they were assisted by an intelligent spirit, who for their help produced the plant called Shih.'

But the text will not admit of this version, nor have I found the view given in it in any Chinese writer. It is difficult to make up one's mind whether to translate—'the sage,' or 'the sages.' Khung Ying-tâ contends that the writer had Fû-hsi and him alone in his

Chapter II. 4. Anciently, when the sages made the Yî, it was with the design that (its figures) should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures (of men and things), and the ordinances (for them) appointed (by Heaven). With this view they exhibited (in them) the way of heaven, calling (the lines) yin and yang; the way of earth, calling (them) the weak (or soft) and the strong (or hard); and the way of men, under the names of benevolence

mind. To me it seems otherwise. Fû-hsî, if we accept the testimony of universal Chinese consent, made the eight trigrams; but he did not make the Yî, which, by the same consent, was the production of king Wăn and his son.

The text would seem to say that the sages 'produced' the plant, but this is so extravagant that the view indicated in my supplementary clause appears in all the best commentators. So understood, the Yî may be said to 'give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences,' or, if we take that name as singular (according to the analogy of chapter 6), to the Divine Being in affording a revelation of His will, as in paragraph 3. We may well say that it is a pity the revelation should be so enigmatical; but the author, it must be remembered, is writing from his own standpoint. Wăn and his son, as I have endeavoured to show in the Introduction, merely wished to convey, under the style and veil of divination, their moral and political lessons.

On paragraph 2 it is said that heaven is round; and as the circumference of a circle is three times its diameter, hence 3 is the number of heaven. Again, earth is square, and as the circumference of a square is four times its length or breadth, or it consists of two pairs of equal sides, hence 2 is the number of earth.

The concluding statement about 'the other numbers' is understood of the manipulation of the divining stalks, as in Appendix III, i, 51. That manipulation, thrice repeated, might leave three stalks each time, and $3 \times 3 = 9$; or 2, being in the same way in all = 6; or twice 3 and once 2 = 8; or twice 2 and once 3 = 7. These are the numbers of the 4 binary symbols, employed in forming the new figures; $\equiv \equiv \equiv$, the old yang, = 9; $\equiv \equiv$, the young yin, = 8; $\equiv \equiv$, the young yang, = 7; and $\equiv \equiv$, the old yin, = 6.

and righteousness. Each (trigram) embraced (those) three Powers; and, being repeated, its full form consisted of six lines. A distinction was made of (the places assigned) to the yin and yang lines, which were variously occupied, now by the strong and now by the weak forms, and thus the figure (of each hexagram) was completed.

Chapter III. 5. (The symbols of) heaven and earth received their determinate positions; (those for) mountains and collections of water interchanged their influences; (those for) thunder and wind excited each other the more; and (those for) water and fire did each other no harm. (Then) among these eight symbols there was a mutual communication.

6. The numbering of the past is a natural process; the knowledge of the coming is anticipation. Therefore in the Yî we have (both) anticipation (and the natural process).

Chapter II. The top line in each trigram thus belongs to the category of heaven; the bottom line to that of earth; and the middle line to that of man. The odd places should be occupied, 'correctly,' by the undivided lines; and the even by the divided. The trigram being increased to the hexagram, lines 5 and 6 were assigned to heaven; 1 and 2 to earth; and 3 and 4 to man. 5 is the yang characteristic of heaven, and 6 the yin; so 1 and 2 in regard to earth; while 3 represents the benevolence of man, and 4 his righteousness. But all this is merely the play of fancy, and confuses the mind of the student.

Chapter III, paragraphs 5 and 6, is understood, though not very clearly, by referring to the circular arrangement of the trigrams according to Fû-hsî, as shown in Figure 2, of Plate III. Paragraph 5 refers to the correlation of *K'ien* and *Khwân*, *K'ân* and *Tui*, *K'ân* and *Sun*, *Khân* and *Lî*. Paragraph 6 is less easy of apprehension. Starting in the same figure from *K'ien* and numbering on the left we come to *K'ân* by a natural process. Then

Chapter IV. 7. Thunder serves to put things in motion; wind to scatter (the genial seeds of) them; rain to moisten them; the sun to warm them; (what is symbolised by) *Kăn*, to arrest (and keep them in their places); (by) *Tui*, to give them joyful course; (by) *Khien*, to rule them; and by *Khwăn*, to store them up.

Chapter V. 8. God comes forth in *Kăn* (to His producing work); He brings (His processes) into full and equal action in *Sun*; they are manifested to one another in *Lt*; the greatest service is done for Him in *Khwăn*; He rejoices in *Tui*; He struggles in *Khien*; He is comforted and enters into rest in *Khân*; and He completes (the work of the year) in *Kăn*.

9. All things are made to issue forth in *Kăn*, which is placed at the east. (The processes of production) are brought into full and equal action in *Sun*, which is placed at the south-east. The being brought into full and equal action refers to the purity and equal arrangement of all things. *Lt* gives the idea of brightness. All things are now made mani-

we turn back, and numbering on the right, from *Sun*, we come by a backward process to *Khwăn*. The same process is illustrated on a large scale by the circular arrangement of the 64 hexagrams in Plate I. But what the scope of the paragraph is I cannot tell, and am tempted to say of it, as P. Regis does, 'Haec observatio prorsus inanis est.'

In chapter IV we have the same circular arrangement of the trigrams, though they are named in a different order; the last first and the first last. The first four are mentioned by their elemental names; the last four by the names of their lineal figures. No special significance is attached to this. If it ever had any, it has been lost.

fest to one another. It is the trigram of the south. The sages turn their faces to the south when they give audience to all under the sky, administering government towards the region of brightness :—the idea in this procedure was taken from this. Khwăn denotes the earth, (and is placed at the south-west). All things receive from it their fullest nourishment, and hence it is said, ‘The greatest service is done for Him in Khwăn.’ Tui corresponds (to the west) and to the autumn,—the season in which all things rejoice. Hence it is said, ‘He rejoices in Tui.’ He struggles in K’hien, which is the trigram of the north-west. The idea is that there the inactive and active conditions beat against each other. Khan denotes water. It is the trigram of the exact north,—the trigram of comfort and rest, what all things are tending to. Hence it is said, ‘He is comforted and enters into rest in Khan. Kăn is the trigram of the north-east. In it all things bring to a full end the issues of the past (year), and prepare the commencement of the next. Hence it is said, ‘He completes (the work of the year) in Kăn.’

Chapter V, paragraphs 8 and 9, sets forth the operations of nature in the various seasons, as being really the operations of God, who is named Tî, ‘the Lord and Ruler of Heaven.’ Those operations are represented in the progress by the seasons of the year, as denoted by the trigrams, according to the arrangement of them by king Wăn, as shown also in Plate III, Figure 2.

‘The greatest service is done for Tî in Khwăn;’ Yang Wan-lî (of our twelfth century, but earlier than K’ü Hsi) says :—‘Khwăn is a minister or servant. Tî is his ruler. All that a ruler has to do with his minister is to require his service.’ ‘On the struggles in K’hien’ he says :—‘K’hien is the trigram of the north-west, when the yin influence is growing strong and the yang diminishing.’

The ‘purity’ predicated in paragraph 9 of things in Sun, was

Chapter VI. 10. When we speak of Spirit we mean the subtle (presence and operation of God) with all things. For putting all things in motion there is nothing more vehement than thunder; for scattering them there is nothing more effective than wind; for drying them up there is nothing more parching than fire; for giving them pleasure and satisfaction there is nothing more grateful than a lake or marsh; for moistening them there is nothing more enriching than water; for bringing them to an end and making them begin again there is nothing more fully adapted than Kăn. Thus water and fire contribute together to the one object; thunder and wind do not act contrary to each other; mountains and collections of water interchange their influences. It is in this way, that they are able to change and transform, and to give completion to all things.

explained by *Khăng Khang-khăng* (our second century) as equivalent to 'newness,' referring to the brightness of all things in the light of spring and summer. On 'all things receive from the earth their fullest nourishment' the same Yang, quoted above, says:— 'The earth performs the part of a mother. All things are its children. What a mother has to do for her children is simply to nourish them.'

Chapter VI is the sequel of the preceding. There ought to have been some mention of *Shân* or 'Spirit' in chapter 5. It is the first character in this chapter, and the two characters that follow show that it is here resumed for the purpose of being explained. As it does not occur in chapter 5, we must suppose that the author of it here brings forward and explains the idea of it that was in his mind. Many of the commentators recognise this,—e. g. Liang Yin, as quoted in the Introduction, p. 33.

Two other peculiarities in the style of the chapter are pointed out and explained (after a fashion) by *Shui King* (earlier, probably, than the Sung dynasty):—'The action of six of the trigrams is described, but no mention is made of *Khien* or *Khwan*. But

Chapter VII. 11. *K'ien* is (the symbol of) strength; *Khwăn*, of docility; *K'ăn*, of stimulus to movement; *Sun*, of penetration; *Khan*, of what is precipitous and perilous; *Lî*, of what is bright and what is catching; *Kăn*, of stoppage or arrest; and *Tui*, of pleasure and satisfaction.

heaven and earth do nothing, and yet do everything; hence they are able to perfect the spirit-like subtilty of the action of thunder, wind, and the other things. (Moreover), we have the trigram *Kân* mentioned, the only one mentioned by its name, instead of our reading "mountains." The reason is, that the putting in motion, the scattering, the parching, and the moistening, are all the palpable effects of thunder, wind, fire, and water. But what is ascribed to *Kăn*, the ending and the recommencing all things, is not so evident of mountains. On this account the name of the trigram is given, while the things in nature represented by the trigrams are given in those other cases. The style suitable in each case is employed.'

Chapter VII mentions the attributes, called also the 'virtues,' of the different trigrams. It is not easy to account for the qualities—'their nature and feelings'—ascribed to them. *Khung Ying-tâ* says:—'*K'ien* is represented by heaven, which revolves without ceasing, and so it is the symbol of strength; *Khwăn* by the earth, which receives docilely the action of heaven, and so it is the symbol of docility; *K'ân* by thunder, which excites and moves all things, and so it is the symbol of what produces movement; *Sun* by wind, which enters everywhere, and so it is the symbol of penetration; *Khân* by water, found in a place perilous and precipitous, and the name is explained accordingly; *Lî* by fire, and fire is sure to lay hold of things, and so it is the symbol of being attached to; *Kân* by a mountain, the mass of which is still and arrests progress, and so it is the symbol of stoppage or arrest; and *Tui* by a lake or marsh, which moistens all things, and so it is the symbol of satisfaction.'

The *Khang-hsî* editors consider this explanation of the qualities of the trigrams to be unsatisfactory, and certainly it has all the appearance of an *ex post facto* account. They prefer the views of the philosopher *Shâo* (of our eleventh century), which is based on the arrangement of the undivided and divided lines in the figures. This to me is more unsatisfactory than the other. The editors say,

Chapter VIII. 12. *Khien* (suggests the idea of) a horse; *Khwăn*, that of an ox; *Kăn*, that of the dragon; *Sun*, that of a fowl; *Khan*, that of a pig; *Lî*, that of a pheasant; *Kăn*, that of a dog; and *Tui*, that of a sheep.

Chapter IX. 13. *Khien* suggests the idea of the head; *Khwăn*, that of the belly; *Kăn*, that of the feet; *Sun*, that of the thighs; *Khan*, that of the ears; *Lî*, that of the eyes; *Kăn*, that of the hands; and *Tui*, that of the mouth.

Chapter X. 14. *Khien* is (the symbol of) heaven, and hence has the appellation of father. *Khwăn* is (the symbol of) earth, and hence has the appellation of mother. *Kăn* shows a first application (of *Khwăn* to *Khien*), resulting in getting (the first of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the oldest son.' *Sun* shows a first application (of *Khien* to *Khwăn*), resulting in getting (the first of) its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the oldest daughter.' *Khan* shows a second application

moreover, that Sháo's account of the three yang trigrams, *Kăn*, *Khan*, and *Kăn* is correct, and that of the three yin, *Sun*, *Lî*, and *Tui* incorrect; but this would be based on king Wăn's arrangement, which does not appear to have place here.

Chapter VIII. In the Great Appendix, p. 383, it is said that Fû-hsî, in making his trigrams, was guided by 'the consideration of things apart from his own person.' Of such things we have a specimen here. The creatures are assigned, in their classes, to the different trigrams, symbolising the ideas in the last chapter. We must not make any difference of sex in translating their names.

Chapter IX. Fû-hsî found also 'things near at hand, in his own person,' while making the trigrams. We have here a specimen of such things.

(of Khwăn to *Khien*), resulting in getting (the second of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the second son.' *Lî* shows a second application (of *Khien* to Khwăn), resulting in getting the second of its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the second daughter.' *Kăn* shows a third application (of Khwăn to *Khien*), resulting in getting (the third of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the youngest son.' *Tui* shows a third application (of *Khien* to Khwăn), resulting in getting (the third of) its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the youngest daughter.'

Chapter XI. 15. *Khien* suggests the idea of heaven; of a circle; of a ruler; of a father; of jade; of metal; of cold; of ice; of deep red; of a good horse; of an old horse; of a thin horse; of a piebald horse; and of the fruit of trees.

16. Khwăn suggests the idea of the earth; of a mother; of cloth; of a caldron; of parsimony; of a turning lathe; of a young heifer; of a large wagon; of what is variegated; of a multitude; and of a handle and support. Among soils it denotes what is black.

17. *Kăn* suggests the idea of thunder; of the dragon; of (the union of) the azure and the yellow; of development; of a great highway; of the eldest son; of decision and vehemence; of bright young bamboos; of sedges and rushes; among horses, of

Chapter X has been discussed in the Introduction, pp. 49 and 50. Let it simply be added here, that the account which it does give of the formation of the six subsidiary trigrams is inconsistent with their gradual rise from the mutual imposition of the undivided and divided lines.

the good neigher; of one whose white hind-leg appears, of the prancer, and of one with a white star in his forehead. Among the productions of husbandry it suggests the idea of what returns to life from its disappearance (beneath the surface), of what in the end becomes the strongest, and of what is the most luxuriant.

18. Sun suggests the idea of wood; of wind; of the oldest daughter; of a plumb-line; of a carpenter's square; of being white; of being long; of being lofty; of advancing and receding; of want of decision; and of strong scents. It suggests in the human body, the idea of deficiency of hair; of a wide forehead; of a large development of the white of the eye. (Among tendencies), it suggests the close pursuit of gain, even to making three hundred per cent in the market. In the end it may become the trigram of decision.

19. K han suggests the idea of water; of channels and ditches (for draining and irrigation); of being hidden and lying concealed; of being now straight, and now crooked; of a bow, and of a wheel. As referred to man, it suggests the idea of an increase of anxiety; of distress of mind; of pain in the ears;—it is the trigram of the blood; it suggests the idea of what is red. As referred to horses, it suggests the idea of the horse with an elegant spine; of one with a high spirit; of one with a drooping head; of one with a thin hoof; and of one with a shambling step. As referred to carriages, it suggests one that encounters many risks. It suggests what goes right through; the moon; a thief. Referred to trees, it suggests that which is strong, and firm-hearted.

20. Lî suggests the emblem of fire; of the sun; of lightning; of the second daughter; of buff-coat and helmet; of spear and sword. Referred to men, it suggests the large belly. It is the trigram of dryness. It suggests the emblem of a turtle; of a crab; of a spiral univalve; of the mussel; and of the tortoise. Referred to trees, it suggests one which is hollow and rotten above.

21. Kǎn suggests the emblem of a mountain; of a by-path; of a small rock; of a gateway; of the fruits of trees and creeping plants; of a porter or a eunuch; of the (ring) finger; of the dog; of the rat; of birds with powerful bills; among trees, of those which are strong, with many joints.

22. Tui suggests the emblem of a low-lying collection of water; of the youngest daughter; of a sorceress; of the mouth and tongue; of the decay and putting down (of things in harvest); of the removal (of fruits) hanging (from the stems or branches); among soils, of what is strong and salt; of a concubine; and of a sheep.

Chapter XI may be made to comprehend all the paragraphs from the 15th to the end, and shows how universally the ideas underlying the Yî are diffused through the world of nature. The quality of the several trigrams will be found with more or less of truth, and with less or more of fancy, in the objects mentioned in connexion with them. More needs not to be said on the chapter than has been done in the Introduction, pp. 53 and 54.

APPENDIX VI.

The Orderly Sequence of the Hexagrams.

SECTION I.

1-3. When there were heaven and earth, then afterwards all things were produced. What fills up (the space) between heaven and earth are (those) all things. Hence (*Khien* and *Khwan*) are followed by *Kun*¹. *Kun* denotes filling up.

3-6. *Kun* is descriptive of things on their first production. When so produced, they are sure to be in an undeveloped condition. Hence *Kun* is followed by *Mang*. *Mang* is descriptive of what is undeveloped,—the young of creatures and things. These in that state require to be nourished. Hence *Mang* is followed by *Hsü*. *Hsü* is descriptive of the way in which meat and drink (come to be supplied)². Over meat and drink there are sure to be contentions². Hence *Hsü* is followed by *Sung*.

6-8. *Sung* is sure to cause the rising up of the multitudes³; and hence it is followed by *Sze*. *Sze* has the signification of multitudes³, and between multitudes there must be some bond of union. Hence it is followed by *Pi*, which denotes being attached to.

8-11. (Multitudes in) union must be subjected to some restraint. Hence *Pi* is followed by *Hsiào*

Khû. When things are subjected to restraint, there come to be rites of ceremony, and hence *Hsião Khû* is followed by *Lî*⁴. The treading (on what is proper) leads to *Thâi*, which issues in a state of freedom and repose, and hence *Lî* is followed by *Thâi*.

11-16. *Thâi* denotes things having free course. They cannot have that for ever, and hence it is followed by *Phî* (denoting being shut up and restricted). Things cannot for ever be shut up, and hence *Phî* is followed by *Thung ǞǞn*. To him who cultivates union with men, things must come to belong, and hence *Thung ǞǞn* is followed by *Tâ Yû*. Those who have what is great should not allow in themselves the feeling of being full, and hence *Tâ Yû* is followed by *Khien*. When great possessions are associated with humility, there is sure to be pleasure and satisfaction; and hence *Khien* is followed by *Yü*.

16-19. Where such complacency is awakened, (he who causes it) is sure to have followers⁵. They who follow another are sure to have services (to perform), and hence *Sui* is followed by *Kû*⁶. *Kû* means (the performance of) services. He who performs such services may afterwards become great, and hence *Kû* is followed by *Lin*. *Lin* means great⁶.

19-23. What is great draws forth contemplation, and hence *Lin* is followed by *Kwân*. He who attracts contemplation will then bring about the union of others with himself, and hence *Kwân* is followed by *Shih Ho*. *Shih Ho* means union. But things should not be united in a reckless or irregular way, and hence *Shih Ho* is followed by

Pt. Pt denotes adorning. When ornamentation has been carried to the utmost, its progress comes to an end; and hence Pt is followed by Po. Po denotes decay and overthrow.

23-26. Things cannot be done away for ever. When decadence and overthrow have completed their work at one end, redintegration commences at the other; and hence Po is followed by F û. When the return (thus indicated) has taken place, we have not any rash disorder, and F û is followed by W û Wang. Given the freedom from disorder and insincerity (which this name denotes), there may be the accumulation (of virtue), and W û Wang is followed by T â K h û.

26-30. Such accumulation having taken place, there will follow the nourishment of it; and hence T â K h û is followed by Î. Î denotes nourishing. Without nourishment there could be no movement, and hence Î is followed by T â K wo. Things cannot for ever be in a state of extraordinary (progress); and hence T â K wo is followed by Khân. Khân denotes falling into peril. When one falls into peril, he is sure to attach himself to some person or thing; and hence Khân is followed by L t. L t denotes being attached, or adhering, to.

SECTION II.

31, 32. Heaven and earth existing, all (material) things then got their existence. All (material) things having existence, afterwards there came male and female. From the existence of male and female there came afterwards husband and wife. From

- husband and wife there came father and son. From father and son there came ruler and minister. From ruler and minister there came high and low. When (the distinction of) high and low had existence, afterwards came the arrangements of propriety and righteousness.

The rule for the relation of husband and wife is that it should be long-enduring. Hence Hsien is followed by Hăng. Hăng denotes long enduring¹.

32-37. Things cannot long abide in the same place; and hence Hăng is followed by Thun. Thun denotes withdrawing. Things cannot be for ever withdrawn; and hence Thun is succeeded by Tâ Kwang. Things cannot remain for ever (simply) in the state of vigour; and hence Tâ Kwang is succeeded by 3in. 3in denotes advancing. (But) advancing is sure to lead to being wounded; and hence 3in is succeeded by Ming Î. Î denotes being wounded. He who is wounded abroad will return to his home; and hence Ming Î is followed by Kiâ Zăn.

37-40. When the right administration of the family is at an end, misunderstanding and division will ensue; and hence Kiâ Zăn is followed by Khwei. Khwei denotes misunderstanding and division; and such a state is sure to give rise to difficulties and complications. Khwei therefore is followed by Kien. Kien denotes difficulties; but things cannot remain for ever in such a state. Kien therefore is followed by Kieh, which denotes relaxation and ease.

40-44. In a state of relaxation and ease there are sure to be losses; and hence Kieh is followed

by Sun. But when Sun (or diminution) is going on without end, increase is sure to come. Sun therefore is followed by Yî. When increase goes on without end, there is sure to come a dispersing of it, and hence Yî is followed by Kwâi. Kwâi denotes dispersion. But dispersion must be succeeded by a meeting (again). Hence Kwâi is followed by Kâu, which denotes such meeting.

44-48. When things meet together, a collection is then formed. Hence Kâu is followed by 3hui, which name denotes being collected. When (good men) are collected and mount to the highest places, there results what we call an upward advance; and hence 3hui is followed by Shăng. When such advance continues without stopping, there is sure to come distress; and hence Shăng is followed by Khwăn. When distress is felt in the height (that has been gained), there is sure to be a return to the ground beneath; and hence Khwăn is followed by 3ing.

48, 49. What happens under 3ing requires to be changed, and hence it is followed by Ko (denoting change).

49-55. For changing the substance of things there is nothing equal to the caldron; and hence Kǒ is followed by Ting. For presiding over (that and all other) vessels, no one is equal to the eldest son, and hence Ting is followed by Kăn. Kăn conveys the idea of putting in motion. But things cannot be kept in motion for ever. The motion is stopped; and hence Kăn is followed by Kăn, which gives the idea of arresting or stopping. Things cannot be kept for ever in a state of repression, and hence Kăn is followed by Kien, which gives the idea of

(gradually) advancing. With advance there must be a certain point that is arrived at, and hence *K'ien* is succeeded by *Kwei Mei*. When things thus find the proper point to which to come, they are sure to become great. Hence *Kwei Mei* is succeeded by *Fǎng*, which conveys the idea of being great.

55-57. He whose greatness reaches the utmost possibility, is sure to lose his dwelling; and hence *Fǎng* is succeeded by *Lü* (denoting travellers or strangers). We have in it the idea of strangers who have no place to receive them, and hence *Lü* is followed by *Sûn*, which gives the idea of (penetrating and) entering.

57-59. One enters (on the pursuit of his object), and afterwards has pleasure in it; hence *Sûn* is followed by *Tui*. *Tui* denotes pleasure and satisfaction. This pleasure and satisfaction (begins) afterwards to be dissipated, and hence *Tui* is followed by *Hwan*, which denotes separation and division.

59-62. A state of division cannot continue for ever, and therefore *Hwan* is followed by *3ieh*. *3ieh* (or the system of regulations) having been established, men believe in it, and hence it is followed by *K'ung Fû*. When men have the belief which *K'ung Fû* implies, they are sure to carry it into practice; and hence it is succeeded by *Hsião Kwo*.

62-64. He that surpasses others is sure to remedy (evils that exist), and therefore *Hsião Kwo* is succeeded by *K'í 3í*. But the succession of events cannot come to an end, and therefore *K'í 3í* is

succeeded by Wei 31, with which (the hexagrams) come to a close.

The few sentences on this Appendix in the Introduction, pp. 54, 55, are sufficient. It shows the importance of the meaning of the name in the attempt to explain the lineal figures, and prepares us to expect on each one a brief enigmatical essay, which, it has been seen, is the nature of the Text. But the writer, whoever he was, is by no means careful always to follow that Text in the significance of the characters, as will appear in the few instances to which attention is called in the following notices. The treatise is too slight to require, or to justify, an exhibition of all its inaccuracies.

¹ But *Kun* does not denote filling up. It is the symbol of being in a state of distress and difficulty. The writer is thinking of the result of the interaction of heaven and earth as being to fill all between them with the various forms of living beings; and to represent that he gives the result of *Kun*, and not its meaning. He makes a blunder which might have been easily avoided, for he adds immediately that the character is descriptive of things on their first production.

² It is difficult to follow the writer here. *Hsü* in the Text is the symbol of the idea of waiting. Does he mean that a provision of food and drink can only be made gradually? There is nothing in the character *Hsü* to awaken in the mind the idea of nourishment. Then the genesis of contention which is given is strange. The writer probably had in his mind the lines of the *Shih*, II, i, ode 5. 3:—

‘The loss of kindly feeling oft
From slightest things shall grow.
Where all the fare is dry and spare,
Resentments fierce may glow.’

But what is allowable, good even, in poetry, is out of place in this treatise.

³ Contention on a great scale will put all the population of a state in excitement and motion, and military measures of repression will be necessary. But the idea of the multitudes in *Sze* would seem to be simply that of number, and not that of a numerous host. In a feudal kingdom, however, all the able-bodied people might be required to join the army.

⁴ Lî, the name of the 10th hexagram, is the symbol for a shoe, and the act of treading or walking. It seems here to be derived from the homophonous lî, the symbol of acts of ceremony. The identity of sound or name must be considered as accidental. A measured step would be one of the first ways in which the inward sense of propriety would manifest itself.

⁵ By the subject of Tâ Yû and K'ien we must understand the possessor of the kingdom,—the great man who in his greatness is yet distinguished by humility. He attracts followers.

⁶ For the true meaning of K'û and Lin, the names of hexagrams 18, 19, see what is said in the notes on the Text of them.

⁷ The same reference should be made to the notes on the Text of Hsien and many of the other hexagrams that follow.

APPENDIX VII.

Treatise on the Hexagrams taken promiscuously, according to the opposition or diversity of their meaning.

This last of the Appendixes is touched on very briefly in the concluding paragraph of the Introduction, p. 55. It is stated there to be in rhyme, and I have endeavoured to give a similar form to the following version of it. The rhymes and length of the lines in the original, however, are very irregular, and I found it impossible to reproduce that irregularity in English.

- 1, 2. Strength in *K'ien*, weakness in *Khwăn*
we find.
- 8, 7. *Pi* shows us joy, and *Sze* the anxious
mind.
- 19, 20. *Lín* gives, *Kwân* seeks;—such are the
several themes
Their different figures were to teach de-
signed.
3. *K'un* manifests itself, yet keeps its place;
4. 'Mid darkness still, to light *Măng* sets
its face.
- 51, 52. *Kǎn* starts; *Kǎn* stops. In *Sun* and *Yi*
are seen
- 41, 42. How fulness and decay their course begin.
26. *Tâ K'û* keeps still, and waits the proper
time.
25. *Wû Wang* sets forth how evil springs
from crime.

- 45, 46. Good men in 3hui collect; in Shǎng
they rise:
- 15, 16. *K'ien* itself, Yü others doth despise.
- 21, 22. Shih Ho takes eating for its theme; and
P1
Takes what is plain, from ornament quite
free.
- 58, 57. Tui shows its scope, but Sun's we do
not see.
- 17, 18. Sui quits the old; Kû makes a new
decree.
23. We see in Po its subject worn away;
24. And Fû shows its recovering from decay.
35. Above in 3in the sun shines clear and
bright;
36. But in Ming Î 'tis hidden from the
sight.
- 48, 47. Progress in 3ing in Khwăn encounters
blight.
31. Effect quick answering cause in Hsien
appears;
32. While Hǎng denotes continuance for
years.
- 59, 60. Hwân scatters; but 3ieh its code of
rules uprears.
40. Relief and ease with *Kieh* are sure to
come;
41. Hard toil and danger have in *Kien* their
home.
38. Khwei looks on others as beyond its care;
37. *Kiâ Zăn* all includes within its sphere.

- 12, 11. While Phî and Thâi their different scopes
prefer,
- 34, 33. Tâ K'wang stops here as right; withdraws
Thun there.
14. Tâ Yû adhering multitudes can show;
13. Thung Zăn reflects their warm affection's
glow.
- 50, 51. Ting takes what's new; the old is left
by Ko.
- 61, 62. Sincere is Kung Fû; but exceeds, Hsião
Kwo.
- 55, 56. Făng tells of trouble; Lü can boast few
friends.
- 30, 29. Fire mounts in Lî; water in Khân
descends.
9. Hsião K'û with few 'gainst many foes
contends.
10. Movement in Lî, unresting, never ends.
5. Hsü shows its subject making no advance:
6. In Sung we seek in vain a friendly glance;
28. And Tâ Kwo's overthrown with sad mis-
chance.
44. Kâu shows a meeting, where the many
strong
Are met by one that's weak, yet struggles
long.
53. In K'ien we see a bride who will delay
To move until the bridegroom takes his
way.
27. Body and mind are nourished right in Î;
63. All things are well established in K'î 31.

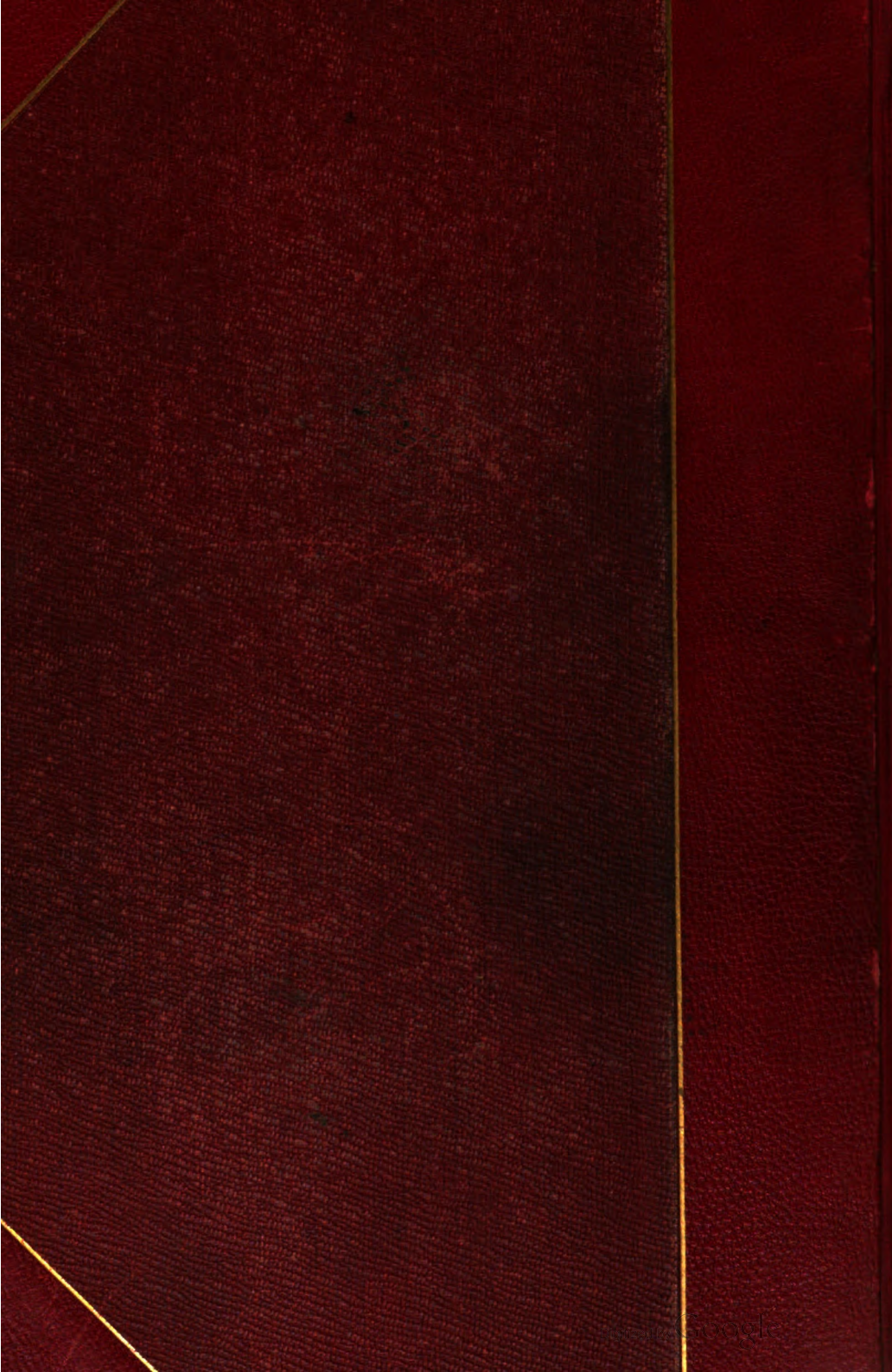
54. Kwei Mei reveals how ends the virgin life ;
64. Wei 3t how fails the youth (to get a wife).
43. The strong disperse the weak ; K wâi teaches so.
Prosper the good man's way ; to grief all small
men go.
-

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 3 (ng) } { 𐬚 (N) }	.	.	.	.	.	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬛 (ho hu)	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
11 " asper fricatus	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	k	
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	kh	
15 Media	.	g	.	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	.	
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	.	
17 " Nasalis	.	h	.	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	.	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨 init.	𐬨	ی	ی	,	y
19 Spiritus asper	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus	...	s	...	श	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	th
25 " assibilata	d	...	TH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
26 Media	dh	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata	n	...	DH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	n
29 Nasalis	l	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	l
30 Semivocalis	...	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
31 " mollis 1	...	l	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2	...	...	L	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2	...	s (f)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1	...	z (g)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
37 " asperimus 2	...	z (g)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutral	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ	𐬄	𐬄	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ū			ऊ	𐬅	𐬅	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			ऋ	𐬆	𐬆	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ṛ			ॠ	𐬇	𐬇	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u	(u)		व	𐬈	𐬈	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū			वृ	𐬉	𐬉	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ॐ	𐬊	𐬊	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		ॐ	𐬋	𐬋	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		ॐ	𐬌	𐬌	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		𐬍	𐬎	𐬎	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			...	...	...	...	...	...	...





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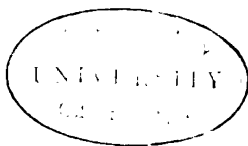
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VOL. XVII



Oxford

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VINAYA TEXTS

TRANSLATED FROM THE PÂLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

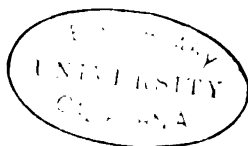
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HERMANN OLDENBERG

PART II

THE MAHÂVAGGA, V—X

THE KULLAVAGGA, I—III



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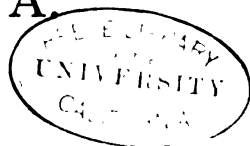
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MAHÂVAGGA.



FIFTH KHANDHAKA.

(RULES FOR FOOT-CLOTHING, SEATS, VEHICLES, ETC.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at Râgagaha at the Vulture's Peak.

Now at that time Seniya Bimbisâra, the king of Magadha, held rule and sovranty over eighty thousand townships¹. And at that time there was at *Kampâ* a *Setthi*'s son named *Sona Koḷivisa*², delicately nurtured, on the soles of whose feet hair had grown.

Now when Seniya Bimbisâra, the king of Magadha, was holding an assembly of the eighty thousand overseers over those townships, he sent a message to *Sona Koḷivisa* on some matter of business, saying, 'Let *Sona* come hither. I desire *Sona*'s presence!'

2. Then spake the parents of *Sona Koḷivisa* to him thus: 'The king, dear *Sona*, wishes to see thy feet. But stretch not out thy feet, dear *Sona*, towards the

¹ *Gâma*, which should be understood in the sense of parishes, not of villages.

² This *Sona* is the reputed author of one of the Theragâthâs. It is interesting to notice that *Kampâ*, the capital of *Ânga*, is here included under Magadha. Compare *Ânga-magadhesu* in *Mahâvagga* I, 19, and the beginning sentences of the *Sonadanda* Sutta (*Digha Nikâya*), in which it is said that the revenues of the town of *Kampâ* had been bestowed by king Bimbisâra on the *Brâhmana* *Sonadanda*.

king. Take thy seat cross-legged before the king, that the king may see thy feet as thou sittest there.' And they carried Sona Koḷivisa in a palankeen (to Rāgagaha).

And Sona Koḷivisa went to the place where Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, was. And when he had come there, and had bowed down before Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, he took his seat cross-legged before the king. And Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, saw that hair had grown on the soles of the feet of Sona Koḷivisa.

3. Now after Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, had instructed the eighty thousand overseers over those townships in the things of this world he exhorted them, saying, 'Ye have now received from me instruction in the things of this world. Go now, and wait upon the Blessed One. The Blessed One himself shall instruct you in the things of eternity.'

Then the eighty thousand overseers over those townships went on to the Vulture's Peak.

4. Now at that time the venerable Sāgata was the attendant on the Blessed One. And the eighty thousand overseers over those townships went to the place where the venerable Sāgata was. And when they were come there they spake thus to the venerable Sāgata :

'The eighty thousand overseers over the townships are come here, Sir, to visit the Blessed One. It were well, Sir, that we should be granted an audience of the Blessed One.'

'Then do you, Sirs, stay here yet a moment, while I let the Blessed One know.'

5. Then the venerable Sâgata disappeared down the steps¹ from before the very eyes of the eighty thousand overseers over those townships, and appeared before the Blessed One, and spake to the Blessed One, and said :

‘Lord, the eighty thousand overseers over the townships are come here to visit the Blessed One. Let the Blessed One do as seemeth to him fit.’

‘Do thou then, Sâgata, make a seat ready in the shade of the house².’

6. ‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Sâgata, in assent, to the Blessed One. And taking a chair, he disappeared from before the Blessed One, and reappeared up the steps before the very eyes of those eighty thousand overseers over those townships, and made ready a seat in the shade of the house.

And the Blessed One came out of the house and sat down on the seat made ready in the shade thereof.

7. Then those eighty thousand overseers over the townships went up to the place where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there they bowed down before the Blessed One and took their seats on one side. But those eighty thousand overseers over the townships paid more respect in their hearts to the venerable Sâgata than to the Blessed One³.

And the Blessed One perceived by his mind the thoughts of the minds of those eighty thousand

¹ Pâsikâya nimuggitvâ ’ti sopânassa heṭṭhâ addhaṭṭandapâsâṇena nimuggitvâ (Comm.).

² Vihârapaṭṭhâyâyan ti vihaṭṭapattante ṭṭhâyâyam.

³ Samannâharantīti pasâdavasena punappunam manasikaronti (Buddhaghosa).

overseers over the townships ; and he addressed the venerable Sâgata, and said : ' Show them now, Sâgata, a still greater wonder, beyond the power of men.'

' Even so, Lord !' said the venerable Sâgata, in assent, to the Blessed One. And rising up into the air he walked, and stood, and sat, and lay down, and gave forth smoke and fire, and disappeared in the sky.

8. Then the venerable Sâgata, when he had shown in the open sky wonders of various kinds beyond the power of men, fell down with his head at the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One :

' My teacher, Lord, is the Blessed One ; and I am the disciple. My teacher, Lord, is the Blessed One ; and I am the disciple.'

Then those eighty thousand overseers over the townships thinking, ' Wonderful is it, most marvellous ! If even the pupil be so mighty and so powerful, how much more then the master !' paid more respect in their hearts to the Blessed One than to the venerable Sâgata.

9. Then the Blessed One perceived by his mind the thoughts of the minds of those eighty thousand overseers over the townships, and held to them a discourse in due order ; that is to say, he spake to them of giving, of righteousness, of heaven, of the danger, the worthlessness, the depravity of lusts, and of the advantages of renunciation. And when the Blessed One perceived that they had become pliant, softened, unprejudiced, upraised and believing in heart, then he proclaimed that which is the special doctrine of the Buddhas ; (that is to say), Suffering, its Origin, its Cessation, and the Path.

Just as a clean cloth, from which all stain has been washed away, would readily take the dye, just even so did those eighty thousand overseers over the townships obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth; (that is to say, the knowledge that) whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution.

10. And having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, having understood the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, they said to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious, Lord! Just as if one should set up, Lord, what had been overturned, or should reveal what had been hidden, or should point out the way to one who had lost his way, or should bring a lamp into the darkness, in order that those who had eyes might see visible things, thus has the Blessed One preached the doctrine in many ways. We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus; may the Blessed One receive us from this day forth while our life lasts as his disciples who have taken their refuge in Him.'

11. And *Sona Koḷivisa* thought: 'As I understand the Dhamma proclaimed by the Blessed One, it is not easy to a person living as a layman to lead a wholly perfect and pure and altogether consummate¹ life of holiness. What if I were to cut off my hair and beard, and to put on yellow robes, and give up the world, and go forth into the houseless state.'

¹ *Saṅkhalikhita*. See Boehtlingk-Roth s. v. *Likhita*.

And those eighty thousand overseers over the townships, having expressed their joy and delight at the words of the Blessed One, rose from their seats, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with their right sides towards him, went away.

12. And *Sona Koḷivisa*, soon after those eighty thousand overseers over the townships had departed, went to the place where the Blessed One was. And when he had come there he bowed down before the Blessed One and took his seat on one side. Sitting on one side *Sona Koḷivisa* said to the Blessed One : 'As I understand the Dhamma proclaimed by the Blessed One (&c., as in § 11, down to :) and go forth into the houseless state. I desire, Lord, to cut off my hair and beard, and to put on yellow robes, and to give up the world, and to go forth into the houseless state. May the Blessed One, Lord, ordain me.'

Thus *Sona Koḷivisa* received from the Blessed One the pabbaggā and upasāmpadā ordinations. And the venerable *Sona*, soon after his upasāmpadā, dwelt in the *Stavana* grove.

13. As he, with eager determination, was walking up and down there, his feet were injured, and the place in which he walked became covered with blood, like a slaughter-house for oxen. Then in the mind of the venerable *Sona*, who had gone apart and was plunged in meditation, there sprang up this thought :

'Though I have become one of those disciples of the Blessed One who live in the exercise of strenuous determination, yet my heart has not been set free from the *Āsavas* through absence of craving. And there is much wealth laid up for me at home. It is possible both to enjoy that wealth, and to do good

deeds. Let me now, then, returning to the lower state¹, enjoy my wealth and do good deeds.'

14. Now the Blessed One perceived in his mind the thought of the heart of the venerable *Sona*; and as quickly as a strong man can stretch forth his arm, or can draw it back again when it has been stretched forth, he disappeared from the hill of the Vulture's Peak, and appeared in the *Sitavana* grove. And the Blessed One, as he was passing through the sleeping-places (of the *Bhikkhus*), came up, with a multitude of *Bhikkhus*, to the place where the venerable *Sona* had walked up and down.

When the Blessed One saw that the place where the venerable *Sona* had walked up and down was covered with blood, he addressed the *Bhikkhus*, and said: 'Whose walking-place² is this, O *Bhikkhus*, which is covered with blood, like a slaughter-house for oxen?'

'As the venerable *Sona*, Lord, was walking up and down here with eager determination, his feet were injured; and so this place has become covered with blood, like a slaughter-house for oxen.'

15. Then the Blessed One went on to the house in which the venerable *Sona* was living, and sat down there on a seat made ready for him. And the venerable *Sona* bowed down before the Blessed

¹ That is to say, the state of a layman (*Hīnāy' āvattitvā*).

² *Kaṅkama*, for which there is no real equivalent in English. In speaking of later periods the word 'cloister' is sometimes a correct rendering, for the places in which the recluses walked up and down, thinking, were then in some cases paved and even roofed. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing has a description of such a stone *kaṅkama*, which he saw at the great monastery at *Nālanda* (Indian Antiquary, X, 192). In this passage it only means a narrow, open, space of ground, levelled and cleared for the purpose.

One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Soṇa*, and said : ' Is it not true, *Soṇa*, that in your mind, when you had gone apart and were plunged in meditation, there sprung up this thought : " Though I have become (&c., as in § 13, down to the end) ? "'

' Even so, Lord !'

' Now what think you, *Soṇa*,—you were skilled, were you not, when you formerly lived in the world, in the music of the lute ?'

' That was so, Lord !'

' Now what think you, *Soṇa*,—when the strings of your lute¹ were too much stretched, had your lute then any sound, was it in a fit state to be played upon ?'

' Not so, Lord !'

16. ' Now what think you, *Soṇa*,—when the strings of your lute were too loose, had your lute then any sound², was it in a fit state to be played upon ?'

' Not so, Lord !'

' Now what think you, *Soṇa*,—when the strings of your lute were neither too much stretched nor too loose, but fixed in even proportion, had your lute sound then, was it then in a fit state to be played upon ?'

' Yes, Lord !'

' And just so, *Soṇa*, does too eager a determination conduce to self-righteousness, and too weak a deter-

¹ *Vīṇā*. On the construction of the ancient Indian lute, see *Milinda Pañha* (p. 53, ed. Trenckner), where all the various parts are mentioned. Compare also the *Guttīla Gāṭaka* (No. 243, ed. Fausbøll).

² There is a misprint here in the text, *savaratī* for *saravati*.

mination to sloth. [17.] Do thou, therefore, O *Sona*, be steadfast in evenness of determination, press through to harmony of your mental powers. Let that be the object of your thought¹!

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable *Sona*, and hearkened to the word of the Blessed One.

And when the Blessed One had exhorted the venerable *Sona* with this exhortation, then, as quickly as a strong man can stretch forth his arm, or can draw it back again when it has been stretched forth, he vanished from the presence of the venerable *Sona* in the *Sitavana* grove, and reappeared on the hill of the Vulture’s Peak.

18. Thenceforward the venerable *Sona* was steadfast in evenness of determination, he pressed through to harmony of his mental powers, that did he take as the object of his thought. And the venerable *Sona* remaining alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved, attained ere long to that supreme goal of the higher life for the sake of which noble youths go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers—yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realise, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that rebirth was at an end, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

¹ *Buddhaghosa* says: *Tattha ka nimittam gaṇhāhīti: tasmiṃ samathe sati yena ādāse mukhabimben’ eva nimittena uppaggi-tabbam, tam samatha-nimittam vipassanā-nimittam magga-nimittam phala-nimittañ ka gaṇhāhi nipatteti (nippādehīti, nibbattehīti) attho.*

So the venerable *Sona* became yet another among the Arahats.

19. Now when the venerable *Sona* had attained to Arahatship there occurred to him the thought: 'Let me now make known my Insight in the presence of the Blessed One¹!'

Then the venerable *Sona* went to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, the venerable *Sona* said to the Blessed One:

20. 'Whatsoever Bhikkhu, Lord, is an Arahats whose Āsavas are rooted out, who has lived the life, who has accomplished the task, who has laid aside every burden, who has gained the end he had in view, who has quite broken the fetter of a craving for (future) existence, who is completely set free by insight, six things doth he reach up unto²—unto renunciation, unto the love of solitude, unto kindness of heart, unto the destruction of craving, unto the destruction of thirst, unto the getting free from delusions.

21. 'Now it may be, Lord, that it might occur, regarding this matter, to some brother, thus: "For the sake of faith merely³ hath this brother attained

¹ It is often represented in the Pāli Piṭakas to have been a customary thing for any one who thought he had attained to Arahatship to deliver a discourse in the presence of Gotama, as a kind of proof, or test, of his emancipation; and to receive the decision of Gotama thereupon. Buddhaghosa says: *Aññam vyākareyyan ti: arahā ahan ti gāṇāpeyyam*. Compare *Gāṭaka* I, 140; II, 333.

² *Adhimutto hotīti: paṣīvigghitvā paṭṭakkham katvā tīhi hoti* (B.).

³ *Kevalam saddhāmattakan ti: paṣīvedha-rahitam kevalam paṣīvedha-paññāya asammissam saddhāmattakam* (B.). On the lower position here assigned to faith, compare *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 9.

unto renunciation." But not thus, Lord, should this matter be regarded. For the Bhikkhu in whom the Âsavas are rooted out, who has lived the life, who has accomplished the task, he looks not upon himself as one who has anything yet to do, or to gather up, of (the fruit of his past) labour; but he attaineth to renunciation by the destruction of lust, by the very condition of the absence of lust; he attaineth to renunciation by the destruction of ill-will, by the very condition of the absence of ill-will; he attaineth to renunciation by the destruction of delusions, by the very condition of the absence of delusions.

22. 'Now it may be, Lord, that it might occur, regarding this matter, to some brother, thus: "Seeking after gain, hospitality, and fame hath this brother attained to the love of solitude." But not thus (&c., as in § 21, down to the end, substituting "love of solitude" for "renunciation").

23. 'Now it may be, Lord, that it might occur, regarding this matter, to some brother, thus: "Returning, verily, to the dependence upon works, as if that were the true essence (of spiritual welfare), hath this brother attained to kindness of heart." But not thus (&c., as in § 21, down to the end, substituting "kindness of heart" for "renunciation").

24. 'He attaineth to the destruction of craving by the destruction of lust (&c., as in § 21, down to the end, substituting "absence of craving" for "renunciation"). He attaineth to the absence of thirst (&c., as in § 21). He attaineth to the absence of delusions (&c., as in § 21, down to the end).

25. 'When a Bhikkhu, Lord, has thus become fully emancipated in heart, even though many objects

visible to the sight should enter the path of his eye¹, yet they take not possession of his mind : undefiled is his mind, firm, immovable ; and he sees into the (manner which that impression) passes away²—even though many objects audible to the ear, smellable to the nostrils, tastable to the tongue, feelable by the body, sensible to the intellect should enter the path of the ear, the nose, the tongue, the skin, the intellect, yet they take not possession of his mind : undefiled is his mind, firm, immovable, and he sees into the (manner in which that impression) passes away.

26. 'Just, Lord, as if there be a mountain of rock, undivided, solid, one mass, and much wind and rain should fall upon it from the direction of the East, or of the West, or of the North, or of the South, yet they would not make it shake, or tremble, or quake ; just so, Lord, when a Bhikkhu has thus become fully emancipated in heart (&c., as in § 25, down to the end).

27. 'He who has attained to renunciation, to solitude of heart, who has attained to kindness, and to the rooting out of craving,—

'He who has attained to the rooting out of thirst, to the absence of delusions from the mind, he sees the source of sensations, his mind is quite set free.

'To such a Bhikkhu, so emancipated, and with calmness in his heart, there is no gathering up of what is done, nothing to be done still remains.

'As a rock, all of one mass, is not shaken by

¹ *Kakkhussa âpâtham âgaḁḁhanti* ; that is, should come within reach of his vision.

² *Vayaṇ k' assânupassatîti : tassa kîttassa uppâdam pi vayam pi passati* (B.).

the breezes¹, just so never can shapes and tastes, and sounds, and smells, and touch—the whole of them

‘Things wished for, things unwished—make tremble such a one. Firm is his mind, set free. He sees into the end thereof.’

28. And the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: ‘Thus, brethren, do young men of worth make their insight known. The truth is spoken, and the self is not obtruded. But herein some foolish ones, methinks, make known their insight to be a thing ridiculous, and they, thereafter, fall into defeat!’

29. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Sona, ‘You, Sona, have been delicately nurtured. I enjoin upon you, Sona, the use of shoes with one lining².’

‘I have gone out from the world, Lord, into the houseless state, abandoning eighty cart-loads of gold³, and a retinue of seven elephants⁴. It will be said against me for this matter: “Sona Koṭṭhisa went out from the world into the houseless state, abandoning eighty cart-loads of gold, and a retinue of seven elephants; but the very same man now accustoms himself to the use of shoes with a lining

¹ This half sloka recurs in Dhammapada, verse 81.

² Ekapalāsikan ti eka-paṭalam (B.).

³ Asīti-sakaṭa-vāhe hiraṇṇam (so correct the misprint in the text). Buddhaghosa says: ettha dve sakaṭabhārā eko vāho ‘ti vedītabbo; but compare Rh. D., ‘Ancient Coins and Measures,’ &c., p. 18, § 32, and p. 14, § 23. Vāha occurs also in the Mahāvamsa, p. 22.

⁴ Sattahatthikaṇi ka anīkan ti: ettha kha hatthiniyo eko ka hatthi, idam ekam anīkam, idisani satta anīkāni sattahatthikam nāma (B.).

to them." [30.] If the Blessed One will enjoin their use upon the Order of Bhikkhus, I will also use them. If the Blessed One will not enjoin their use upon the Order of Bhikkhus, neither will I use them.'

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

'I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, the use of shoes with one lining to them. Doubly lined shoes, Bhikkhus, are not to be worn, nor trebly lined ones, nor shoes with many linings¹. Whosoever shall wear such, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.'

2.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of wearing slippers all of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, or yellowish colour². People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, '(These act) like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world³.' The brethren told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Do not wear, O Bhikkhus, shoes that are all of

¹ *Dvi-guṇā 'ti dvi-paṭalā. Ti-guṇā 'ti ti-paṭalā. Ganamganū-pāhanā 'ti katu-paṭalato paṭṭhāya vuṭṭati* (B.).

² *Nilikā ummāra-puppha-vannā hoti; pitikā kanikāra-puppha-vannā; lohikā gayasumana-puppha-vannā; maṅgetṭhikā maṅgetṭhi-vannā eva; kanhā afāritṭhaka-vannā; mahāraṅgarattā satapada-piṭṭhi-vannā* (Mahāragana is saffron; the colour of the back of a centipede is brownish yellow), *mahānāmarattā sambhinna-vannā hoti paṇḍu-palāsa-vannā, Kurundiyaṃ pana paduma-puppha-vannā 'ti vuttam* (B.).

³ Read *gihikāmaḥogino* (as corrected at vol. ii. p. 363).

a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, or yellowish colour. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

2. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of wearing shoes with edges of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, or yellowish colour.

People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'These act like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world.' The brethren told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Do not wear, O Bhikkhus, shoes that have edges of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, or yellowish colour. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

3. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of wearing shoes with heel-coverings¹; mocassins²; laced boots³; boots lined with cotton⁴; boots of various hues, like the wings of partridges⁵; boots pointed with rams' horns, and with goats' horns⁶; ornamented with scorpions'

¹ All the names of boots or shoes are of doubtful meaning; and as the use of every sort of foot-covering has long been given up among those Buddhists who have preserved the use of the Pāli language, Buddhaghosa's explanations are not very reliable. He says here: *Khallaka-baddhā 'ti pañhi-pidhānattham tale khallakam bandhitvā katā*.

² *Puṭabaddhā 'ti Yonaka-upāhanā vuttati, yāva gaṅghato sabba-pādam pañikkhādeti*.

³ *Pāligunṭhimā 'ti paligunṭhitvā katā upari-pāda-mattam eva pañikkhādeti na gaṅgham*.

⁴ *Tūlapunnikā 'ti tūlapunnā pūretvā katā*.

⁵ *Tittirapattikā 'ti tittira-patta-sadisa-viṭṭira-baddhā*.

⁶ *Mendā-visāna-baddhikā 'ti kannika-//hāne mendaka-siṅga-saṇṭhāne vaddhe yogetvā katā. Aga-visāna-vaddhikādisu pi es' eva nayo*.

tails¹; sewn round with peacocks' feathers²; or shoes of all kinds of colours³.

People were annoyed (&c., as in § 2, down to :) told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Do not wear, O Bhikkhus, shoes with heel-coverings (&c., as in § 3, down to :) shoes of all kinds of colours. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

4. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of wearing shoes adorned with lion-skins⁴, tiger-skins, panther-skins, antelope-skins, otter-skins⁵, cat-skins, squirrel-skins, and owl-skins⁶.

People were annoyed (&c., as in § 3, down to the end, substituting 'shoes adorned with lion-skins, &c.,' for 'shoes with heel-coverings, &c.')

3.

1. Now the Blessed One, having dressed early in the morning, went into Rāgagaha, duly bowled and robed, for alms, with a certain Bhikkhu as his companion. And that Bhikkhu followed limping step by step behind the Blessed One.

¹ *Vikkhikālikā* 'ti tathā' eva *vikkhika-naṅgutta-saṅghāne* vaddhe yogetvā katā.

² *Morapiṇḍhaparisibbitā* (sic) 'ti talesu vā baddhesu vā mora-*viṇṇhehi* (sic) *suttakasadisehi* *parisibbitā*.

³ *Kītrā* 'ti *viṇṇā*.

⁴ *Siha-kamma-parikkhatā* nāma *pariyantesu*, *āvaresu* *anuvātam* *viya* *sīhakkammam* yogetvā katā.

⁵ *Udda*, an animal, feeding on fish; but Childers thinks it is not an amphibious creature, and therefore not 'otter.'

⁶ *Lūka-kamma-parikkhatā* (sic) 'ti *pakkha-biḍāla-kamma-parikkhatā*. The latter is the flying fox, a large kind of bat.

Now a certain lay-disciple who had put on a pair of shoes with many linings, saw the Blessed One approaching from afar. And when he saw him, he took off that pair of shoes and went up to the Blessed One, and saluted him; and went on to that Bhikkhu, and saluted him, and said:

2. 'Why does your reverence limp?'

'My feet, friend, are blistered.'

'But here, Sir, are shoes.'

'Enough, good friend! shoes with linings have been forbidden by the Blessed One.'

'Take the shoes, O Bhikkhu ¹!'

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of shoes with linings, when they have been cast off by others ². But new shoes with linings are not to be worn. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

4.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One walked up and down in the open air ³ unshod. Noticing that, 'The Master walks unshod,' the Elders (the Thera Bhikkhus) also went unshod when they were walking up and down ³. But though the Master and the Thera Bhikkhus went unshod, the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus walked up and down with coverings on their feet.

¹ This must be understood as spoken by the Buddha.

² Omukkan ti paṣimuñḥitvā apantam (B.).

³ This walking up and down thinking is represented as a constant habit of the early Buddhist Samānas.

The temperate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can these *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus walk shod, when the Master and the Thera Bhikkhus walk unshod?'

2. Then those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, what they say, O Bhikkhus, that the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus walk shod, though the Master and the Elders walk unshod?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying,

'How, O Bhikkhus, can these foolish persons walk shod, though (&c., as in §§ 1, 2). For even the laymen, O Bhikkhus, who are clad in white, for the sake of some handicraft that may procure them a living, will be respectful, affectionate, hospitable to their teachers. [3.] Do you, therefore, O Bhikkhus, so let (your light) shine forth, that you having left the world (to enter into) so well taught a doctrine and discipline may be respectful, affectionate, hospitable to your teachers (*âkariyas*), or those who rank as teachers¹, and to your superiors (*upagghâyas*), or those who rank as superiors². This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, to the conversion of the unconverted, and to the augmentation of the number of the con-

¹ *Avassikassa khabbasso âkariyamatto*. So hi *katuvassakâle tam nissâya vakkhati* (Mahâvagga I, 35). *Evam ekavassassa satta-vasso, duvassassa atthavasso, tivassassa dasavasso* (B.).

² *Upagghâyassa sandittâ-sambhattâ pana sahôyâ bhikkhû, ye vâ pana kehi dasahi vassehi mahantatarâ, te sabbe pi upagghâyamattâ nâma*. This confirms the view expressed in a note to the first Book (chap. 32. 1), that the *Upagghâyâ* is a more important person than the *Âkariya*. The former must have ten years, the latter need only have six years, seniority.

verted : but it will result, O Bhikkhus, in the unconverted being repulsed (from the faith), and in many of the converted becoming estranged.' Having thus rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

'None of you, O Bhikkhus, is to walk shod, when your teachers or those who rank as teachers, or your superiors, or those who rank as superiors, are walking unshod. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.

'And no one of you, O Bhikkhus, is to wear shoes in the open Ārāma. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

5.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had an eruption¹ on his feet. They used to carry that Bhikkhu out when he wanted to ease himself. The Blessed One as he was passing through the sleeping places (of the Bhikkhus) saw them (doing so), and going up to them, he said :

2. 'What is the disease, O Bhikkhus, from which this Bhikkhu suffers ?'

'This venerable brother has an eruption on his feet, Lord, and we are carrying him out to ease himself.'

Then, on that occasion, the Blessed One, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, the use of foot coverings

¹ Pādakhilābādho nāma pādato khīla-sadisam mamsam nikkhantam hoti (B.).

by one whose feet hurt him, or are blistered, or who has an eruption on his feet.'

6.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to get up on to couches or chairs with unwashed feet; and the robes and seats became soiled.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, the use of foot coverings when one of you wishes to get up on to couches or chairs.'

2. Now at that time when the Bhikkhus were going to the Uposatha Hall or to the assembly in the dark, they trod upon stakes or thorns, and their feet were hurt.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, the use of foot coverings in the open Ārāma, and of a torch, or lamp, and a walking stick¹.'

3. Now at that time the *Kabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to rise up in the night towards dawn; and, putting on wooden shoes, walked up and down in the open air talking, in tones high, loud, and harsh, of all kinds of worldly things—such as tales of kings, of robbers, of ministers of state; tales of armies, of terror, of war; conversation respecting meats, drinks, clothes, couches, garlands, perfumes, relationships, equipages, villages, towns, cities, provinces, women, warriors, and streets; tales about buried treasures, ghost stories; various tales; discussions

¹ *Kattara-danda*. Compare *Kullavagga* VIII, 6, 3, and Childers under *Kattara-yatthi*. Our word occurs at *Gātaka* I, 9.

on the world; disasters by sea; things which are, and things which are not¹. And so doing they both trod upon and slew all kinds of insects, and disturbed the Bhikkhus in their meditations.

4. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus [do so]?'

And those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true' (&c., comp. chap. 4. 2)?

'It is true, Lord.'

He rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Wooden shoes, O Bhikkhus, are not to be worn. Whosoever wears them, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.'

7.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Benares. And wandering from place to place, he came to Benares, and there at Benares the Blessed One stayed in the deer-park Isipatana.

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, since the Blessed One had forbidden wooden shoes, used to break off young palmyra palms, and wear shoes made of the talipat leaves². The young palmyra plants withered. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can

¹ This list recurs in the *Magghima Sila*, § 7 (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 194).

² These are the leaves on which the MSS. are written.

the Sakyaputtiya Samanas break off young palmyra palms, and wear shoes made of the talipat leaves? The young palmyra plants wither. (By so doing), the Sakyaputtiya Samanas destroy vegetable life.'

2. The Bhikkhus heard those people murmuring in annoyance and indignation; and they told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true' (&c., as in chap. 4. 2)?

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'How can those foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, [act thus]? For people believe, O Bhikkhus, that life dwells in a tree. Such conduct will not conduce (&c., as in chap. 4. 2, down to :) becoming estranged.

'Foot coverings made of talipat leaves, O Bhikkhus, are not to be worn. Whosoever wears them, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

3. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus, since the Blessed One had forbidden talipat shoes, used to break off young bambus, and wear shoes made of the bambu leaves (&c., as in last section down to the end, substituting bambu for palmyra).

8.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Benares as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Bhaddiya. And wandering from place to place he came to Bhaddiya: and there, at Bhaddiya, he stayed in the Gātiyā Grove.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus at Bhaddiya were accustomed to the use of various kinds of foot coverings for the sake of ornament. They made,

or had made for themselves foot coverings of *tina*-grass, of *muñga*-grass, of *babbaga*-grass, of the leaves of the date-palm¹, of *kamala*-grass², and of wool³. And they neglected⁴ instruction, enquiry, morality, self-concentration, and wisdom⁵.

2. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking, 'How can they [do so]?' And those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true' (&c., as in chap. 4. 2)?

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'How can they [do so]?' This will not conduce (&c., as in chap. 4. 2, down to :) becoming estranged.

3. Having thus rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Shoes, O Bhikkhus, made of *tina*-grass are not to be worn, or made of *muñga*-grass, or of *babbaga*-grass, or of leaves of the date-palm, or of *kamala*-grass, or of wool, nor [ornamented with] gold, or silver, or pearls, or beryls, or crystal, or copper, or glass, or tin, or lead, or bronze. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.

¹ *Hintāla-pādukā* 'ti *khaggūra*- (MS. *khaggari*) *pattehi kata-pādukā*: *hintāla-pattehi pi na vaṭṭati yeva* (B.).

² *Kamala-pādukā* 'ti *kamala-tinaṃ* *nāma atthi, tena kata-pādukā*. *Ussra-pādukā* 'ti *pi vadanti*. Childers only gives lotus as the meaning of *kamala*. At *Gātaka* I, 119, 149, 178; IV, 42, it must be *kamala*, and not *kambala* as printed by Fausbøll, that is meant.

³ *Kambala-pādukā* 'ti *unnāhi kata-pādukā*.

⁴ On *riñṇanti* (Sanskrit *riṣ*, *riṇakti*), compare the verses in *Milinda Pañha*, p. 419 (ed. Trenckner).

⁵ The *adhisīlādi-sikkhā-ttayaṃ* mentioned at Dh. p. 358 is explained in the *Samgiti Sutta* as training in *adhisīla*, *adhiṣṭitta*, and *adhipaññā*. On the first, compare the note on *Mahāvagga* I, 36, 8.

‘And clogs, O Bhikkhus, that are taken away¹, are not to be worn. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of three kinds of clogs, that are fixed to the ground, and are not taken away², privy-clogs, urinal-clogs, and rinsing-clogs³.’

9.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhaddiya as long as he thought fit, he set out on a journey towards Sāvatti. And walking from place to place he arrived at Sāvatti. There the Blessed One dwelt at Sāvatti at the Getavana, Anātha-piṇḍika's Grove.

2. Now at that time the Khabbaggiya Bhikkhus used to catch hold of the heifers crossing on the Akiravati River by their horns, or ears, or dewlaps, or tails⁴, or spring up upon their backs, or touch with lustful

¹ See next clause.

² Asaṃkamanīyāyo 'ti bhūmiyaṃ supatiṃhā nikkalā asaṃhariyā (sic), (B. here). Compare Pātimokkha, pp. 106, 113 (ed. Minayeff), and Childers's interpretation of those passages under saṃkamati.

³ On vaṭṭa-pāḍukā, see Kullavagga V, 35, 2, at the end; and VIII, 10, 3, at the beginning. On the other two, Kullavagga V, 35; 1, 4, and VIII, 10, 3; and see also VIII, 9. The use of them was part of the sanitary arrangements enjoined upon the Order. A very ancient pair of stone vaṭṭa-pāḍukā, forming part of a slab of stone, was discovered at Anurādhapura by Rhys Davids, and is now in the Colombo Museum. As they were dug up in one of the palaces there, they were probably for the use of the king, or some high official. These ruins are among the most ancient in Ceylon, and are certainly pre-Christian in date.

⁴ On kḥeppā, compare Sutta-vibhaṅga I, 6; and Bōhtlingk-Roth under sepa and paruḥkḥepa.

thoughts their privy parts: and they used to duck the young calves and so kill them. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas [act thus]? it is like men still enjoying the pleasures of the world.'

And Bhikkhus heard them murmuring in annoyance and indignation: and those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true' (&c., see chap. 4. 2)?

'It is true, Lord.'

He rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

'Heifers are not to be caught hold of, O Bhikkhus, by their horns, or their ears, or their dewlaps, or their tails. You are not to get up on their backs. Whosoever gets up on their backs, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. And their privy parts, O Bhikkhus, are not to be touched with lustful thoughts. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a thullakkāya offence. And calves ought not to be killed. Whosoever kills them, let him be dealt with according to law¹.'

3. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to have themselves carried in vehicles to which cows were yoked with a bull between them, or bulls were yoked with a cow between them². People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'That is as is done at the Feast of the Gaṅgā and the Maḥi³.'

¹ See the 61st Pāṭittiya Rule.

² Buddhaghosa explains this passage in a different way: *Itthiyuttenā 'ti dhenu-yuttena. Purisantarenā 'ti purisa-sārathinā. Purisa-yuttenā 'ti goṇa-yuttena. Itthantarenā 'ti itthi-sārathinā.*

³ Gaṅgā-mahiyāyā 'ti Gaṅgā-mahī-kīṭikāya (B.). It is possible that Maḥi may here mean the Earth; but it is probably the

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Do not have yourselves carried in vehicles, O Bhikkhus. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭṭa offence.’

10¹.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, as he was passing through the Kosala country to Sāvatti, to visit the Blessed One, was taken ill on the way. And that Bhikkhu went aside out of the road, and sat down at the foot of a certain tree.

When people saw him sitting there, they said : ‘Whither is your reverence going ?’

‘I am going, friends, to Sāvatti to visit the Blessed One.’

2. ‘Come along, Sir ; let us go together.’

‘I cannot, friends. I am sick.’

‘Well then, Sir, get up into the cart.’

‘Enough, friends ! The Blessed One has forbidden the use of vehicles.’ And fearing to offend, he refused to get up into the cart.

And when that Bhikkhu had come to Sāvatti, he told this thing to the Bhikkhus, and they told it to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, if you are sick, to use a cart.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought : ‘Should the carts be yoked with cows or bulls ?’

well-known affluent of the Ganges, which is one of the Mahānadis. Compare *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 3, Spence Hardy’s ‘Manual,’ p. 17, and the *Dhaniya Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta*.

¹ *Kullavagga* X, 21 gives the rules for sisters of the Order, corresponding to the first two sections of this chapter.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use a cart drawn by bullocks, or by hand’.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was exceedingly distressed by the jolting of a cart.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a litter or a sedan-chair.’

3. Now at that time the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of using lofty and large things to recline upon, that is to say: large cushions²; divans; coverlets with long fleece; counterpanes of many colours, woollen coverlets³, white or marked with thick flowers; mattresses; cotton coverlets, dyed with figures of animals; rugs with long hair on one or both sides; carpets inwrought with gold, or with silk; large woollen carpets such as the nautch girls dance upon⁴; rich elephant housings, horse-rugs, or carriage rugs; panther or antelope skins; couches covered with canopies, or with crimson cushions at both ends⁵.

¹ On *hatthavaṭṭakam* here Buddhaghosa merely says, ‘*itthiyo vā vaṭṭantu purisā vā vaṭṭantu* (MS. *vaṭṭati*) *yeva*.’ The word recurs in *Kullavagga* X, 21.

² That *Āsandi* is a cushion, and not a chair as Childers gives, is clear from *Gāṭaka* I, 108.

³ *Paṣikā* ‘*ti unnāmayo setattharako* (Sum. Vil. on *Brahmagāla Sutta* 9).

⁴ *Kuttakan ti soḷasannam nāṭakithīnam* *ṭhatvā nakkana-yoggam unnāmayattharanam* (Sum. Vil. on *Brahmagāla Sutta* 9).

⁵ This list recurs in the *Maggħima Sila*, § 5 (Rh. D., ‘*Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli*,’ p. 193). Childers has given the commentary on most of these terms from the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*. Several of the items are also mentioned among the possessions of the Great King of Glory (Rh. D., loc. cit., p. 274, &c.). In several cases the exact meaning is at present quite uncertain. The comment on the last two words runs as follows: *Sauttarakkhadan ti saha uttara-*

When people, who went to visit the Vihâras, saw these things, they were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking, 'This is as if they were still enjoying the pleasures of the world.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

4. 'Lofty and large things to recline upon, such as large cushions (&c., as in § 3, down to :) cushions crimson at both ends, are not, O Bhikkhus, to be used. Whosoever uses them, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

5. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus, since the use of lofty and large things to recline upon had been forbidden by the Blessed One, used to use fine skins, such as lion, tiger, and panther skins. These skins were cut to fit the couches, and to fit the chairs; and were spread inside or outside the couches or the chairs.

When people, who went to visit the Vihâras, saw these things, they were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking, 'This is as if they were still enjoying the pleasures of the world.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

6. 'Fine skins, such as lion, tiger, and panther skins, are not, O Bhikkhus, to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

7. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus, since fine skins had been forbidden by the Blessed

kkhadena upari-bandhena ratta-vitānena saddhin ti attho. Seta-vitānam pi heḷḷhā akappiya-pakkattharane sati na vaṭṭati, asati pana vaṭṭati. Ubhatolohitakūpadhānam sisūpadhānañ ka pādūpadhānañ ka mañḥassa ubhatolohitakūpadhānam evaṃ (read eva ?) na kappati. Yam pana ekam eva upadhānam ubhosu passesu rattam vā hoti paduma-vannam vā kitram vā saḷe pamāna-yuttam vaṭṭati, mahā-upadhānam pana paṭikkhittam.

One, began to use the skins of oxen. These skins were cut to fit the couches, or the chairs; and were spread inside or outside the couches, or the chairs.

Now a certain Bhikkhu of bad character was a friend of the family of a certain lay-disciple of a bad character. And that bad Bhikkhu, early one morning, dressed himself, and with his robe on and his bowl in his hand, went to the dwelling-place of that bad disciple, and sat down on a seat made ready for him. And the bad disciple went up to the place where the bad Bhikkhu was, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him.

8. Now at that time that bad disciple had a young bull beautiful to behold, quiet, and varied in colour like a panther's cub. And the bad Bhikkhu gazed with longing at the bull. And that bad disciple said to that bad Bhikkhu: 'Why does your reverence gaze so with longing at that bull?'

'My friend,' said he, 'I want that bull's skin.'

Then that bad disciple slew that bull, and skinned it, and gave it to that bad Bhikkhu. And that bad Bhikkhu, hiding that skin under his robe, went away.

9. Now the cow, greedy for her calf, followed that bad Bhikkhu, keeping behind him. The Bhikkhus said:

'How is it, friend, that this cow keeps following so behind you?'

'I don't know, friends, why it should keep following me.'

But that bad Bhikkhu's robe was soiled with blood; and the Bhikkhus asked him,

'How has this robe of yours got marked with blood?'

Then he told them the whole matter.

‘How is that, Sir? You have been causing another to deprive a living thing of life!’

‘That is so, friends.’

The modest among the Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘How can this Bhikkhu induce a man to deprive a living thing of life? Has not the taking of life been censured, and the abstinence therefrom been praised in many a discourse by the Blessed One?’

And the Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One held because of this, and on that occasion, an assembly of the community of Bhikkhus, and asked that wicked Bhikkhu,

‘Is it true, as they say, that you, O Bhikkhu, have been inducing another to deprive a living thing of life?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

‘But how can you be so foolish as to do so? Have I not censured in many a discourse the taking of life, O foolish one, and praised the abstinence therefrom? Such conduct, thou foolish one, will not conduce to the conversion of the unconverted!’

And having thus rebuked him, and delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘Bhikkhus! No one shall cause a living thing to be deprived of life. Whosoever does so shall be dealt with according to the Laws¹. Ox-skins are not to be worn, O Bhikkhus. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. And neither, O Bhikkhus, is any skin to be made use of at all. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

¹ The Laws (Dhammas) referred to are the first Pārāgika, the 11th Pāṭittiya, and the 61st and 62nd Pāṭittiyas.

11.

Now at that time men had couches and chairs covered or bound with skins. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not sit down upon them.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down on seats arranged by laymen, but not to lie down upon them.'

Now at that time the Vihâras were bound together by thongs made of skin¹. The Bhikkhus fearing to offend, would not sit down upon them.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down upon (skins when they are) only used for binding things together.'

12.

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to go into the villages with their shoes on. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'That is how those behave who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world!'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You are not to go into the villages, O Bhikkhus, with your shoes on. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and unable to go into the village without shoes on.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow a sick Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, to go into the village with his shoes on.'

¹ Ogumphiyantṭi bhitti-dandakâdisu ve/hetvâ bandhanti (B.).



13¹.

1. Now at that time the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana was staying in Avanti on the hill called the Precipice, near Kuraraghara². And at that time the lay-disciple named Sona Kuṭikanna³ was the personal attendant upon the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana.

And the disciple Sona Kuṭikanna went to the place where the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana was, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And when he was thus seated, he said to the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana :

‘As I understand the doctrine laid down by the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana, it is difficult for the man who dwells at home to live the higher life in all its fulness, in all its purity, in all its bright perfection. I wish therefore to cut off my hair and beard, to clothe myself in the orange-coloured robes, and to go forth from the household life into the houseless state⁴. May the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana receive me into the Order of those who have renounced the world!’

2. ‘Hard is it, Sona, your life long to live the

¹ Sections 1–6 of this chapter were published and translated by Alwis in his ‘Kakkāyana’s Pali Grammar,’ pp. 92 and following.

² Buddhaghosa spells this name Kuduraghara, and says it was there that Kakkāyana had been accustomed to go for alms, and that he dwelt on the precipice itself.

³ Buddhaghosa has a curious explanation of this name, Koṣi-agghanakam pana kanna-pilandhanakam dhāreti, tasmā Kuṭikanno ‘ti vuttati. This is evidently merely drawn from the word itself, which may just as well have meant ‘with pointed ears.’

⁴ This is a common phrase. Compare Teviga Sutta (Rh. D., ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,’ pp. 187, 188).

higher life using only one bed, and with but one meal a day. Do you, therefore, *Sona*, remain in the state of a householder, and practise only for a time the higher life, the precepts of the Buddhas, using only one bed, and with but one meal a day.'

Then the desire for renunciation¹ which had arisen in the disciple *Sona Kuṭikanna* abated in him.

A second time the disciple *Sona Kuṭikanna* [made the same request, and received the same reply with the same result].

And a third time *Sona Kuṭikanna* made the same request. Then the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana conferred the pabbaggā (ordination) on the disciple *Sona Kuṭikanna*.

Now at that time in the Southern country and in Avanti there were but few Bhikkhus. And it was only after the lapse of three years that the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana was able, with difficulty, and with trouble, to get together a meeting of the Order in which ten Bhikkhus were present². And then he admitted the venerable *Sona* into the higher rank of the Order.

3. Now when the venerable *Sona* had passed the rainy season there sprang up in his mind, when he was meditating alone, this thought :

'I have heard indeed that the Blessed One is such and such a one. But I have not as yet seen him face to face. I should like to go and visit the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha, if my superior would allow me.'

And in the evening the venerable *Sona*, leaving his solitude, went to the place where the venerable

¹ Compare gamikābhisaṃkhāra, Mahāvagga VI, 31, 2.

² On the necessity of this, see Mahāvagga IX, 4, 1.

Mahā Kakkāyana was, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And when he was thus seated, he said to the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana :

4. 'When I was meditating alone, venerable Sir, the following thought occurred to my mind, "I have heard (&c., as above)." Now I would go and visit the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha, if you, as my superior, allow it.'

'That is good, that is good, Sona! Go then, Sona, to visit the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha. [5.] You shall see, Sona, how the Blessed One arouses faith, is worthy of faith, calm in his senses, calm in his mind, gifted with the highest self-control and quietude, an elephant among men, subdued, guarded, with his senses in subjection to himself. Do you therefore, Sona, bow down in my name at the feet of the Blessed One, and say, "Lord! my superior, the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana, bows down in salutation at the feet of the Blessed One!" and add, "In the Southern country and in Avanti there are, Lord, but few Bhikkhus. And it was only after the lapse of three years that with difficulty and with trouble an assembly of the Order was got together, in which ten members were present, and I could be received into the higher rank of the Order. May the Blessed One be pleased, therefore, to allow the higher ordination in the Southern country and in Avanti before a meeting of a lesser number. [6.] In the Southern country and in Avanti, Lord, the soil is black on the surface¹, rough, and trampled by the feet of cattle².

¹ *Kaṇhuttarā* 'ti *kaṇha-mattik-uttarā upari-vaddhitā kaṇha-mattikā* (B.). Alwis translates, 'overrun with thorns.'

² *Gokaṇṭaka-hatā* 'ti *gunnaṃ khurehi akkanta-bhumito samuḷḷhehi go-kaṇṭakehi upahatā*. Te kira *gokaṇṭake ekapaṭalikā upāhanā*

May the Blessed One be pleased, therefore, to allow the use, in the Southern country and in Avanti, of shoes with thick linings. In the Southern country and in Avanti, Lord, men attach great importance to bathing, and are pure by use of water. May the Blessed One be pleased to allow, in the Southern country and in Avanti, the constant use of the bath¹. In the Southern country and in Avanti, Lord, skins, such as sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins, are used as coverlets. Just as in the Middle country² the eragu, moragu, magghâru, and gantu grasses³ are used for coverlets, so are sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins in the Southern country and in Avanti. May the Blessed One be pleased to allow the use of such coverlets there. [7.] At present, Lord, people are in the habit of giving a set of robes to Bhikkhus, who have left the district, saying, 'We give this set of robes to (a Bhikkhu) of such and such a name.' When they return, the Bhikkhus tell them, 'A set of robes has been given to you by a person of such and such a name.' But they, fearing to offend, do not accept it, saying, 'Let us not be guilty of a Nissaggiya.' May the Blessed One be pleased to make a detailed statement in the matter of robes.'"

rakkhitum na sakkonti, evam kharâ honti (B.). Alwis takes *gokan-taka* as a plant (*Ruellia Longifolia*).

¹ Compare the 57th Pâṭittiya.

² See below, § 12; and compare Rh. D., 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 61.

³ Imâ katasso pi tina-gâtiyo. Etehi kata-sâtake ka ta/sikâyo ka karonti. Ettha eragû 'ti ekaraka-tinam, tam o/ârikam. Moragu-tinam tamba-sisam sukhumam mudukam sukha-samphassam; tena katâ ta/sikâ nipaggitvâ vu//hitamatte pana uddhumâtâ hutvâ ti//hati. Maggârūnâ (sic, and so Alwis) kata-sâtake pi karonti. Gantussa mani-sadiso vanno hoti. Ta/sikâ is a mat; see Gâtaka I, 141. Compare Sanskrit Eraka, and Mayûraka.

‘Even so, Lord,’ said the venerable Sona in assent to the venerable Mahâ Kakkâyaṇa, and, rising from his seat, he departed thence, keeping his right side towards him. And taking up his bed, he went on with his robe on, and his bowl in his hand to Sâvatthi.

8. And wandering from place to place he arrived at the place where the Blessed One was, at Sâvatthi in the Getavana, Anâtha-piṇḍika’s park. And when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat beside him.

Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ânanda: ‘Make ready a sleeping-place, Ânanda, for this Bhikkhu who has just arrived.’ And the venerable Ânanda thought:

‘Inasmuch as the Blessed One commands me to make ready a sleeping-place for the Bhikkhu who has just arrived, the Blessed One evidently desires to dwell in the same Vihâra with that Bhikkhu, he desires to dwell in the same Vihâra with the venerable Sona.’ And he made ready a sleeping-place for the venerable Sona at the place where the Blessed One was staying.

9. Then the Blessed One, after spending the greater part of the night in the open air, entered the Vihâra. And also the venerable Sona, having spent the greater part of the night in the open air, entered the Vihâra. And the Blessed One rose up, early in the morning, towards dawn, and requested the venerable Sona, saying,

‘May the Dhamma so become clear to you that you may speak¹.’

¹ Paṣibhâtu tam bhikkhu dhammo bhâsitaṃ. Compare Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the similar idiom used in the Mahâ-

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Sona in assent to the Blessed One; and he intoned all the verses in the Book of the Eights (*Atthaka-vaggikâni* ¹).

And the Blessed One, at the conclusion of the venerable Sona's recitation, expressed his pleasure, saying,

'Excellent, most excellent, O Bhikkhu! Well have the Eights been grasped by thee, well thought over, well learnt by heart: and with a fine voice art thou gifted, distinct, pleasant ², able to make things understood. How many years is it since thou hast been ordained?'

'One year, my Lord!'

10. 'But why have you postponed it so long?'

'Tis long, Lord, since I saw into the danger of the passions, but life in a household is crowded with business and with cares.'

And the Blessed One, when he heard that matter, gave utterance at that time to the expression of emotion:

'When he has seen the danger of the world, when he has understood the Truth, when he has become free from Upadhi ³,

parinibbâna Sutta II, 31 as given by Rh. D. ('Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' p. 36).

¹ *Atthaka-vagga* is the name of the fourth book in the Sutta Nipâta. See Professor Fausbøll's translation, p. viii. It may also be the name of divisions of other books, but probably that portion of the Sutta Nipâta is here referred to.

² On *Ane/agalâya* compare *ne/â vâkâ* in § 6 of the *Kûla-sila*.

³ *Ariyo* is the man who has entered the Path, *Su/ki* is locative. *Nirûpadhi*, he in whom there remains no longer the cause of the renewal of existence as a separate individual (the cause referred to being thirst or excitement and craving, *Taṇhâ*, *Upâdâna*).

‘The pilgrim finds in sin no pleasure, his delight is in the word, the pure.’

11. Then thought the venerable Sona: ‘The Blessed One is pleased with me. This then is the time which my superior spoke of.’ And rising from his seat, and arranging his robe on one shoulder, he bowed down with his head at the feet of the Blessed One, and said:

‘Lord! my superior Mahā Kakkāyana bows down in salutation at the feet of the Blessed One. In the Southern country and in Avanti there are (&c., as in §§ 4–7, down to the end of the message).’

Then the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus and said:

‘The Southern country and Avanti has but few Bhikkhus. I allow the upasampadā (ordination) in border countries to be held in a meeting of only four Bhikkhus, beside the chairman, who must be a Vinaya-dhara.’

12. ‘In this passage the following are the border countries referred to¹. To the East is the town Kagaṅgala, and beyond it Mahāsālā. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the South-east is the river Salalavattī. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the South is the town Setakamika. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the West is the Brāhman district of Thūna. Beyond that is

¹ Compare Cunningham, ‘Ancient Geography of India,’ I, 440; Childers, *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, p. 20; Alwis, ‘Introduction to Pali Grammar,’ XXIX; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I, 119 (2nd ed.); Rhys Davids, ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ p. 61.

border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the North is the mountain range called Ustra-dhaga. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. In such border countries, I allow, O Bhikkhus, the upasampadâ (ordination) to be held in a meeting of only four Bhikkhus, beside the chairman, who must be a Vinaya-dhara.

13. 'In the Southern country and in Avanti, O Bhikkhus, the soil is black on the surface and rough, and trampled by the feet of cattle. I allow the use, in all the border countries, O Bhikkhus, of shoes with thick linings.

'In the Southern country and in Avanti, O Bhikkhus, men attach great importance to bathing, and are pure by use of water. I allow the constant use of the bath, O Bhikkhus, in all the border countries.

'In the Southern country and in Avanti, O Bhikkhus, skins, such as sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins, are used as coverlets. Just as in the Middle country, Bhikkhus, the *eragu*, *moragu*, *magghâru*, and *gantu* grasses are used for coverlets, so in the Southern country and in Avanti are used skins, such as sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of skins, such as sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins, as coverlets, in all the border countries.

'There also, O Bhikkhus, people are in the habit of giving a set of robes to Bhikkhus who have left the district, saying, "We give this set of robes to (a Bhikkhu) with such and such a name." I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to accept such robes. The set of robes does not become subject to the ten-days'

rule, before it reaches the hand (of the person for whom it was intended)¹.

¹ On this last clause compare the first Nissaggiya, and our note there. The clause here means that the ten days of the rule in the Pātimokkha are not to begin to run, under the circumstances specified, till the set of robes has actually reached the hand of the Bhikkhu for whom they were intended.

Buddhaghosa says here : Yāva āharitvā vā na dinnam tumhākam bhante *kivaram* uppannan ti pahinitvā vā nāro~~k~~itam, tāva ga~~n~~anam na upeti, anadhi~~h~~itam na va~~t~~tati. Yadā pana ānetvā vā dinnam hoti, uppannan ti vā sutam, tato pa~~t~~hāya dasāham eva parihāram labhati.

SIXTH KHANDHAKA.

(ON MEDICAMENTS.)

1.

1. At that time the Blessed One dwelt at Sāvatti, in the *Getavana*, the park of *Anâtha-pindîka*. And at that time *Bhikkhus*, attacked by the sickness of the hot season¹, threw up the rice-milk they had drunk, and the food they had eaten. And thereby they became lean, rough, ill-favoured, yellow and ever yellower, and the veins stood out on their limbs².

And the Blessed One saw those *Bhikkhus* thus lean, rough, ill-favoured, yellow and ever yellower, and with the veins standing out on their limbs. And on seeing it, he asked the venerable *Ānanda* : 'How is it, *Ānanda*, that the *Bhikkhus* are become now so lean, rough, &c.?'

'At this time, Lord, the *Bhikkhus* are attacked with the disease of the hot season; and they throw up the rice-milk they have drunk, and the food they have eaten. Thence is it that they are become lean, rough, ill-favoured, yellow and ever yellower, and that the veins stand out on their limbs.'

2. Then there occurred to the mind of the

¹ *Sâradikena âbâdhenâ 'ti sarada-kâle uppannena pittâbâdhenâ. Tasmim hi kâle vassodakena pi tementi, kaddamam pi maddanti, antarantarâ âtapo pi kharo hoti. Tena tesam pittam kottabbhantara-gatam hoti (B.).*

² Read in the text *Dhamani-santata-gattâ*; and compare *Lalita Vistara*, p. 226, and Professor Weber's '*Bhagavatî*', II, 289.

Blessed One, when meditating alone, this consideration: 'At this time the Bhikkhus (&c., down to :) on their limbs. What medicaments shall I now prescribe for the Bhikkhus, as may be authorised as common medicine, and may be diffused through the body, though it be not regarded as ordinary (material) food?' And the Blessed One thought: 'These five medicaments—that is to say, ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses—are such medicaments. Let me then prescribe them as medicines which the Bhikkhus may accept at the right time, and use at the right time.'

3. And in the evening, when the Blessed One had arisen from his meditation, having delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus in that connection, saying,

'When I was meditating alone, O Bhikkhus, then occurred to my mind this consideration: "At this time (&c., as in § 2, down to :) material food." Then I thought: "These five (&c., as in § 2, down to :) at the right time." I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, these five things as medicine to be accepted at the right time, and to be used at the right time.'

4. Now at that time the Bhikkhus accepted those five things at the right time, and used them at the right time. And foods which though rough, were ordinary foods, they could not digest¹, much less greasy foods². Then they—attacked both by the hot-season disease, and by this want of appetite³—became by both at once still more lean, rough,

¹ Na kkhādentī na gīranti, na vātarogam paṣipassambhetum sakkonti (B.).

² Senesikāni siniddhāni (B.). Compare Sanskrit snaihika.

³ Bhattākkhandakenā 'ti bhattam aroḥakena (B.).

ill-favoured, yellow and ever yellower, and with the veins standing out on their limbs.

And the Blessed One saw the Bhikkhus thus still more lean, &c. And when he saw it, he asked the venerable Ānanda : ' How is it, Ānanda, that the Bhikkhus are become now still more lean, &c. ? '

5. ' At present, Lord, these Bhikkhus, who use the five medicaments only at the right time, cannot digest foods which, though ordinary, are rough, much less greasy foods. Then they, attacked (&c., as in § 4, down to :) standing out on their limbs. '

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ' I permit you, O Bhikkhus, not only to receive those five medicaments, but to use them both at the right time, and at other times. '

2.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of fatty substances as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of the fat of bears, of fish, of alligators, of swine, and of asses, if received at the right time, cooked at the right time, mixed at the right time, to be partaken of with oil. '

2. ' If the fat be received, O Bhikkhus, at the wrong time, cooked at the wrong time, and mixed at the wrong time, and then taken, the Bhikkhu is guilty of three dukkaṭa offences. '

' If it be received, O Bhikkhus, at the right time, cooked at the wrong time, and mixed at the wrong

time, and then taken, the Bhikkhu is guilty of two dukkaṭa offences.'

'If it be received, O Bhikkhus, at the right time, cooked at the right time, and mixed at the wrong time, and then taken, the Bhikkhu is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

'If it be received, O Bhikkhus, at the right time, cooked at the right time, and mixed at the right time, and then taken, the Bhikkhu is not guilty.'

3.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of roots for medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of roots as medicine—turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris root, ativisa, black hellebore, usīra root, bhadda-muttaka, and whatsoever other roots are used for medicine, and impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the sick Bhikkhus could not otherwise eat¹. They may be received, and stored up your life long; and, if there be necessity, they may be eaten. If eaten without necessity, (the Bhikkhu who uses them) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need for medicine of different sorts of flour made from roots.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Literally, 'which impart the quality of eatableness to not eatable food, either hard or soft.'

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a grind-stone, and of another stone to grind upon¹.’

4.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of astringent decoctions as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of astringent decoctions as medicine—the nimba², the kutaga³, the pakkava⁴, the nattamāla⁵, and whatsoever other astringent roots are used for medicine, which impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the sick Bhikkhus could not otherwise eat. They may be received, and stored up your life long; and, if there be necessity, they may be eaten. If eaten without necessity, (the Bhikkhu who uses them) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

5.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of leaves as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of leaves as

¹ Compare the Sanskrit root pūth. Buddhaghosa says: Pisana-silā ka pisana-poto ka. Pestle and mortar is in Pāli udukkhalam musalañ ka: see below, VI, 9, 2.

² Azadirachta Indica. Compare Mahāvagga III, 12, 5.

³ Wrightia anti-dysenterica. Wise, p. 142, gives the botanical name as Echites anti-dysenterica, and says it is an emetic.

⁴ A kind of creeper, says Buddhaghosa.

⁵ Pongania Glabra (the same as Karañga, says Buddhaghosa).

medicine—the leaves of the nimba¹, of the kutaga¹, of the patola², of the tulasi³, of the kappāsika⁴, and whatsoever other leaves are used for medicine, and impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the sick Bhikkhus could not otherwise eat. They may be received, and stored up (&c., as in last chapter, down to:) guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

6.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of fruits as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of fruits as medicine—the vi/aṅga⁵, the pippala⁶, and mariṭa peppers; the haritaka⁷, and vibhītaka⁸, and āmalaka⁹ myrobalans; the goṭṭha fruit¹⁰; and whatsoever other fruits are used for medicine, and impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the

¹ See the last chapter for these plants.

² A species of cucumber, *Trichosanthes Dioeca*.

³ That is, basil; but the reading is conjectural only. The text has *sulasi*.

⁴ This is ordinary cotton.

⁵ *Erycibe Paniculata*.

⁶ This is not the *Ficus Religiosa*, but simply pepper. Childers, following Subhūti's edition of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, spells both this word and the allied form *Pippalī* with *pph* instead of *pp*. So also Fausbøll at *Gāṭaka*, vol. i, p. 29, verse 218. We prefer the spelling with *pp* in accordance with the Sanskrit.

⁷ Yellow myrobalan.

⁸ Beleric myrobalan.

⁹ Emblic myrobalan.

¹⁰ We cannot suggest any explanation of this word. Buddha-ghosa has no comment on any of these medicinal fruits or seeds.

sick Bhikkhus could not otherwise eat. They may be received and stored up (&c., as in chap. 4, down to :) guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

7.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of various kinds of gum as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of gums as medicine—hiṅgu¹, hiṅgu lac, sipāṭikā², taka³, takapatti³, taka-panni³, saṅgulasa⁴, and whatsoever other gums are used for medicine, and impart (&c., as in chap. 4, down to :) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

8.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of various kinds of salt⁵ as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of salts as

¹ *Ferula assa foetida*. Böhtlingk-Roth (sub voce) say it comes from Persia. It is much used in Hindu medicine. See Wise, 'Hindu System of Medicine,' pp. 152-154.

² The correct spelling is probably *sivāṭikā*. Böhtlingk-Roth under *Sivāṭikā* and *Hiṅgu-sivāṭikā* say it is the same as *Vamsa-pattī*.

³ *Buddhaghosa* merely says these are kinds of lac. According to Wise, p. 152, *lākshā* is used as errhine.

⁴ Resin.

⁵ On these salts compare *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, verse 461; *Susruta*, vol. i, pp. 226, 227, of the edition by *Madhusūdana Gupta*; Wise, 'Hindu Medicine,' p. 117.

medicine—sea-salt ¹, black salt ², rock salt ³, kitchen salt ⁴, red salt ⁵, and whatsoever other salts are used in medicine (&c., as in chap. 4, down to :) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

9^a.

1. Now at that time the venerable Belatthasā, the superior of the venerable Ānanda, had a disease of thick scabs; and by reason of the discharge thereof his robes stuck to his body. The Bhikkhus moistened those robes with water, and loosened them (from his body).

The Blessed One as he was wandering in search of a lodging-place for the night saw them [doing so], and going up to the place where they were, he asked them :

'What is the matter, O Bhikkhus, with this Bhikkhu ?'

'The venerable one has the disease of thick scabs; and by reason of the discharge thereof his robes stick to his body. So we moisten those robes with water, and loosen them (from his body).'

¹ Sāmuddikā 'ti samudda-tīre vālukā viya tiṭṭhati (B.).

² Kāḷa-lonā ti pakati-lonā (B.).

³ Sindhavan ti seta-vannā : pabbate utthahati (B.). It was probably called Sindh salt because it was found there, though, like Sindhava horses, it is always supposed to be white.

⁴ Ubbhidā 'ti bhummito añkuyā (sic) utthahati (B.).

⁵ Bilā ti dabba-sambhārehi saddhim paṭitam : tam ratta-vannā (B.). It is Sanskrit *vidā*, Hindustāni *biḷ* laban, and the same as *bilāla* in the Abhidhānappadīpikā.

⁶ This introductory story recurs as the introduction to the rule laid down in VIII, 17.

2. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of chunam as a medicine by whomsoever has the itch, or boils, or a discharge, or scabs, or whose body is ill-smelling, and to those in health the use of dry dung¹, and of clay, and of colouring matter². I allow the use, O Bhikkhus, of a pestle and mortar³.’

10.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of sifted⁴ chunam as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a chunam sieve.’

They had need of the chunam very fine.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a cloth sieve.’

2. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a disease not human. Though his teacher and his superior nursed him, they were not able to make him well. He went to a place where swine were slaughtered, and ate the raw flesh, and drank the blood. Thereby his sickness abated.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, in the case of a disease not human, the use of raw flesh and of blood.’

¹ *Khakanan ti gomayam* (B.).

² *Ragana-pakkan* (sic) *ti raganakasatam*. *Pâkâsika-kunnam pi koṭetvâ udakena temetvâ nhâyitum vaṭṭati, etam pi ragana-nipakka-samkhepam* (sic, read *samkham*) *eva gakkhāti* (B.). *Satam* in this passage must be equal to *sritam*. On *samkham* compare below, *Mahāvagga* VI, 16, 1.

³ Compare above, VI, 3, 2.

⁴ *Kāleti* has often a more definite meaning than ‘shake.’ Compare *Gâtaka* I, 71.

11.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had disease of the eyes. They used to carry that Bhikkhu out to ease himself. The Blessed One as he was passing through the Bhikkhus' sleeping quarters saw them [doing so]. When he saw them, he went up to the place where they were, and asked those Bhikkhus :

'What is the disease, O Bhikkhus, from which this Bhikkhu suffers?'

2. 'This venerable one, Lord, has disease of the eyes. Therefore do we carry him out to ease himself.'

Then the Blessed One, on that account, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of eye ointments¹; to wit, black collyrium², rasa ointment³, sota ointment⁴, geruka⁵, and kapalla⁶.'

They had need of perfumes to grind up into ointments.

¹ *Aṅgana*, which is here a generic term, inclusive of all the following ; *sabba-saṃgāhika-vaṭṭanam*, says Buddhaghosa.

² *Kālaṅganan ti ekā aṅgana-gāti* (B.).

³ *Rasaṅganan ti nānā-sambhārehi katam* (B.). Böhrling-Roth say it is made with vitriol.

⁴ *Sotaṅganan ti nadisotādisu uppagganakam aṅganam* (B.). It is called in Sanskrit *śrotoṅgana*, and was made with antimony.

⁵ *Geruka* is the Sanskrit *gairika*, ochre; and the kind meant is yellow ochre. *Geruko nāma suvanna-geruko*, says Buddhaghosa. Compare the Sanskrit *Kāñṭhāna-gairika* and *svarna-gairika*.

⁶ *Kapallan ti dīpa-sikhāto gahita-masi*, 'soot taken from the flame of a lamp' (B.).

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of sandal wood, tagara ¹, black anusâri ², kâlîya ³, and bhadda-muttaka ⁴.’

12.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to put pulverised ointments into pots and saucers. They became sprinkled over with herb-powders and dust.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a box for ointment.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to carry about various kinds of boxes for ointments—gold ones, and silver ones. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘Like those who still live in the world.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Various kinds of boxes for ointments, gold ones, and silver ones, are not, O Bhikkhus, to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of such boxes made of bone, or ivory, or horn, or of the naḷa reed, or of bambu, or of wood, or of lac, or of the shells of fruit, or of bronze, or of the centre of the chank-shell ⁵.’

¹ Tagara as a fragrant flower is mentioned in verse 54 of the Dhammapada quoted in Milinda Pañha, p. 333.

² A kind of dark fragrant sandal wood.

³ Read so in the text as corrected on p. 381. It is a kind of sandal wood.

⁴ A perfume made from the grass of the same name (mentioned above, VI, 3).

⁵ Saṅkha-nābhi, the meaning of the latter part of which compound is not quite clear.

2. Now at that time the boxes of ointment had no lid. (The ointment) was sprinkled over with herb-powders and dust.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a lid.’

The lids used to fall off.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fasten the lid with thread, and to tie it on to the box.’

The boxes used to fall.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sew the boxes on with thread¹.’

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to rub the ointment on with their fingers: and the eyes were hurt.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a stick or holder to put the ointment on with.’

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to keep various kinds of ointment-sticks—gold ones, and silver ones. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘Like those who still live in the world.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Various kinds of ointment-holders, O Bhikkhus, are not to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of ointment-holders of bone, or of ivory, or of horn, or of the *naḷa* reed, or of bambu, or of wood, or of lac, or of fruit, or of bronze, or of the chank-shell.’

¹ Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. It may mean that the ointment boxes might be sewn either on to some place in the *Vihāra*, or on to some part of the Bhikkhu's dress. The latter is more in accordance with § 4 below.

4. Now at that time the ointment-sticks used to fall on the ground and become rough.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a case for the ointment-sticks¹.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to carry the ointment-boxes and ointment-sticks about in their hands.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bag to put the ointment-box in.’

They had no shoulder strap.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder strap (by which to carry the ointment-box), or of a thread (by which to sew or tie it on).’

13.

1. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had head-ache².

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a little oil on the head.’

(The disease) became no better³.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the practice of taking up (medicine) through the nose⁴.’

¹ *Salâkoddhâniyan ti yatha salâkam odahanti susiradantakam vâ thâlikam vâ anuganâmî* 'ti attho (B.).

² *Sîsâbhitâpo*, literally ‘heat in the head.’

³ Compare *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* II, 31, and below, 13. 2 ;

14. 3.

⁴ *Natthu-kamma*. In the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, pp. 83 and foll., there is an example of the way in which a physician administers medicinal oil in this manner to a sick Bhikkhu.

The nose ran.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a nose-spoon¹.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus had various kinds of nose-spoons—made of gold, and of silver. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘Like those who still live in the world.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Various kinds of nose-spoons, O Bhikkhus, are not to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of such nose-spoons made of bone (&c., as in chap. 12. 1, down to :) or of the chank-shell.’

2. The nose took up the medicament in unequal proportions.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a double nose-spoon².’

(The disease) became no better.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sniff up the aroma.’

They used to spread the drugs on a wick before they sniffed up the aroma³: and their throats got burnt.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a pipe to conduct the aroma.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus had various kinds of pipes (&c., as in the last clauses of § 1, down to the end).

¹ Natthu-karaṇī, that is, an instrument to hold up the nose, so that the medicinal oil does not run out.

² Yamaka-natthu-karaṇī, that is, one that would go up both nostrils. The last sentence of § 1 would come in better after this clause.

³ They used to burn the drugs by smearing them on wicks, and then inhale the smoke through their nostrils.

Now at that time the aroma-pipes came open :
and worms got in.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a lid to the pipes.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus carried the pipes
about in their hands.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bag to carry
the aroma-pipes in.’

The aroma-pipes rubbed against one another.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a double bag.’

They had no shoulder strap.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder strap
(by which to carry the double bag), or of a thread
(by which to sew it on).’

14.

1. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha
was troubled with wind in the stomach¹. The
physicians said he must drink oil.

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a decoction of oil.’

It was necessary to put strong drink into the
decoction.

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to put strong drink in
decoctions of oil.’

Now at that time the Khabbaggiya Bhikkhus
used to put too much strong drink into their decoc-
tions of medicinal oils : and they got drunk.

‘ Oil should not be drunk, O Bhikkhus, when too
much strong drink has been put into it. Whosoever
does so, shall be dealt with according to law².’

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to drink such decoctions

¹ Compare chapter 17.

² See the 51st Pâṭṭiya.

of oil with strong drink in them, as wherein neither the colour, nor the smell, nor the taste of the strong drink shall be sensible.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus had a quantity of decoction in which too much strong drink had been put. Then those Bhikkhus thought: 'What shall we do with this oil, which has too much strong drink in it?'

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, to use it as an ointment.'

Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had a quantity of oil-decoction; but he had no vessel for it.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of three kinds of pots, bronze pots, wooden pots, pots made of the shells of fruits¹.'

3. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had rheumatism.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to bring on sweating².'
(The disease) became no better.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to bring on sweating by the use of herbs which have that effect³.'
(The disease) became no better.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a great steam bath⁴.'

(The disease) became no better.

¹ Compare VI, 12, 1.

² Perhaps fumigations.

³ Sambhāra-sedan ti nānāvidha-panna-bhaṅga-sedan (B.). Apparently a poultice or fomentation in which various kinds of leaves or twigs are used.

⁴ Mahāsedan ti mahantaṃ sedan: porisa-ppamāṇaṃ āvātaṃ aṅgārāṇaṃ pūretvā, pamsu-vālikādīhi pidahitvā, tattha nānāvidhāni vāta-haraṇa-pannāni santharitvā tela-makkhiteṇa gattena tattha nipaggitvā samparivattantena sarīraṃ sedetum anugānāmiti attho (B.). A pit, six feet deep, is filled with charcoal, and covered with a coating of earth or sand. The leaves good for rheumatism are spread

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of hemp-water (bang)¹.’

(The disease) became no better.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of hot baths in water in which medicinal herbs have been steeped².’

4. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had intermittent ague.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the letting of blood.’

(The disease) became no better.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make use of a horn to let blood³.’

Now at that time the feet of the venerable Pilindavakkha were blistered.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of ointment for the feet.’

(The disease) became no better.

over the sand. The patient reposes on the leaves on the affected limb, which has been rubbed over with oil; and turns over and over until his whole body has been well steamed.

¹ Bhaṅgodakan ti nānā-*panna*-bhaṅga-kudhita-udakam. Tehi *pannehi ka* udakena *ka* *siṅkitvā* sedetabbo (B.). Bhaṅga may here mean ‘broken bits,’ namely, of the leaves, just as *sākhā-bhaṅga* at *Gātaka* I, 158 means ‘twig.’ Compare *uttari-bhaṅga*, *Gātaka* I, 197, 349; *Dhammapada* 171; *Kullavagga* VIII, 4, 4; *sarīra-bhaṅga*, *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 59; and *bhaṅga* alone at *Gātaka* I, 392; *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 10; Rh. D., ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,’ p. 241. For *kudhita* we should read *kuthita*.

² *Dakakoṭṭhakan ti udaka-kotṭham kām vā donim vā unho-dakassa pūretvā tattha tattha pavisitvā seda-kamma-karanam anu-gānāmīti* attho (B.). Compare *Dhammapada*, p. 103.

³ Wise, p. 176, says, ‘The local accumulation of bad blood may be removed by means of cupping, which is performed by a horn, cut smooth and even at the large extremity, and with a small opening at the narrow end.’ Compare *Susruta*, *Sūtrasthāna*, chap. 27, and *Sarīrasthāna*, chap. 8 (at the end).

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to keep water ready for washing the feet (of travellers)¹.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had boils.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of the lancet.’

Decoctions of astringent herbs were required.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, decoctions of astringent herbs².’

Sesamum salve was required.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of sesamum salve³.’

5. Compresses were required.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of compresses⁴.’

It was necessary to tie up the sore with cloth.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of bandages for tying up wounds.’

The sore itched.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the sprinkling of a sore with mustard-powder⁵.’

The sore became moist⁶.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fumigate (the sore).’

Proud flesh formed on the wound⁷.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cut off (proud flesh) with a lancet.’

¹ This would seem to be a preventive remedy. Water may be kept ready, so that the incoming Bhikkhus may use it, and their feet therefore may not become blistered. But perhaps *pagga* here means some curative application of water to the feet, such as cold water bandages, for example. Compresses (?poultices) are mentioned below (§ 5) for boils.

² Compare chapter 4.

³ Buddhaghosa explains *tila-kakka* as ground sesamum seeds (*piṭṭhehi tilehi attho*); but *kalka* is paste or salve. See Wise, p. 129.

⁴ *Kabalikan ti* (MS. *pakalikan*) *vana-mukhe sattū-pindam pakkhipitum* (B.). Compare Böhtlingk-Roth, sub voce *kavalikā*.

⁵ *Sāsapa-piṭṭhena*, says Buddhaghosa.

⁶ Compare the quotations from Susruta in Böhtlingk-Roth under *klidyati*.

⁷ *Vana-* (MS. *viddham*) *mamsan ti adhika-mamsam: āni viya utthahati* (B.).

The wound would not close up.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of oil for wounds.’

The oil ran over.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of fine rags¹, and of all kinds of ways of treating wounds.’

6. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was bitten by a snake.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the four kinds of filth to be given—dung, urine, ashes, and clay.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Are these things among those which may be taken even without being offered to us by others, or among things which cannot be taken unless they are offered?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow these things, O Bhikkhus, to be accepted if any one be there to offer them², and if not, then that you may take them yourselves and use them.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had drunk poison.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give (as an emetic) a decoction of dung.’

Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Is this among those things which may be taken even without being offered to us by others, or is it among things which cannot be taken unless they are offered?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I rule, O Bhikkhus, that there is a proper taking when a man takes what he himself has made; and

¹ *Vikâsikan ti tela-ruddhana-pilotikam* (B.). See VIII, 2.

² A *kappiya-kâraka* is one who by offering a thing to a Bhikkhu, makes that thing *kappiya*, allowable, to the Bhikkhu.

that such a thing need not be received again from others.'

7. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu suffered from the ghara-dinnaka¹ disease.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give him to drink a decoction of soil turned up by the plough².'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had constipation³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give him a decoction of the ashes of burnt rice⁴.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had the jaundice.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give to drink a decoction made with (cows') urine⁵.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had skin disease.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the anointing with perfumes.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a superfluity of humors in his body⁶.'

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give a purgative.'
Clarified gruel was required.

¹ Ghara-dinnakan ti vasikarana-pâna-samuññita-rogo, 'a disease arising from a philter, which when given brings another into one's power' (B.). He was bewitched, was suffering from the results of sorcery.

² Sītālo/in ti naṅgalena kasantassa phāle lagga-mattikam udakena aloḍṭvā pāyetum anugānāmīti attho (B.).

³ Duṭṭhagahaniko 'ti vipanna-gahaniko. Kikkhena ukkāro nikkhamatīti. Compare Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 260 note.

⁴ Āmisakhāran ti sukkhodanam ghāpetvā tāya kharikāya paggharitam khārodakam (B.).

⁵ Mutta-harītakan ti gomutta-paribhāvitam harītakam (B.).

⁶ Abhisannakāyo 'ti ussanna-dosa-kāyo (B.). Dosa is a disturbance of the so-called humors in the body. Compare VIII, 1, 30.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of clarified gruel.’

Natural juice was required ¹.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of natural juice.’

Artificial and natural juice was required ².

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of artificial and natural juice.’

Meat broth was required ³.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of meat broth.’

15.

1. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had a mountain cave at Rāgagaha cleared out, with the object of making it into a cave dwelling-place. And the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra went to the place where the venerable Pilindavakkha was; and when he had come there, he saluted the venerable Pilindavakkha, and took his seat on one side.

And when he was so seated the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to the venerable Pilindavakkha, ‘What is it that my Lord, the Thera, is having done?’

‘I am having a cave cleared out, with the object of making it into a cave dwelling-place.’

‘Do you then, Sir, require an ārāmika (a park-keeper)?’

‘Not so, great king! A park-keeper has not been prescribed by the Blessed One.’

‘Then, Sir, enquire of the Blessed One (concerning this matter), and let me then know.’

¹ Aka/a-yūsan ti asiniddho mugga-pāṭita-pāriyo (B.).

² Ka/āka/an ti so ka baddhoka-siniddho (B.).

³ Compare chap. 23. 1-8.

‘Very well, O King!’ said the venerable Pilindavakkha in assent to the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra.

2. Then the venerable Pilindavakkha taught and incited and roused and gladdened the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra with religious discourse. And the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, when he had been taught &c. by the religious discourse, rose from his seat, and bowed down before the venerable Pilindavakkha, and passing round him with his right side towards him, departed thence.

Then the venerable Pilindavakkha sent a message to the Blessed One, saying, ‘Lord! the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra desires to present me with a park-keeper. What am I, therefore, Lord, to do?’

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, after delivering a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus:

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the accepting of a park-keeper.’

3. And a second time the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra went to the place where the venerable Pilindavakkha was; and when he had come there he saluted the venerable Pilindavakkha, and took his seat on one side.

And when he was so seated the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to the venerable Pilindavakkha, ‘Has the Blessed One allowed a park-keeper?’

‘Yes, O King!’

‘Then, Sir, I will present a park-keeper to you.’

Now the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, after he had (thus) promised a park-keeper to the venerable Pilindavakkha, forgot it. And after a time he

recovered recollection of it, and addressed a certain minister who had charge of general affairs, and said : 'The park-keeper whom I promised to the venerable one, has he been given to him?'

'No, your Majesty!'

'How long is it then, good Sir, since that was determined?'

4. Then that minister, counting up the nights, said to the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, 'Five hundred nights, your Majesty.'

'Give then, my good Sir, five hundred park-keepers to the venerable one!'

'As your Majesty commands,' said that minister in assent to the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra ; and he gave over to the venerable Pilindavakkha five hundred park-keepers, and (for their use) a distinct village grew up. And they called it Ārāmika-gāma, and they called it also Pilinda-gāma. Thenceforward the venerable Pilindavakkha depended upon the families living in that village (for alms, &c.). And the venerable Pilindavakkha robed himself early in the morning, and entered into Pilinda-gāma, duly bowled and robed for alms.

5. Now at that time there was a feast in that village, and the children were celebrating it, with their ornaments on, and decked with garlands. And the venerable Pilindavakkha, when he was going his rounds for alms, straight on from house to house, came to the dwelling-place of a certain park-keeper ; and when he had come there he sat down on a seat prepared for him.

And at that time the daughter of that park-keeper's wife, seeing the other children with their ornaments on, and decked with garlands, began to

cry (saying), 'Give me too a garland, give me an ornament!'

And the venerable Pilindavakkha said to that park-keeper's wife: 'Why does that girl cry?'

'This girl, venerable Sir, seeing the other children with their ornaments on, and decked with garlands, is crying (and saying), "Give me too a garland, give me too an ornament!" But whence should we, who have become so poor, get garlands or ornaments?'

6. Then the venerable Pilindavakkha took a grass chumbat¹, and said to the park-keeper's wife: 'Bind, I pray you, this grass chumbat round the child's head.'

And the park-keeper's wife took the grass chumbat, and bound it round the girl's head. And that became a chaplet of gold, beautiful, lovely, and pleasing, such that there was no chaplet of gold in the king's seraglio like it.

And people told the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, 'There is a chaplet of gold, your Majesty, in the house of such and such a park-keeper, such that there is no chaplet of gold in the king's seraglio like it. How could he, poor as he is, have got (such a thing)? For a certainty he must have procured it by theft.'

Then the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra had (the whole of) that park-keeper's family thrown into bonds.

7. Now the venerable Pilindavakkha robed himself again early in the morning, and went, duly bowled and robed, into Pilinda-gāma for alms. And going his round for alms straight on from house to house he came to the dwelling-place of that park-keeper; and

¹ A circular roll of grass, or cloth, to be placed on the head when a pot of oil or water was being carried on the head. Compare kumbataka, and Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 295.

when he had come there he asked the neighbours, 'Where is the family of this park-keeper gone to?'

'The king, Sir, has had them thrown into bonds on account of that chaplet of gold.'

Then the venerable *Pilindavakkha* went on to the residence of the Mâgadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra*: and when he had come there he sat down on the seat prepared for him. And the Mâgadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra* went to the place where the venerable *Pilindavakkha* was; and when he had come there, he bowed down before the venerable *Pilindavakkha*, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable *Pilindavakkha* said to the Mâgadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra*:

8. 'Why, O King, has the park-keeper's family been thrown into bonds?'

'That park-keeper, Sir, has in his house a chaplet of gold, such that there is no chaplet of gold in the king's seraglio like it. Whence should he, poor as he is, have got (such a thing)? For a certainty he has procured it by theft.'

Then the venerable *Pilindavakkha* determined that the palace of the Mâgadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra* should be gold. And it became all of gold.

'Now, your Majesty, whence have you this so great quantity of gold?'

'I understand, Lord. This is your miraculous power' (said the king. And so saying) he set that park-keeper's family free.

9. When the people, glad at heart and full of satisfaction, saw that so great a miracle had been shown by the venerable *Pilindavakkha* to the king and his royal retinue, they brought to the venerable *Pilindavakkha* the five kinds of medicine,—that is to

say, ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses. Now (besides this) the venerable *Pilindavakkha* was accustomed to receive the five kinds of medicine; and whatever he received he distributed among his attendant (*Bhikkhus*). So the retinue became abounding therein, and as they received it they laid it aside, filling vessels and pots; and filling water-strainers and bags with it they laid them in the windows, and they remained there clinging and adhering together, and the *Vihâras* became sprinkled and scattered all over with them through the (gnawing of) rats. People who saw this, when they went round the *Vihâras*, were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant (saying), 'These *Sakya*puttiya *Samanas* are becoming storers up of goods like the *Mâgadha* king *Seniya Bimbisâra*.'

10. The *Bhikkhus* heard the people thus murmuring, &c. And those *Bhikkhus* who were moderate were indignant, &c., saying,

'How can *Bhikkhus* think (of possessing) such abundance?'

And those *Bhikkhus* told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, *Bhikkhus*, as they say, that *Bhikkhus* think (of possessing) such abundance?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed One rebuked them, and after delivering a religious discourse, he addressed the *Bhikkhus*:

'Whatsoever kinds of medicine are meet for the use of sick *Bhikkhus*,—that is to say, ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses,—when such are received they must be used within a period of seven days during which they may be stored up. Whosoever

goes beyond that limit shall be dealt with according to law¹.

End of the first Bhāṇavāra on the law of medicines.

16.

1. Now after the Blessed One had remained at Sāvatti as long as he thought fit, he went forth on his journey towards Rāgagaha. And on the way the venerable Kaṅkhā-revata saw a sugar factory, and on stepping aside to it (he saw the men) putting flour and cane-dust into the molasses. When he saw that he thought: 'Molasses mixed with food is not permitted: it is not permitted to take such molasses (at a time) beyond the time (for the daily meal).' And fearing to offend he ate not of it, and his attendant Bhikkhus ate not, and such as held him worthy to be heard, they ate not.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Why, O Bhikkhus, do they put flour and cane-dust into molasses?'

'In order, Lord, to make it firm.'

'If, O Bhikkhus, they put flour and cane-dust into molasses to make it firm, but it is still (nevertheless) considered to be molasses, I allow you, O Bhikkhus, such molasses as much as you like.'

2. Now the venerable Kaṅkhā-revata saw on the way a kidney bean growing out of a dung heap. And when he had seen it, he thought: 'Beans are not permitted (to us, for) beans grow ready ripe².' And

¹ Compare the 23rd Nissaggiya.

² Pakkā pi muggā gāyanti, the meaning of which is not quite clear. Buddhaghosa says, yathāsukham paribhuṅgitabbā, pakkattā

he did not eat, fearing to offend, and his attendant Bhikkhus did not eat, and such as held him worthy to be heard, they also did not eat the beans.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Though, Bhikkhus, beans grow ready ripe, yet I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat beans as much as you like.’

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu suffered from wind in the stomach. He drank salt sour gruel; and thereby his sickness abated.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, to one who is sick the use of salt sour gruel, to one who is not sick the use thereof mixed with water¹ as a beverage.’

17.

1. Now the Blessed One journeying on in due course came to Rāgagaha. And there at Rāgagaha the Blessed One stayed at the Veluvana in the Kalandaka-nivāpa.

Now at that time the Blessed One was troubled with wind in his stomach. And the venerable Ānanda thinking, ‘Now formerly the Blessed One when suffering from wind in the stomach had ease from Tekatūla² gruel,’ made ready of his own accord tila seeds, and rice, and beans; and kept

hi te kappiyā. Perhaps the doubt was supposed to have arisen because the beans required no cooking, but grew, ready to eat, of themselves.

¹ Compare asam bhinna-pāyāsa at Gāṭaka, vol. i, p. 55, l. 32.

² That is, gruel containing the three pungent (kaṭu) substances, which are explained to be ginger and two kinds of pepper.

them indoors ; and cooked them indoors of his own accord, and offered them to the Blessed One, saying, 'Let the Blessed One drink this Tekatūla gruel.'

2. Now the Tathāgatas sometimes ask about what they know (&c., as usual, as, for instance, in I, 31, 5, down to the end).

And the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda, 'Whence, Ānanda, is this gruel?'

Then the venerable Ānanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, 'This is improper, Ānanda, unbecoming, unsuitable, unworthy of Samanas, not allowable, and ought to be avoided. How can you, Ānanda, think (of permitting yourself) such abundance? Whatever, Ānanda, is kept indoors, is not allowed ; whatever is cooked indoors, is not allowed ; and whatever is cooked of your own accord, is not allowed. This will not redound, Ānanda, to the conversion of the unconverted.'

And when he had rebuked him, and delivered a religious discourse, he said to the Bhikkhus : 'Whatsoever is kept indoors, O Bhikkhus, or cooked indoors, or cooked of your own accord, is not to be eaten. Whosoever shall eat thereof, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.

4. 'And if, O Bhikkhus, there be food kept indoors, or cooked indoors, or cooked of your own accord, and one shall eat thereof, he is guilty of three dukkaṭa offences. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept indoors, and cooked indoors, shall have been so cooked by others, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of two dukkaṭa offences. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept indoors, shall have been cooked out of doors, and

so cooked of your own accord, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of two dukkaṭa offences.

5. 'If, O Bhikkhus, food kept out of doors shall have been cooked indoors, and of your own accord, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of two dukkaṭa offences. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept indoors, shall have been cooked out of doors, and by others, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept out of doors shall have been cooked indoors, and by others, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept out of doors, shall have been cooked out of doors, and of your own accord, and one shall eat thereof, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept out of doors, shall have been cooked out of doors, and by others, and one shall eat thereof, he is not guilty.'

6. Now at that time, the Bhikkhus, thinking, 'Food cooked of one's own accord has been disallowed by the Blessed One,' feared to offend by cooking a second time food (already cooked once).

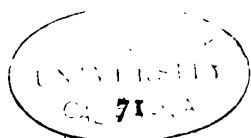
They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook food a second time.'

7. Now at that time there was a scarcity of food in Rāgagaha. People brought salt, and oil, and rice, and hard food to the Ārāma. These the Bhikkhus kept out of doors; and vermin¹ ate them, and thieves carried them off.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *ukkapinḍakâ pi khādantîti bilâla-mûsika-godha-muṅgusâ khādanti*. The expression recurs in VI, 33, 5.



‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to keep food indoors.’

When they kept it indoors, and cooked it out of doors, those men who practised self-mortification by living on the remains of offered food¹ crowded round them; and the Bhikkhus ate in fear.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook indoors.’

In the time of scarcity, those who (by offering food, inviting Bhikkhus to their houses, &c.) made (the accepting or eating of food) allowable (to the Bhikkhus), used to take more (for themselves), and give less to the Bhikkhus.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook of your own accord. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook indoors, and of your own accord, food kept indoors.’

8. Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus who had spent the rainy season in the land of Kâsi, and were journeying to Râgagaha to visit the Blessed One, did not receive on the way as full a supply as they required of food, either bitter or sweet. And there was plenty of eatable fruit, but there was no one to make it allowable for them². And those Bhikkhus went on in weariness to Râgagaha, to the Veluvana, in the Kalandaka-nivâpa, where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there, they bowed down before the Blessed One, and took their seats on one side.

Now it is the custom of the Blessed Buddhas to exchange courteous greetings with Bhikkhus who

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *damakâ ti vighâsâdâ*. The same explanation is given in *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*, verse 467, where the Sinhalese expression is *indul kannâ*, and the English ‘one who eats orts.’

² See the last section.

arrive. And the Blessed One said to those Bhikkhus:

‘Do things go well with you, O Bhikkhus? Do you get enough to support yourselves with? Have you accomplished your journey without too much fatigue? And whence, O Bhikkhus, have you come?’

9. ‘Things go well with us, Lord. We have spent the rainy season in the land of Kâsi; and as we were journeying to Râgagaha to visit the Blessed One, we did not receive on the way as full a supply as we required of food, either bitter or sweet. And there was plenty of eatable fruit, but there was no one to make it allowable for us. And we came on our way in weariness.’

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, after having delivered a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus: ‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, wherever edible fruit is seen and there is no one to make it allowable, to pick it of your own accord, and take it away. And when you see one who can make it allowable, you are to place it on the ground, and (only) eat it after you have received it again. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take whatever (fruit) you have picked up¹.’

18.

1. Now at that time a certain Brâhman had received some fresh tila seeds, and some fresh honey. Now it occurred to that Brâhman: ‘What if I were to give these fresh tila seeds, and this

¹ Compare below, 21. 1.

fresh honey to the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head.' And that Brāhman went to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there, he exchanged courteous greetings with the Blessed One. And after he had exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, he stood on one side. And, so standing, that Brāhman said to the Blessed One :

'May the venerable Gotama grant me that the venerable Gotama shall take his morrow's meal at my home to-morrow with the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.'

The Blessed One consented by remaining silent. And when that Brāhman perceived that the Blessed One had consented he went away.

2. And that Brāhman, at the end of that night, when he had made ready sweet food, both hard and soft, had the time announced to the Blessed One (in the words), 'It is time, O Gotama, and the meal is prepared.'

And the Blessed One, early in the morning, having put on his under robe, went duly bowled and robed to that Brāhman's residence. And when he had come there, he sat down on a seat prepared for him, and with him the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.

And that Brāhman satisfied with the sweet food, hard and soft, the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them with his own hand. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had washed his hands and his bowl, the Brāhman took his seat on one side. And as he so sat the Blessed One instructed, and roused, and incited, and gladdened that Brāhman with religious discourse, and rose from his seat, and went away.

3. Now not long after the Blessed One had gone

it occurred to that Brâhman: 'The things for the sake of which I invited the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head, thinking, "I will give them the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey,"—those I have neglected to give. What if I were now to have the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey taken, in pots and vessels, to the Ârâma!'

And that Brâhman had the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey taken in pots and vessels, and went to the place where the Blessed One was. And when he had come there, he stood on one side; and so standing that Brâhman said to the Blessed One:

4. 'The things for the sake of which I invited the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head, thinking, "I will give them the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey,"—those I have neglected to give. May the venerable Gotama receive of me the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey.'

'Very well then, Brâhman; give them to the Bhikkhus.'

Now at that time, during the scarcity, people invited Bhikkhus to a slender meal, and they, counting the number (of those invited), refused (the invitation). And the whole Saṃgha was (once) invited; but the Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, did not accept the invitation¹.

'Accept it, O Bhikkhus, and eat. I allow, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhu who has eaten and who has refused food still offered may nevertheless eat food, if it be brought from within, even if it has not been left over².

¹ Compare Pâtimokkha, Pâkittiya 32.

² This is an exception to Pâkittiya 35. A Bhikkhu who has

19.

1. Now at that time a family who were devoted to the venerable Upananda, of the Sakya clan, sent hard food for the *Samgha*, saying, 'This is to be given to the *Samgha* with especial reference to the venerable Upananda.'

Now at that time the venerable Upananda of the Sakya clan had gone forth to the village for alms. And those men went to the *Ârâma*, and asked the *Bhikkhus* :

'Where, Sirs, is the venerable Upananda?'

'The venerable Upananda of the Sakya clan has gone forth to the village for alms.'

'This hard food, Sirs, is to be given to the *Samgha*, with especial reference to the venerable Upananda.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'In that case, O *Bhikkhus*, receive it, and put it aside till Upananda returns.'

2. And the venerable Upananda, after having attended on the families in the forenoon, returned during the (after-part of the) day.

Now at that time, during the scarcity, people invited the *Bhikkhus* to a slender meal; and they,

finished, and has declared himself to have done so by declining further food, can still take 'leavings' without offending. By this rule he is also allowed to take food *tato nîhataṃ*, literally, 'brought out thence,' which seems to mean 'out of the store of the giver.' The expression recurs in VI, 32, 1, and again in VI, 32, 2 (at the end), where the exceptions to *Pâṭittiya* 35 laid down in this and the following rules are again, the scarcity having passed away, put aside by 'the Blessed One.'

counting the numbers (of those invited, refused) the invitation. And the whole *Samgha* was (once) invited; but the *Bhikkhus*, fearing to offend, did not accept the invitation.

‘Accept it, O *Bhikkhus*, that a *Bhikkhu* who has eaten, and who has refused food still offered, may nevertheless eat food, if it have been received before meal-time (in the forenoon), even if it has not been left over¹.’

20.

1. Now the Blessed One having remained at *Râgagaha* as long as he thought fit, proceeded on his way to *Sâvatthi*. And wandering straight on from place to place he arrived at *Sâvatthi*. And there, at *Sâvatthi*, the Blessed One stayed at the *Getavana*, *Anâtha-pindîka*’s Grove.

Now at that time the venerable *Sâriputta* suffered from fever. And the venerable *Mahâ Moggallâna* went to the place where the venerable *Sâriputta* was; and when he had come there he said to the venerable *Sâriputta* :

‘You have lately had fever, friend *Sâriputta*. By what means has it got well?’

‘By lotus stalks, my friend, of various kinds.’

Then the venerable *Mahâ Moggallâna*, as quickly as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it in again when it had been stretched forth, vanished from the *Getavana* and appeared on the bank of the *Mandâkint* lake.

2. And a certain *Nâga* saw the venerable *Mahâ*

¹ See the last note.

Moggallâna coming from afar : and on seeing him he said to the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna :

‘May my lord, the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna, approach. Welcome to my lord, the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna. What may my lord have need of? What shall I give to him?’

‘I want the edible stalks of the various lotuses.’

Then that Nâga gave command to another Nâga, saying, ‘Very well then, good friend, give the venerable one edible stalks of the lotuses.’

And that Nâga plunged into the Mandâkint lake, and plucked with his trunk edible stalks of the lotuses, and washed them thoroughly, and bound them in a bundle, and went to the place where the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna was.

3. Then the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna as quickly (&c., as in § 1) vanished from the bank of the Mandâkint lake, and appeared in *Getavana*. Then that Nâga also vanished from the bank of the Mandâkint lake, and appeared in the *Getavana*. And when that Nâga had caused the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna to receive those edible stalks of the lotuses he vanished from the *Getavana*, and appeared on the shore of the Mandâkint lake.

Then the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna presented those edible stalks of the lotuses to the venerable Sâriputta. And the fever abated on the venerable Sâriputta when he had eaten the edible stalks of the lotuses. And many of them remained over.

4. Now at that time, during the scarcity (&c., as above, in chap. 18. 4, down to :) did not accept the invitation.

‘Accept it, O Bhikkhus, and eat. I allow a Bhikkhu who has eaten, and has refused food still

offered, to eat things growing in woods and ponds, even if they are not the leavings of the meal of one who has eaten¹.

21.

1. Now at that time edible fruit was very plentiful in Sāvatti, but there was no one to make it allowable². And the Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not eat of it.

They told that thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat fruit which has not yet had any seed in it, or which has no more seed in it, even without any one being there to make it allowable³.'

22.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Sāvatti as long as he thought fit, he went forth on his journey to Rāgagaha. And wandering straight on he arrived at Rāgagaha: and there at Rāgagaha he stayed at the Veluvana in the Kalan-daka-nivāpa.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was suffering from fistula⁴. And the physician (named) Ākāsa-gotta lanced it. And the Blessed One when he

¹ See the note above, on VI, 18, 4.

² See above, VI, 17, 7.

³ Buddhaghosa says, *abhiṅgaṇaṃ ti taruṇa-phalaṃ; yassa bhiṅgaṇaṃ na ganeti. Nibbatta-bhiṅgaṇaṃ (nivatta-bhiṅgaṇaṃ?) ti bhiṅgaṇaṃ nibbattetva (nivattetvā?) apanetvā.*

⁴ Compare VIII, 1, 14.

was going round through the sleeping-places came to the place where that Bhikkhu dwelt.

2. Ākāsa-gotta, the physician, saw the Blessed One coming from afar; and when he saw him he said to the Blessed One: 'Let the venerable Gotama come and look at this Bhikkhu's orifice; it is like the mouth of an iguana!' And the Blessed One thinking, 'This foolish fellow is making fun of me,' kept silence and turned away. And in that connection, and on account of that, he called a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus: 'Is there, O Bhikkhus, in that Vihāra a Bhikkhu who is sick?'

'There is, Lord.'

'What is the matter, O Bhikkhus, with that Bhikkhu?'

'That venerable one, Lord, has a fistula, and Ākāsa-gotta, the physician, has been lancing it.'

3. The Blessed Buddha rebuked (that Bhikkhu), saying, 'This is improper, O Bhikkhus, for that foolish one, unbecoming, indecent, unworthy of Samanas, not allowable, and ought not to be done. How can this foolish fellow, O Bhikkhus, allow a surgical operation to be performed in that part of his body¹? The skin there, O Bhikkhus, is tender, the wound is difficult to treat, the knife is difficult to guide. This will not redound, O Bhikkhus, to the conversion of the unconverted.'

And having rebuked him, the Blessed One, after delivering a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus: 'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to allow a surgical operation to be performed upon you in that part

¹ Sambādhe.

of your bodies. Whosoever allows that, is guilty of a *thullaṅkāya* offence.'

4. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, since a surgical operation had been forbidden by the Blessed One, used a clyster¹.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, as they say, O Bhikkhus, that the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus use a clyster?'

'It is true, Lord.'

He rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus: 'No surgical operation is to be performed within a distance of two inches round the anus, and a clyster is not to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *thullaṅkāya* offence².'

23.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth to Benares. Wandering from place to place he came to Benares. There the Blessed One dwelt near Benares, in the deer-park Isipatana.

At that time there were at Benares a devout layman Suppiya and a devout laywoman Suppiyā who showed their faith in both ways: they were givers and doers, and devoted themselves to the service of the fraternity. And Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, went to the Ārāma, and going around from Vihāra to Vihāra, and from cell to cell, she asked

¹ *Vatthikamma*. See Wise, 'Hindu Medicine,' pp. 143 and following.

² Surgical operations are allowed in 14. 5 and below.

the Bhikkhus: 'Who is sick, venerable Sirs? For whom, and what shall I procure?'

2. At that time a certain Bhikkhu had taken a purgative. And that Bhikkhu said to Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee: 'I have taken a purgative, sister, and I want some broth¹.'

(She replied): 'Well, reverend Sir, it shall be procured for you,'—and went to her house and gave order to a pupil²: 'Go, my good Sir, and see if there is any meat to be had³.'

That man accepted this order of Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee (by saying), 'Yes, Madam,' and searched through the whole of Benares, but did not find any meat on hand³. Then that man went to Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee; having approached her he said to Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee: 'There is no meat to be had, Madam; the killing of cattle is interdicted to-day.'

3. Then Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee, thought: 'If that sick Bhikkhu does not get the broth his sickness will increase, or he will die. It would be unbecoming indeed for me to promise something, and not to procure it;'—(thinking thus) she took a knife, cut a piece of flesh from her thigh, and gave it to her maid-servant (saying), 'Go, my girl,

¹ *Paṭikkhādaniya*. See *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, verse 468, and above, chap. 14. 7, at the end.

² Of her husband's?

³ *Pavattamamsa*, which Buddhaghosa explains, 'matassa *mam-sam*.' *Pavatta* means 'already existing,' opposed to what is brought into existence for a special purpose, and *pavattamamsa* is said here, therefore, in order to exclude *uddissa-kata-mamsa* (meat of animals killed especially for them), which Bhikkhus were not allowed to partake of (see chap. 31. 14). Compare also *pavattaphala-bhogana* at *Gātaka* I, p. 6.

and get the strength out of this meat. In such and such a Vihāra is a sick Bhikkhu; give it to that (Bhikkhu). And should anybody call for me, tell him that I am sick;’—(speaking thus), she veiled her thigh with her upper garment, went into her inner room, and lay down on her bed.

4. And Suppiya, the lay-devotee, came to his house and asked the maid-servant: ‘Where is Suppiyā?’

‘She lies in the inner room, Sir.’ Then Suppiya, the lay-devotee, went to the place where Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, was; having approached her he said to Suppiyā, the lay-devotee: ‘Why are you lying down?’

‘I am sick.’

‘What is the matter with you?’

Then Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, told the whole matter to Suppiya, the lay-devotee. And Suppiya, the lay-devotee, said: ‘Oh wonderful! oh astonishing! How believing and how pious is this Suppiyā who gives even her own flesh (to the indigent). What else can there be which she would not give?’ (Speaking thus), joyful and elated he went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

5. Sitting near him, Suppiya, the lay-devotee, said to the Blessed One: ‘Might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to take his meal with me to-morrow, together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.’

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then Suppiya, the lay-devotee, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted

the Blessed One, and passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

And when the night had elapsed, Suppiya, the lay-devotee, ordered excellent food, both hard and soft, to be prepared, and had the meal-time announced to the Blessed One in the words: 'It is time, Lord, the meal is ready.' And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl, and, with his *Āvara* on, went to the house of Suppiya, the lay-devotee. When he had arrived there, he sat down with the Bhikkhus who followed him, on seats laid out for them.

6. And Suppiya, the lay-devotee, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he stationed himself near him. When he was standing near him, the Blessed One said to Suppiya, the lay-devotee: 'Where is Suppiyā?'

'She is sick, Lord.'

'Well, let her come here.'

'She is not able to do so, Lord.'

'Well then you must take her and carry her (to me).'

Then Suppiya, the lay-devotee, took Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, and carried her (to the Buddha). And in the moment the Blessed One saw her, that great wound was healed; and there was good skin there, with the tiny hairs thereon.

7. And Suppiya, the lay-devotee, and Suppiyā, the lay-devotee (thought): 'Oh wonderful! oh astonishing! What high power and great faculties the Tathāgata possesses, in that in the moment the Blessed One has seen (Suppiyā), that great wound has been healed; and there is good skin there,

with the tiny hairs thereon ;'—(thinking thus), joyful and elated they served and offered with their own hands excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and cleansed his bowl and his hands, they sat down near him. And the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened Suppiya, the lay-devotee, and Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went away.

8. In consequence of that, and on this occasion, the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, questioned the Bhikkhus : ' Who was it, O Bhikkhus, who asked Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, for meat ?'

When he had spoken thus, that Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One : ' It is I, Lord, who asked Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, for meat.'

' Has it been brought to you, O Bhikkhu?'

' It has been brought, Lord.'

' Have you eaten it, O Bhikkhu?'

' I have eaten it, Lord.'

' And did you enquire, O Bhikkhus, (what) meat it was ?'

' Lord! I did not enquire about that.'

9. Then the blessed Buddha rebuked him : ' How can you, O foolish one, eat meat without having enquired (what it is)? It is man's flesh, O foolish one, which you have eaten. This will not do, O foolish one, for converting the unconverted,' (&c.)

Having rebuked him and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus : ' There are, O Bhikkhus, believing, pious people who give

up even their own flesh. Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat man's flesh. He who does, commits a *thullaḥaya* (or, grave) offence. And let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat meat without having enquired (what it is). He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

10. At that time the king's elephants died. During a famine the people ate that elephants' flesh, and when the Bhikkhus came and asked for alms, they gave them elephants' flesh. The Bhikkhus ate that elephants' flesh. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas eat elephants' flesh? Elephants are an attribute of royalty. If the king knew that, they would not be in his favour.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat elephants' flesh. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

11. At that time the king's horses died. During a famine (&c., as in § 10, down to:)

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat horse-flesh. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

12. At that time the people, during a famine, ate dogs' flesh, and when the Bhikkhus came and asked for alms, they gave them dogs' flesh. The Bhikkhus ate that dogs' flesh. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas eat dogs' flesh? Dogs are disgusting and loathsome animals.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat dogs' flesh. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

13. At that time the people, during a famine, ate serpents' flesh (&c., as in § 12, down to:) 'How can

the Sakyaputtiya Samanas eat serpents' flesh? Serpents are disgusting and loathsome animals.'

And the serpent king Supassa went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he stationed himself near him. Standing near him the serpent king Supassa said to the Blessed One: 'There are, Lord, unbelieving serpents who are disinclined (to the faith); these might do harm to the Bhikkhus even on trifling occasions. Pray, Lord, let their reverences not eat serpents' flesh. Then the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the serpent king Supassa by religious discourse (&c., down to:), and passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.'

In consequence of that the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat serpents' flesh. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

14. At that time hunters had killed a lion and eaten his flesh, and when the Bhikkhus came and asked for alms, they gave them lions' flesh. The Bhikkhus, having eaten that lions' flesh, sojourned in the forest. Then the lions, (attracted) by the smell of lions' flesh, fell upon the Bhikkhus.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat lions' flesh. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

15. At that time hunters had killed a tiger, &c., a panther, &c., a bear, &c., a hyena (&c., as in § 14, down to:)

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat a hyena's flesh. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

24.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Benares as long as he thought fit, went forth to Andhakavinda, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by twelve hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. At that time the people in the country, after having loaded their carts with much salt and oil and rice and hard food, followed from behind the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head (thinking), 'When our turn comes, we will make a meal for them;' and five hundred people who ate the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food (followed on their way). And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Andhakavinda.

2. Now a certain Brāhmaṇa, whose turn did not come, thought: 'Two months have elapsed while I have been following the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head, in order to make a meal for them when my turn comes, but my turn does not come. I am alone here, and many household affairs of mine are going to ruin. What if I were to look into the provision-room, and what I should not see in the provision-room, to prepare that (for the Bhikkhus)!' Then that Brāhmaṇa looked into the provision-room and did not see there two (sorts of food), rice-milk and honey-lumps.

3. And that Brāhmaṇa went to the place where the venerable Ānanda was; having approached him, he said to the venerable Ānanda: 'As my turn did not come, my dear Ānanda, I thought: "Two months have elapsed (&c., down to:). What if I were to look into the provision-room, and what I should not

see in the provision-room, to prepare that!" Thus, my dear Ānanda, I looked into the provision-room and did not see there two (sorts of food), rice-milk and honey-lumps. If I were to prepare, my dear Ānanda, rice-milk and honey-lumps (for the Bhikkhus), would the reverend Gotama accept it from me?'

'Well, my good Brāhmaṇa, I will ask the Blessed One.'

4. And the venerable Ānanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Well, Ānanda, let him prepare (those dishes).'

'Well, my good Brāhmaṇa, you may prepare (those dishes).'

And when the night had elapsed, that Brāhmaṇa had abundant rice-milk and honey-lumps prepared, and offered them to the Blessed One (in the words): 'May the reverend Gotama accept from me this rice-milk and honey-lumps.'

'Well, my good Brāhmaṇa, give it to the Bhikkhus.'

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, did not accept it.

'Accept it, O Bhikkhus, and eat it.'

Then that Brāhmaṇa with his own hands served and offered abundant rice-milk and honey-lumps to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One had washen his hands, when he had cleansed his bowl and his hands, he sat down near him.

5. When he was seated near him, the Blessed One said to that Brāhmaṇa: 'Tenfold, O Brāhmaṇa, is the merit attached to rice-milk. In what way is it tenfold? He who gives rice-milk, gives life; he gives colour; he gives joy; he gives strength; he gives readiness of mind; rice-milk when it is drunk removes hunger; dispels thirst;

sets right the humors of the body; purifies the bladder; and promotes the digestion. This ten-fold merit, O Brāhmaṇa, is attached to rice-milk.

6. 'He who attentively at the right time gives rice-milk to the self-possessed, who live on what others give to them, will benefit them in ten ways: life and colour, joy and strength (he gives to them);—

'Readiness of mind arises from it; it dispels hunger and thirst, and sets the humors right; it purifies the bladder, and brings the food to digestion. As medicine the Perfect One has praised it.

'Therefore should rice-milk be continually given by a man who is longing for joy, who is desirous of heavenly joy, or who aspires to human prosperity.'

7. And the Blessed One, having gladdened that Brāhmaṇa by these stanzas, rose from his seat and went away.

And in consequence of this event the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, (to partake of) rice-milk and honey-lumps.'

25.

1. Now the people heard: 'The Blessed One has allowed (to the Bhikkhus to partake of) rice-milk and honey-lumps.' They prepared early in the morning solid rice-milk¹ and honey-lumps. The Bhikkhus, having satiated themselves in the

¹ *Bhogga-yāgu*, literally, eatable rice-milk, which seems opposed to the ordinary rice-milk which was drunk. *Yāgu* is the Pāli word for what is called in Anglo-Indian terminology 'congey.' *Bhogga-yāgu* is 'rice pudding made with milk.'

morning with solid rice-milk and with honey-lumps, (afterwards) did not dine in the dining-hall with good appetite. At that time a certain minister, who was but newly converted, had invited the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head for the next day. Now this newly converted minister thought: 'What if I were to prepare for these twelve hundred and fifty Bhikkhus twelve hundred and fifty dishes of meat, and offer to each Bhikkhu one dish of meat!'

2. And when that night had elapsed, that newly converted minister ordered excellent food, both hard and soft, and twelve hundred and fifty dishes of meat to be prepared, and had meal-time announced to the Blessed One in the words: 'It is time, Lord, the meal is ready.' And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl, and, with his *ĕlvara* on, went to the house of that newly converted minister. When he had arrived there, he sat down with the Bhikkhus who followed him, on seats laid out for them.

3. Then that newly converted minister in his dining-hall waited on the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'Give us little, friend; give us little, friend.'

'Do not take little, reverend Sirs, because you think: "This minister is but newly converted." Much food, both hard and soft, has been prepared by me, and twelve hundred and fifty dishes of meat; I will offer to each Bhikkhu one dish of meat. Take, reverend Sirs, as much as you want.'

'This is not the reason, friend, for which we take little. But we have satiated ourselves in the morning with solid rice-milk and with honey-lumps; therefore we take little.'

4. And that newly converted minister was annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can their reverences, when I have invited them, partake of solid rice-milk with other people, as if I were unable to give them as much as they want.' (Thinking thus), he went around angry, displeased, and in an offensive temper, filling the bowls of the Bhikkhus (and saying), 'Eat or take it away!' And that newly converted minister served and offered with his own hands excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal and cleansed his bowl and his hands, he sat down near him. And the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened that newly converted minister, who was sitting near him, by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went away.

5. And soon after the Blessed One was gone, scruples and remorse befell that newly converted minister: 'Alas, it is evil to me, it is not good to me! Alas, it is loss to me, it is not gain to me that I went around (among the Bhikkhus) angry, displeased, and in an offensive temper, filling their bowls (and saying), "Eat or take it away!" What have I produced thereby, more merit or more demerit?'

And that newly converted minister went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him, that newly converted minister said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, soon after the Blessed One was gone, scruples and remorse have befallen me: "Alas, it is evil to me

(&c., down to :) more merit or more demerit?" Lord, what have I produced thereby, more merit or more demerit?"

6. 'The moment, friend, in which you invited the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head for the next day, that moment you acquired much merit. And the moment in which each Bhikkhu received one lump of rice from you, that moment you acquired much merit. You gained the inheritance of heaven.'

Then that newly converted minister thought: 'Oh, it is good to me! Oh, it is gain to me! I have acquired much merit! I have gained the inheritance of heaven!'—and glad and joyful he rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

7. In consequence of that, and on this occasion, the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, questioned the Bhikkhus: 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus; that the Bhikkhus, having been invited to one place, partake of solid rice-milk with other persons?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, having been invited to one place, partake of solid rice-milk with other persons? This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted,' &c. Having rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, when he is invited to one place, partake of solid rice-milk with other persons. He who does, is to be treated according to the law.'

26¹.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Andhakavinda as long as he thought fit, went forth to Râgagaha, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by twelve hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. At that time *Belattha Kakkâna* was travelling on the road from Râgagaha to Andhakavinda with five hundred carts all full of pots of sugar. And the Blessed One saw *Belattha Kakkâna* coming from afar; when he saw him, he left the road, and sat down at the foot of a tree.

2. And *Belattha Kakkâna* went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he stationed himself near him. Standing near him, *Belattha Kakkâna* said to the Blessed One: 'I wish, Lord, to give to each Bhikkhu one pot of sugar.'

'Well, *Kakkâna*, bring here one pot of sugar.'

Belattha Kakkâna accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' took one pot of sugar and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he said to the Blessed One: 'I have brought here, Lord, the pot of sugar; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'Well, *Kakkâna*, give the sugar to the Bhikkhus.'

3. *Belattha Kakkâna* accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' gave the

¹ See the 33rd Pâṭittiya Rule about parampara-bhogana (taking food in turn).

sugar to the Bhikkhus, and said to the Blessed One: 'I have given the sugar to the Bhikkhus, Lord, but there is much sugar left over; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'Well, Kakkāna, give the Bhikkhus as much sugar as they want.'

Belattha Kakkāna accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' gave the Bhikkhus as much sugar as they wanted, and said to the Blessed One: 'I have given, Lord, the Bhikkhus as much sugar as they want, but there is much sugar left over; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'Well, Kakkāna, let the Bhikkhus eat their fill with sugar.'

Belattha Kakkāna accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' and let the Bhikkhus eat their fill with sugar; some Bhikkhus filled their bowls and filled their water strainers and bags with it.

4. And Belattha Kakkāna, having let the Bhikkhus eat their fill with sugar, said to the Blessed One: 'The Bhikkhus, Lord, have eaten their fill with sugar, but there is much sugar left over; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'Well, Kakkāna, give the sugar to the people who eat the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food,' &c.

'Well, Kakkāna, give the people who eat the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food as much sugar as they want,' &c.

5. 'Well, Kakkāna, let the people who eat the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food, eat their fill with sugar' (&c., down to:); some of the people who ate the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food, filled their

pots and jars, and filled their baskets and the folds of their dress with it.

6. And *Belattha Kakkāna*, having let the people who ate the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food, eat their fill with sugar, said to the Blessed One: 'The people, Lord, who eat the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food, have eaten their fill with sugar, but there is much sugar left over; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'I see no one, *Kakkāna*, in the world of men and gods, in Māra's and Brahma's world, among all beings, *Samaras* and *Brāhmanas*, gods and men, by whom that sugar, when he has eaten it, can be fully assimilated, save by the Tathāgata or by a disciple of the Tathāgata. Therefore, *Kakkāna*, throw that sugar away at a place free from grass, or sink it into water in which there are no living things.'

Belattha Kakkāna accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' and sunk that sugar into water in which there were no living things.

7. And that sugar, when thrown into the water, hissed and bubbled, and steamed, and sent forth smoke. As a ploughshare, which has been heated through the whole day and is thrown into water, hisses and bubbles, and steams, and sends forth smoke, so that sugar, when thrown into the water, hissed and bubbled, steamed, and sent forth smoke. And *Belattha Kakkāna*, terrified and having his hair erect with fear, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

8. When *Belattha Kakkāna* was sitting near him,

the Blessed One preached to him in due course; that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving, about the duties of morality, about heaven, about the evils, the vanity, and the defilement of lusts, and about the blessings of the abandonment of lusts. When the Blessed One saw that the mind of *Belattha Kakkāna* was prepared, impressible, free from obstacles (to understanding the Truth), elated, and believing, then he preached what is the principal doctrine of the Buddhas, namely, Suffering, the Cause of suffering, the Cessation of suffering, the Path. Just as a clean cloth free from black specks properly takes the dye, thus *Belattha Kakkāna*, even while sitting there, obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

9. And *Belattha Kakkāna*, having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, having understood the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, said to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious, Lord! Just as if one should set up, Lord, what had been overturned, or should reveal what had been hidden, or should point out the way to one who had lost his way, or should bring a lamp into the darkness, in order that those who had eyes might see visible things, thus has the Blessed One preached the doctrine in many ways. I take my refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus; may

the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him.'

27.

And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Râgagaha. There the Blessed One dwelt near Râgagaha, in the Veḷuvana, at Kalanda-kanivâpa. At that time the Bhikkhus at Râgagaha had plenty of sugar. The Bhikkhus feared to offend (and thought): 'The Blessed One has allowed the eating of sugar only to the sick and not to the healthy,' and therefore they did not eat sugar.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, to the sick the eating of sugar, and to the healthy the drinking of sugar-water.'

28¹.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth to Pâṭaligâma, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by twelve hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. Wandering from place to place the Blessed One came to Pâṭaligâma.

¹ Chaps. 28-30 are, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I, 19-II, 3; II, 16-24. See Rh. D.'s Introduction to his translation of the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, pp. xxxiv seq., and his note there at II, 16.

Now the lay-devotees at Pāṭaligāma heard : 'The Blessed One has arrived at Pāṭaligāma.' And the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him. When they were seated near him, the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees by religious discourse.

2. And the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees, having been taught, incited, animated, and gladdened by the Blessed One by religious discourse, said to the Blessed One : 'Might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to come to our rest house together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.' The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees, when they understood that the Blessed One had accepted their invitation, rose from their seats, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with their right side towards him, went away to the rest house. When they had arrived there, they strewed the whole floor of the rest house¹, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they stationed themselves near him.

3. Standing near him the Pāṭaliputta lay-devotees said to the Blessed One : 'We have strewn the whole floor of the rest house, Lord, (with sand), we have placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and

¹ Perhaps we are to supply 'with sand.' Comp. *Dīpavamsa* VI, 64 ; XII, 71, &c.

fixed an oil lamp. May the Blessed One, Lord, do now what he thinks fit.'

And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl, and, with his *Āvara* on, went to the rest house together with the Bhikkhus who followed him. When he had arrived there, he washed his feet, entered the rest house, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the Bhikkhus also washed their feet, entered the rest house, and took their seats against the western wall, with their faces towards the east, having the Blessed One before their eyes. And the *Pāṭaligāma* lay-devotees also washed their feet, entered the rest house, and took their seats against the eastern wall, with their faces towards the west, having the Blessed One before their eyes.

4. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the *Pāṭaligāma* lay-devotees: 'Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. And which is this fivefold loss? In the first place, O householders, the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth; this is the first loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. And again, O householders, of the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, evil repute gets noised abroad; this is the second &c. And again, O householders, whatever society the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, enters—whether of noblemen, *Brāhmanas*, heads of houses, or *Samanas*—he enters shyly and confused; this is the third &c. And again, O householders, the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, is full of anxiety when he dies; this is the fourth &c. And again, O householders, the

wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, on the dissolution of his body, after death, is reborn into some state of distress and punishment, a state of woe, and hell ; this is the fifth &c. This is the fivefold loss, O householders, of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude.

5. 'Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. And which is this fivefold gain? In the first place, O householders, the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry ; this is the first gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. And again, O householders, of the well-doer, strong in rectitude, good reports are spread abroad ; this is the second &c. And again, O householders, whatever society the well-doer, strong in rectitude, enters—whether of noblemen, Brāhmaṇas, heads of houses, or Samānas—he enters confident and self-possessed ; this is the third &c. And again, O householders, the well-doer, strong in rectitude, dies without anxiety ; this is the fourth &c. And again, O householders, the well-doer, strong in rectitude, on the dissolution of his body, after death, is reborn into some happy state in heaven ; this is the fifth &c. This is the fivefold gain, O householders, of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude.'

6. When the Blessed One had thus taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying, 'The night is far spent, O householders. May you do now what you think fit.' The Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees accepted the Blessed One's word by saying, 'Yes, Lord,' rose from their

seats, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with their right side towards him, went away.

7. And the Blessed One, not long after the Pātali-gāma lay-devotees had departed thence, went to an empty place¹ (in order to give himself to meditation).

At that time Sunḍha and Vassakāra, two ministers of Magadha, were building a (fortified) town at Pātali-gāma in order to repel the Vaggis. And the Blessed One, rising up early in the morning, at dawn's time, saw with his divine and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, great numbers of fairies who haunted the ground there at Pātali-gāma. Now, wherever ground is occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there. Wherever ground is occupied by fairies of middling power, &c.; of inferior power, they bend the hearts of middling kings and ministers, &c., of inferior kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there.

8. And the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Who are they, Ānanda, who are building a town at Pātali-gāma?'

'Sunḍha and Vassakāra, Lord, the two ministers of Magadha, are building a town at Pātali-gāma in order to repel the Vaggis.'

'As if they had consulted, Ānanda, with the Tāvātimsa gods, so (at the right place), Ānanda, the Magadha ministers Sunḍha and Vassakāra build this town at Pātali-gāma in order to repel the Vaggis. When I had risen up early in the morning, Ānanda, at dawn's time, I saw with my divine

¹ *Suññāgāra*. Comp. I, 78, 5; *Suttavibhaṅga*, Pārāg. IV, 4, 1.

and clear vision (&c., as in § 7, down to:) they bend the hearts of inferior kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there. As far, Ānanda, as Aryan people dwell, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief town, the city of Pāṭaliputta. But danger of destruction, Ānanda, will hang over Pāṭaliputta in three ways, by fire, or by water, or by internal discord¹.

9. And the Magadha ministers Sunṭha and Vassakāra went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, they exchanged greeting with the Blessed One; having exchanged with him greeting and complaisant words, they stationed themselves near him; then standing near him the Magadha ministers Sunṭha and Vassakāra said to the Blessed One: 'Might the reverend Gotama consent to take his meal with us to-day together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then the Magadha ministers Sunṭha and Vassakāra, when they understood that the Blessed One had accepted their invitation, went away.

¹ The event prophesied here, Pāṭaliputta's becoming the capital of the Magadha empire, is placed by the various authorities under different kings. Hwen Thsang and the Burmese writer quoted by Bishop Bigandet ('Legend of the Burmese Buddha,' third edition, vol. ii, p. 183) say that it was Kālāsoka who removed the seat of the empire to Pāṭaliputta. The Gains, on the other hand, state that it was Udāyi, the son of Agātasattu. Most probably the latter tradition is the correct one, as even king Munda is mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya* as having resided at Pāṭaliputta. Comp. Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' Introd. pp. xv seq.; H. O.'s Introduction to the *Mahāvagga*, p. xxxvii; and the remarks of Professor Jacobi and of H. O. in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 185, 751, 752, note 2.

10. And the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra ordered excellent food, both hard and soft, to be prepared, and had meal-time announced (&c.¹, down to :) on seats laid out for them. And the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra with their own hands served and offered excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal and cleansed his bowl and his hands, they sat down near him. When they were sitting near him, the Blessed One gladdened the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra by these stanzas :

11. 'Wheresoe'er the prudent man shall take up his abode, let him support there good and upright men of self-control.

'Let him make offerings to all such deities as may be there. Revered, they will revere him; honoured, they honour him again;

'Are gracious to him as a mother to the son of her womb. And a man who has the grace of the gods, good fortune he beholds.'

And the Blessed One, having gladdened the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra by these stanzas, rose from his seat and went away.

12. And the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra followed the Blessed One from behind, saying, 'The gate the Samaza Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river Ganges shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate the Blessed One went out by

¹ See chap. 23. 5, &c. Instead of 'Lord,' read here, 'Reverend Gotama.'

was called Gotama's gate. And the Blessed One went on to the river. At that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing¹; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, while some made rafts of basket-work.

13. And the Blessed One saw those people who wished to cross to the opposite bank, some seeking for boats, some for rafts of wood, and some making rafts of basket-work. When he saw them, he vanished as quickly as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw back his outstretched arm, from this side of the river Ganges, and stood on the further bank with the company of the Bhikkhus.

And the Blessed One, perceiving all this, on this occasion, pronounced this solemn utterance :

‘They who cross the ocean's floods making a solid path across the pools—

‘Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts : these are the wise, these are the saved indeed.’

29.

1. And the Blessed One went to Koṭigāma. There at Koṭigāma the Blessed One resided. And the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

‘It is through not understanding and grasping four Noble Truths, O Bhikkhus, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I. And what are

¹ Samatitthikā. This word is replaced by samatīrthikā at Lal. Vist. pp. 501, 528. Compare, however, Rh. D.'s note on Teviggā Sutta I, 24 (‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 178).

these four? By not understanding and grasping the Noble Truth of Suffering, O Bhikkhus; by not understanding and grasping the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering; by not understanding and grasping the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering; by not understanding and grasping the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering: thereby we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I.

2. 'But now, O Bhikkhus, the Noble Truth of Suffering is understood and grasped; the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering, &c., of the Cessation of suffering, &c., of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering is understood and grasped. The craving for existence is rooted out; that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed; and there is no more birth!

'By not seeing the four Noble Truths as they really are, long is the path that is traversed through many a birth.

'Now these are grasped; the cause of birth is removed, the root of sorrow rooted out, and there is no more birth.'

30.

1. Now the courtesan Ambapālī heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Koṭigāma. And the courtesan Ambapālī ordered a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, mounted one of these vehicles, and left Vesālī with her magnificent vehicles in order to visit the Blessed One. She

went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, she sat down near him.

2. When she was sitting near him, the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the courtesan Ambapāli by religious discourse. And the courtesan Ambapāli, having been taught, &c., by the Blessed One by religious discourse, said to the Blessed One: 'Might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to take his meal with me to-morrow together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent.

Then the courtesan Ambapāli, when she understood that the Blessed One had accepted her invitation, rose from her seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and, passing round him with her right side towards him, went away.

3. Now the *Likkhavis* of Vesāli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Kotigāma. And the *Likkhavis* of Vesāli ordered a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, mounted these vehicles, and left Vesāli with their magnificent vehicles in order to visit the Blessed One. Some of the *Likkhavis* were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments; some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments; some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments; some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white colours and ornaments. And the courtesan Ambapāli drove up against the young

Likkhavis, pole to pole, yoke to yoke, wheel to wheel, axle to axle. [4.] And those *Likkhavis* said to the courtesan *Ambapālī*: 'How is it, *Ambapālī*, that you drive up against the young *Likkhavis*, pole to pole, &c.?'

'My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One with the fraternity of *Bhikkhus* for their morrow's meal.'

'*Ambapālī*! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand.'

'My Lords, were you to offer all *Vesālī* with its subject territory, I would not give up this meal.'

Then the *Likkhavis* snapped their fingers (exclaiming), 'We are outdone by this woman¹! we are out-reached by this woman¹!'

4. Then the *Likkhavis* went to the place where the Blessed One was. And the Blessed One saw the *Likkhavis* coming from afar; when he saw them, he addressed the *Bhikkhus* and said: 'O *Bhikkhus*, let those of the *Bhikkhus* who have never seen the *Tāvatimsa* gods, gaze upon this company of the *Likkhavis*, behold this company of the *Likkhavis*, compare this company of the *Likkhavis*, even as a company of *Tāvatimsa* gods!'

And the *Likkhavis* went in the carriages as far as the ground was passable for carriages (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to :) 'Might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to take his meal with us to-morrow together with the fraternity of *Bhikkhus*.'

¹ *Ambakāya*, which *Buddhaghosa* explains by *itthikāya*, comp. the well-known Mantra, *Vāgasaneyi Saṃhitā* 23. 18: *Ambe ambike 'mbālike*, &c. Probably the word *ambakā* is a contemptuous form intended here at the same time to convey an allusion to the mango-(*amba*-) gardens which *Ambapālī* possessed, and from which she was named. Comp. Rh. D.'s note at *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* II, 19.

‘I have promised, O *Likkhavis*, to dine to-morrow with Ambapālī the courtesan.’

5. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at *Koṭigāma* as long as he thought fit, went to *Āṭikā*. There the Blessed One dwelt at *Āṭikā*, in the Brick Hall (*Giṇṇakāvasatha*). And when the night had elapsed, the courtesan Ambapālī ordered in her park excellent food (&c., as in chap. 28. 10¹, down to :) she sat down near him. Sitting near him the courtesan Ambapālī said to the Blessed One: ‘I give up this Ambapālī grove, Lord, to the fraternity of *Bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head.’ The Blessed One accepted the *Ārāma*. Then the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the courtesan Ambapālī by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went to the Mahāvana. There the Blessed One dwelt at Vesālī, in the Mahāvana, in the *Kūṭāgāra-sālā*.

End of the *Likkhavi Bhānavāra*.

31.

1. At that time many distinguished *Likkhavis* were sitting together assembled in the town-hall and spoke in many ways in praise of the Buddha, of the Dhamma, and of the *Samgha*. At that time *Sīha*, the general-in-chief (of the *Likkhavis*), a disciple of the *Nigantha* sect, was sitting in that assembly. And *Sīha*, the general, thought: ‘Truly

¹ Replace ‘the Magadha ministers *Sunīdha* and *Vassakāra*’ by ‘the courtesan Ambapālī,’ and instead of ‘Reverend Gotama,’ read ‘Lord.’

he, the Blessed One, must be the Arahāt Buddha, since these many distinguished *Likkhavis*, who are sitting here together assembled in the town-hall, speak in so many ways in praise of the Buddha, of the Dhamma, and of the *Samgha*. What if I were to go and visit him, the Arahāt Buddha.'

2. And *Sīha*, the general, went to the place where the *Nigantha Nātaputta*¹ was; having approached him, he said to the *Nigantha Nātaputta*: 'I wish, Lord, to go and visit the *Samana Gotama*.'

'Why should you, *Sīha*, who believe in the result of actions² (according to their moral merit), go to visit the *Samana Gotama*, who denies the result of actions? For the *Samana Gotama*, *Sīha*, denies the result of actions; he teaches the doctrine of non-action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.'

Then the desire to go and to visit the Blessed One, which had arisen in *Sīha*, the general, abated in him.

3. And a second time many distinguished *Likkhavis* were sitting together (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to the end).

And a third time many distinguished *Likkhavis* were sitting together, &c. And a third time *Sīha*, the general, thought: 'Truly he, the Blessed One, must be the Arahāt Buddha, since these many distinguished *Likkhavis*, who are sitting here together assembled in the town-hall, speak in so many ways

¹ The founder of the *Nigantha* sect, who is, according to the important discovery of Professors Bühler and Jacobi, identical with the Mahāvīra of the *Gāin* legends. See Jacobi's Preface to the *Kalpasūtra*, pp. 1 seq.

² *Kiriya-vāda*.

in praise of the Buddha, of the Dhamma, and of the *Samgha*. What are the *Niganthas* to me, whether they give their consent or not? What if I were to go without asking the *Niganthas* for their consent, to visit him, the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha.'

4. And Sīha, the general, went out of Vesālī with five hundred vehicles at broad daylight in order to visit the Blessed One. He went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there he alighted; and he proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him, and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. When he was sitting near him, Sīha, the general, said to the Blessed One: 'I have heard, Lord, that the *Samāna* Gotama denies the result of actions; he teaches the doctrine of non-action, and in this doctrine he trains his disciples. Now, Lord, those who speak thus: "The *Samāna* Gotama denies the result of actions," &c.—do they say the truth of the Blessed One, and do they not bear false witness against the Blessed One and pass off a spurious Dhamma as your Dhamma? And there is nothing blameworthy in a discourse and dispute like this regarding matters of the Dhamma; for it is our intention, Lord, to avoid bringing false accusations against the Blessed One.'

5¹. 'There is a way, Sīha, in which one speaking truly could say of me: "The *Samāna* Gotama denies action²; he teaches the doctrine of non-action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples."

¹ A part of the following discourse is the same as *Suttavibhaṅga*, *Pārāg.* I, 1, 3.

² 'The doctrine of non-action,' and 'the doctrine of action,'

‘And again, Sīha, there is a way in which one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama maintains action¹; he teaches the doctrine of action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.”

‘And again, Sīha, there is a way in which one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama maintains annihilation²; he teaches the doctrine of annihilation; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.”

‘And again, Sīha, there is a way in which one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama proclaims contemptibleness³; he teaches the doctrine of contemptibleness; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.”

‘And again, &c. : “The Samana Gotama proclaims Vinaya⁴; he teaches the doctrine of Vinaya; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.”

‘And again, &c. : “The Samana Gotama proclaims Tapas⁵, &c.”

‘And again, &c. : “The Samana Gotama is a pagabbha⁶; he teaches the doctrine of apagabbhatā, &c.”

taken in the ordinary sense of the words, are the doctrines that the actions of sentient beings receive not, or receive, their reward according to the law of moral retribution. In this discourse, however, a peculiar meaning is attached to these two terms; see § 6.

¹ See note 2, p. 110.

² *Ukkhedavāda* (‘the doctrine of annihilation’) is the doctrine that death is the annihilation of existence (‘*ukkhedavādā sato sattassa ukkhedam vināsam vibhavam paññāpenti.*’ *Brahmagālasutta*). But in this discourse the word is taken in a peculiar sense; comp. § 7.

³ *Gegukkhita*. See § 7.

⁴ ‘Right conduct.’ But in this discourse it is also taken in the sense of ‘putting away’ (scil. evil); see § 8.

⁵ ‘Self-mortification,’ literally, ‘burning,’ in which sense the word is taken in § 8.

⁶ *Apagabbha* (*apragabbha*) and *apagabbhatā* ordinarily mean

‘And again, &c. : “The Samana Gotama is confident¹; he teaches the doctrine of confidence, &c.”

6. ‘And in which way is it, Stha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama denies action ; he teaches the doctrine of non-action ; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples ?” I teach, Stha, the not-doing of such actions as are unrighteous, either by deed, or by word, or by thought ; I teach the not bringing about of the manifold conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good. In this way, Stha, one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama, &c.”

‘And in which way is it, Stha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama maintains action ; he teaches the doctrine of action ; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples ?” I teach, Stha, the doing of such actions as are righteous, by deed, by word, and by thought ; I teach the bringing about of the manifold conditions (of heart) which are good and not evil. In this way, &c.”

7. ‘And in which way is it, Stha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama maintains annihilation ; he teaches the doctrine of annihilation ; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples ?” I proclaim, Stha, the annihilation of lust, of ill-will, of delusion ; I proclaim the annihilation of the manifold conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good. In this way, &c.”

‘And in which way is it, Stha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama

‘irresolute’ and ‘irresolution.’ But here the words are taken in quite another sense, with a pun that cannot be rendered in English ; see § 9.

¹ See § 9.

proclaims contemptibleness, &c.?" I deem, Siha, unrighteous actions contemptible, whether they be performed by deed, or by word, or by thought; I proclaim the doctrine of the contemptibleness of falling into the manifold conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good. In this way, &c.

8. 'And in which way is it, Siha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samāṇa Gotama proclaims Vinaya, &c.?" I teach, Siha, the doing away¹ with lust, with ill-will, with delusion; I teach the doing away with the manifold conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good. In this way, &c.

'And in which way is it, Siha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samāṇa Gotama proclaims Tapas, &c.?" I teach, Siha, that all the conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good, unrighteous actions by deed, by word, and by thought must be burnt away². He who has freed himself, Siha, from all conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good, which ought to be burnt away, who has rooted them out, and has done away with them as a palm tree is rooted out³, so that they are destroyed⁴ and cannot grow up again — such a

¹ Vinayāya.

² Tapanīya, connected with tapas.

³ Tālā vatthukatā. See Buddhaghosa's explanation of this phrase in Vinaya Piṭaka, vol. iii, p. 267.

⁴ Anabhāvaṃ gatā (see the correction, Vinaya Piṭaka, vol. ii, p. 363), literally, 'They are gone to non-existence.' Buddhaghosa takes great pains in explaining anabhāva; and he quotes also a various reading anubhāva; see Vinaya Piṭaka, vol. iii, p. 267. But anabhāva is correct, and must be understood as a synonym of abhāva. As to ana-, equal to a-, compare S. Goldschmidt, Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges. vol. xxxii, pp. 100 seq.; Weber, Hāla, p. 16; Pischel's note on Hematandra II, 190; Curtius, Griechische

person do I call accomplished in Tapas. Now the Tathâgata, Sîha, has freed himself from all conditions, &c. In this way, &c.

9. 'And in which way is it, Sîha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samaza Gotama is apagabbha (irresolute¹), &c.?"' He who has freed himself, Sîha, from the necessity of returning in future into a mother's womb², and of being reborn into new existences, who has rooted out (his being subject to) rebirth, and has done away with it as a palm tree is rooted out, so that it is destroyed and cannot grow up again—such a person do I call apagabbha. Now the Tathâgata, Sîha, has freed himself, &c. In this way, &c.

'And in which way is it, Sîha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samaza Gotama is confident, &c.?"' I am confident, Sîha, by the highest confidence; and thus I teach the doctrine of confidence and train my disciples in it. In this way, &c.'

10. When he had spoken thus, Sîha, the general, said to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious, Lord! (&c., as in chap. 26. 9, down to:) may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him.'

'Consider first, Sîha, what you are doing. It is becoming that well-known persons like you should do nothing without due consideration.'

Etymologie, 5th edition, p. 306 (*ānāśvos*, &c.). Another Pāli word containing this prefix ana- is *anamata, anamatagga*; see, for instance, *Gâtaka II*, p. 56.

¹ See § 5 with our note.

² Into a 'gabbha.' 'Apagabbha' is taken here as 'not subject to returning to a gabbha.'

‘By this, Lord, my joy and my faith in the Blessed One has still increased, in that the Blessed One says to me: “Consider first, &c.” Had the other Tithiya teachers, Lord, got me as their disciple, they would carry around their banners through the whole of Vesâli (and cry): “Sîha, the general, has become our disciple!” But the Blessed One says to me: “Consider first, &c.” For the second time, Lord, I take my refuge in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the Bhikkhu-saṃgha: may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him.’

11. ‘For a long time, Sîha, drink has been offered to the Niganthas in your house¹. You should therefore deem it right (also in the future) to give them food when they come (to you on their alms-pilgrimage).’

‘By this, Lord, my joy and my faith in the Blessed One has still increased, in that the Blessed One says to me: “For a long time, &c.” I have been told, Lord: “The Samana Gotama says: ‘To me alone gifts should be given; to nobody else gifts should be given. To my pupils alone gifts should be given; to no one else’s pupils gifts should be given. Only what is given to me has great reward; what is given to others has not great reward. Only what is given to my pupils has great reward; what is given to the pupils of others has not great reward.’” But the Blessed One exhorts me to give also to the Niganthas. Well, Lord, we will see what will be season-

¹ Literally, ‘your house has been an opâna to the Niganthas.’ Opâna may be either avapâna or, as Buddhaghosa seems to understand it, udapâna (compare oka = udaka).

able. For the third time, Lord, I take my refuge in the Blessed One, &c.'

12. And the Blessed One preached to Siha, the general, in due course; that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by almsgiving, about the duties of morality (&c., in the usual way; see, for instance, I, 8, 2, 3, down to :) dependent on nobody else for knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, he said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One consent to take his meal with me to-morrow, together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then Siha, the general, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and, passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

And Siha, the general, gave order to a certain man (among his subalterns, saying), 'Go, my friend, and see if there is any meat to be had¹.' And when that night had elapsed, Siha, the general, ordered excellent food (&c., as in chap. 23. 5, down to the end).

13. At that time a great number of *Niganthas* (running) through Vesâli, from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way², with outstretched arms, cried: 'To-day Siha, the general, has killed a great ox and has made a meal for the Samana Gotama; the Samana Gotama knowingly eats this meat of an animal killed for this very purpose, and has thus become virtually the author of that deed (of killing the animal)!''

Then a certain man went to the place where Siha,

¹ About pavattamansa, see the note at chap. 23. 2.

² See X, 1, 9.

the general, was. Having approached him he said to Siha, the general, into his ear: 'Please, Lord, have you noticed that a great number of *Niganthas* (running) through Vesâli, &c.?'

'Do not mind it, my good Sir. Long since those venerable brethren are trying to discredit the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha*; and those venerable brethren do not become tired of telling false, idle, vain lies of the Blessed One. Not for our life would we ever intentionally kill a living being.'

14. And Siha, the general, served and offered with his own hands excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of *Bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One (&c., as in chap. 23. 7, down to the end).

In consequence of that the Blessed One, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the *Bhikkhus* and said:

'Let no one, O *Bhikkhus*, knowingly eat meat (of an animal) killed for that purpose. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.

'I prescribe, O *Bhikkhus*, that fish is pure to you in three cases: if you do not see, if you have not heard, if you do not suspect (that it has been caught specially to be given to you).'

32.

1. Now at that time Vesâli was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms were easy to obtain, one could very well get a living¹ by gleaning, or through favour.

¹ Literally, 'keep oneself going.' Compare the use of *yâpetum* at *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* II, 32.

And when the Blessed One had retired into solitude this consideration presented itself to his mind : 'The things which I have prescribed for the Bhikkhus in a time of scarcity, when the harvest is bad, and alms are difficult to obtain—keeping food indoors, cooking it indoors, cooking it of one's own accord, taking what they can pick up, eating food brought from within, or received before meal-time, eating things found in woods or in pools¹, those things the Bhikkhus enjoy also now.'

And the Blessed One, in the evening, when he had left his solitude, said to the venerable Ānanda : 'The things which (&c., as above, down to :) or in pools—do the Bhikkhus enjoy those things now also ?'

'They enjoy them, Lord.'

2. Then the Blessed One, in that connection, and on that account, after having delivered a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus :

'The things which I have prescribed (&c., as in § 1, down to :) or in pools—those I do not allow from this day forth. You are not, O Bhikkhus, to eat food kept indoors, or cooked indoors, or cooked of your own accord ; nor to take things (to eat) which you have picked up. Whosoever shall do so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. And you are not, O Bhikkhus—after you have once finished eating, and have refused food still offered—to eat food brought from within, or received before meal-time, or found in the woods or pools, even if it be food which is not the leavings of the meal of one who has eaten on invitation. Whosoever shall so eat, shall be dealt with according to law².'

¹ For these rules, see above, VI, 17-19.

² See the 35th Pāṭittiya Rule, and our note upon it.

33.

1. Now at that time the country people loaded much salt, and oil, and rice, and hard food on their carts, and making a laager in the outer enclosure of the Ârâma, they waited there, saying, 'When it comes to our turn, we will provide a meal.' And a great storm-cloud arose.

Then those people went to the place where the venerable Ânanda was; and when they had come there they said to the venerable Ânanda: 'We loaded a quantity of salt, and oil, and rice, and hard food on to our carts; and they stand there. Now a great storm-cloud has arisen. What are we now, Ânanda, Sir, to do with them?'

Then the venerable Ânanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In that case, Ânanda, let the *Samgha* decide upon some outside building as a *kappiya-bhûmi* (that is to say, a site, outside the actual dwelling, in which provisions can be kept or cooked without breaking the rule laid down in the last chapter) and keep the stores there (in a building) of any shape the *Samgha* chooses, such as *vihâra*, *addhayoga*, *pâsâda*, *hammiya*, *guhâ*¹.

'And thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be resolved upon. A discreet and able Bhikkhu should proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* appoint the *Vihâra* called N. N. to be our *kappiya-bhûmi*. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me.

¹ On these five kinds of buildings, see above, I, 30, 4; II, 8, 1.

The *Samgha* appoints the *Vihāra* called N. N. to be our *kappiya-bhūmi*. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of appointing the *Vihāra* (&c., down to :) thus I understand.”’

3. Now at that time men in that place—the *kappiya-bhūmi* duly chosen by resolution (of the *Samgha*)—boiled congey, and boiled rice, and mixed curries, and cut up meat, and split fire-wood. And when the Blessed One, as the night was passing away, rose up, he heard a great and loud noise, as of the cawing of crows. On hearing this he asked the venerable Ānanda: ‘What now, Ānanda, may be this great and loud noise, as of the cawing of crows?’

4. ‘In that place, Lord,—the *kappiya-bhūmi* duly chosen by resolution (of the *Samgha*),—men are now boiling congey, and boiling rice, and mixing curries, and cutting up meat, and splitting fire-wood. Thence, Lord, comes that great and loud noise, as of the cawing of crows.’

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, and on that account, after he had delivered a religious discourse, said to the *Bhikkhus* :

‘A *kappiya-bhūmi*, O *Bhikkhus*, duly chosen, is not to be made use of. Whosoever shall so use it, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence. I allow you, O *Bhikkhus*, a *kappiya-bhūmi* of three kinds, one that has become so by means of a proclamation¹,

¹ Buddhaghosa says on this word: ‘When a *Vihāra* is to be erected on piles, or the foundations of its walls are to be dug out, and the stones on which it is to rest are already laid, then when the first pile or the first stone of the walls is put upon them, the men standing round in a body proclaim, “Let us make a *kappiya-kuṭi*.”’ The proclamation cannot be made after the building has got further than the actual stage here described. *Ussāvanā* is

an ox-stall¹, and a building belonging to laymen².'

5. Now at that time the venerable Yasoga was sick, and drugs were brought for his use, and these the Bhikkhus put out of doors. Vermin ate them, and thieves carried them away³.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use a duly chosen kappiya-bhûmi (to keep drugs in). I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a kappiya-bhûmi of four kinds, one that has become so by means of a proclamation, an ox-stall, a building belonging to laymen, and a duly chosen one.'

End of the twenty-fourth Bhāṇavāra.

34.

1. Now at that time in Bhaddiya-nagara there dwelt a householder named *Mendaka* (the Goat), who was possessed of this miraculous power: When he had bathed his head, and had had his granary swept out, he could sit outside and fill the granary

therefore from *ussāveti*, 'to proclaim;' and *antika* is used here, as below in VII, 1, 7.

¹ *Gonisādika*. Compare Buddhaghosa's explanation of *gonisādi-nivīḥo gāmo* at *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, Pār. II, 3, as given by Minayeff, 'Prātimoksha,' p. 66, lines 7, 8. Here Buddhaghosa says simply, 'There are two kinds of ox-stalls; *ârâma* ox-stalls and *vi-hâra* ox-stalls. Of these, when neither the *ârâma* nor the dwellings are fenced in (*parikkhittāni honti*), that is an *ârâma* ox-stall; when all or some of the dwellings are fenced in, and not the *ârâma*, that is a *vi-hâra* ox-stall. So both kinds depend upon the fencing in of the *ârâma*.'

² This seems to mean that stores could be kept for the *Samgha* on laymen's premises.

³ Compare above, VI, 17, 7.

by making showers of grain fall down from the sky. His wife was possessed of this miraculous power: When she sat down beside a pint¹ pot and vessel for curry and sauce she could serve the serving men with food; and so long as she did not get up, it was not exhausted. Their son was possessed of this miraculous power: He could take a bag containing a thousand², and give to each serving man six months' wages; and so long as he held it in his hand, it was not exhausted.

2. Their daughter-in-law was possessed of this miraculous power: When she sat down beside a four-bushel³ basket she could give six months' rice to the serving men; and so long as she did not get up, it was not exhausted. Their slave was possessed of this miraculous power: When he ploughed with one plough-share seven furrows were formed.

3, 4. Now the Māgadha king Seniya' Bimbisāra heard: 'In Bhaddiya-nagara in our kingdom there dwells, they say, a householder named Mendāka, who is possessed (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to the end).'

5. Then the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to a certain minister who had charge of general affairs: 'They say, good Sir, that in Bhaddiya-nagara (&c., as above). Go, good Sir, and find out about this. When you have seen it, it shall be the same as if I myself had seen it.'

'Even so, Lord,' said that minister, in assent, to the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, and he set out for Bhaddiya-nagara with his fourfold host.

6. And proceeding straight on he came to Bhaddiya-nagara, and to the place where the householder

¹ *Aṭṭaka*. See Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins and Measures,' p. 18.

² *Ibid.* p. 9 and note 4.

³ *Doṇa*. *Ibid.* p. 18.

Mendaka was; and when he had come there, he said to the householder *Mendaka*: 'I have received command from the king, "They say, good Sir (&c., as above, § 5)." Let us behold, O householder, your miraculous power.'

Then *Mendaka* the householder bathed his head, and had his granary swept out, and sat down outside it. And showers of grain fell down from the sky and filled the granary.

'I have seen, O householder, your miraculous power. Let us see that of your wife.'

7. Then *Mendaka* the householder gave command to his wife, 'Serve then the fourfold host with food.'

And the wife of *Mendaka* the householder took her seat beside a pint pot and a vessel of sauces and curry, and served the fourfold host with food; and until she rose up it was not exhausted.

'I have seen, O householder, the miraculous power of your wife. Let us see that of your son.'

8. Then *Mendaka* the householder gave command to his son, 'Pay then, my dear boy, six months' wages to the fourfold host.'

And the son of *Mendaka* the householder took one bag containing a thousand, and paid the fourfold army six months' wages. And so long as he held it in his hand, it was not exhausted.

'I have seen, O householder, the miraculous power of your son. Let us see that of your daughter-in-law.'

9. Then *Mendaka* the householder gave command to his daughter-in-law, 'Give, then, six months' rice to the fourfold host.'

And the daughter-in-law of *Mendaka* the house-

holder sat down beside one four-bushel basket, and provided the fourfold host with six months' rice. And so long as she did not get up, it was not exhausted.

'I have seen, O householder, the miraculous power of your daughter-in-law. Let us see that of your slave.'

'The miraculous power of my slave, Sir, must be seen in the field.'

'It is enough, O householder. I have seen the miraculous power of your slave.'

Then that minister returned again to Râgagaha with his fourfold host, and went to the place where the Mâgadha king Seniya Bimbisâra was, and when he had come there he told the matter to the Mâgadha king Seniya Bimbisâra.

10. Now the Blessed One, when he had remained at Vesâli as long as he thought fit, went on his way to Bhaddiya with a great company of Bhikkhus, with one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One wandering straight on arrived at Bhaddiya. And there the Blessed One stayed in the Gâtiyâvana.

11. And Mendaka the householder heard: 'Behold, that Samana Gotama, of the Sakya clan, who left the Sakya tribe to adopt the religious life, is now arrived at Bhaddiya and is staying in the Gâtiyâvana. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad that he is said to be a fully-enlightened one, blessed, and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed, who guides men as a driver curbs a bullock, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha. He by himself thoroughly understands, and sees, as it

were face to face, this universe, the world with its Devas, and with its Brahmas, and with its Mâras, and all creatures, Samanas and Brâhmanas, gods and men: and he then makes that knowledge known to others. The truth doth he make known, both in the spirit and in the letter: lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation. The higher life doth he proclaim, in all its purity and all its perfectness. Blessed is the sight of Arahats like that.'

12. Then *Mendaka* the householder had a number of splendid carriages made ready, and mounting one of them he set out from Bhaddiya with the train of splendid carriages to visit the Blessed One.

And many Titthiyas saw *Mendaka* the householder as he was coming from afar; and when they had seen him, they said to *Mendaka* the householder:

'Whither, O householder, are you going?'

'I am going, Sirs, to visit the Blessed One, the Samana Gotama.'

'But why, O householder, do you, being a Kiriya-vâda, go out to visit the Blessed One who is an Akiriya-vâda? For, O householder, the Samana Gotama, who is an Akiriya-vâda, teaches Dhamma without the doctrine of action¹, and in this Dhamma he instructs his hearers.'

13. Then thought *Mendaka* the householder: 'For a certainty that Blessed One must be an Arahata Buddha: since these Titthiyas are so jealous of him.' And he went on to the place where the Blessed One was, proceeding in the carriage as far

¹ See above, VI, 31, 5.

as the ground was passable for carriages, and then dismounting from the carriage, and going on foot. And when he had come there, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side.

And when he was so seated the Blessed One preached (&c., as usual, for instance, I, 8, 2, 3, down to :) 'taken his refuge in him.'

'May the Blessed One consent to take his meal, together with the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, at my house to-morrow.'

The Blessed One consented by remaining silent.

14. Then *Mendaka* the householder when he saw that the Blessed One had consented (&c., as usual, see VI, 18, 1, 2, down to :) sat down on the seat prepared for him.

15. Then the wife, and the son, and the daughter-in-law, and the slave of *Mendaka* the householder went to the place where the Blessed One was: and when they had come there they bowed down before the Blessed One and took their seats on one side.

And the Blessed One preached to them (&c., as in § 13, down to :) 'taken their refuge in him.'

16. Then *Mendaka* the householder served the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head (&c., as usual, down to :) sat down on one side.

And when he was so seated *Mendaka* the householder said to the Blessed One: 'So long as the Blessed One shall stay at Bhaddiya, so long will I provide the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head with food every day.'

Then the Blessed One gladdened (&c., as usual, down to :) the Blessed One rose from his seat, and went away.

17. Now when the Blessed One had remained

at Bhaddiya as long as he thought fit, he went on, without informing Mendaka the householder, to Aṅguttarâpa with a great company of Bhikkhus, with one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus.

And Mendaka the householder heard: 'The Blessed One, they say, has gone on to Aṅguttarâpa with (&c., down to :) Bhikkhus.' And Mendaka the householder gave command to his slaves and servants: 'Load then, my men, a quantity of salt and oil, and rice, and hard food, and come: and let one thousand two hundred and fifty cow-keepers come with one thousand two hundred and fifty cows. Wherever we find the Blessed One there will we supply him with fresh milk.'

18. And Mendaka the householder came up with the Blessed One in a desert place on the way. And Mendaka the householder went up to the place where the Blessed One was: and when he had come he stood on one side. And so standing, Mendaka the householder said to the Blessed One: 'May the Blessed One consent to take his meal (&c., as usual, down to :) 'The time has come, and the meal is ready.'

19. And the Blessed One early in the morning (&c., down to :) sat down on the seat prepared for him.

Then Mendaka the householder gave command to those thousand two hundred and fifty cow-keepers: 'Take then, my men, each of you a cow, and wait each of you upon a Bhikkhu, and provide him with fresh milk.'

And Mendaka the householder waited upon the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head with his own hand, and satisfied them with sweet food, hard and soft, and with fresh milk.

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not take the milk :

‘Take it, Bhikkhus, and drink it.’

20. And *Mendaka* the householder, when he had waited with his own hand upon the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head, and had satisfied them with sweet food, hard and soft, and with fresh milk; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had washed his hands and his bowl, took his seat on one side.

And, so sitting, *Mendaka* the householder said to the Blessed One: ‘There are desert ways, Lord, waterless and foodless, where it is not easy to travel without supplies for the journey. It would be well if the Blessed One were to allow the Bhikkhus to take supplies with them.’

Then the Blessed One gladdened (&c., as usual, down to :) rose from his seat, and went away.

21. And the Blessed One, in that connection, and on that account, after having delivered a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the five products of the cow ;—milk, curds, ghee, buttermilk, and butter. There are, O Bhikkhus, desert ways, waterless and foodless, where it is not easy to travel without supplies for the journey. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to provide yourselves with supplies for a journey ;—rice for him who wants rice, beans for him who wants beans¹, salt for him who wants salt, molasses for him who wants molasses, oil for him who wants oil, ghee for him who wants ghee. There are, O Bhikkhus, faithful and converted men who deposit

¹ Two kinds of beans are mentioned, *mugga* and *mâsa*.

gold with a kappiya-kâraka¹, saying, "Provide whatever is allowable for this Bhikkhu." I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to accept whatever is allowable. But I do not say by that, O Bhikkhus, that you may, on any pretext whatsoever, accept or seek for gold.'

35.

1. Now the Blessed One proceeded straight on, on his alms-pilgrimage, to *Āpāna*. And Keniya the ascetic² heard the saying, 'Behold! the Samana Gotama, who was born in the Sākya clan, and who went forth from the Sākya clan (to adopt the religious life), has arrived at *Āpāna*, and is staying at *Āpāna*. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad that he is said to be a fully-enlightened one, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed, who guides men as a driver curbs a bullock, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha. He by himself thoroughly understands, and sees, as it were face to face, this universe, the world with its Devas, and with its¹ Brahmas, and with its Mâras, and all creatures, Samanas and Brâhmanas, gods and men: and he then makes his knowledge known to others. The truth doth he make known, both in the spirit and in the letter:

¹ See above, chap. 17. 8.

² In Pāli *Gaṇṭha*; that is, 'one with long matted hair.' See our note on *Mahāvagga* I, 15, 1; and compare also *Dīpavamsa* I, 38; *Gātaka* I, 15, 84; *Dhammapada*, v. 141, and the passages quoted by Professor Oldenberg in his edition of the *Kullavagga*, p. 350, and by Dr. Rhys Davids in his 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 185.

lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation. The higher life doth he proclaim, in all its purity and all its perfectness. Blessed is the sight of Arahats like that¹! And Keniya the ascetic thought: 'What now should I have taken² to the Samāna Gotama.'

2. And Keniya the ascetic thought: 'They who are the ancient *Rishis* of the Brāhmins, the authors of the sacred verses, the utterers of the sacred verses, whose ancient form of words, so uttered chaunted or composed, the Brāhmins of to-day chaunt over again and repeat, intoning or reciting exactly as had been intoned or recited—to wit, *Atthaka*, *Vāmaka*, *Vāmadeva*, *Vessāmitta*, *Yamagga*, *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Vāsettha*, and *Bhagu*³—they were abstainers from food at night, and abstainers from food at the wrong time, yet they used to receive such things as drinks. (3.) Now the Samāna Gotama is also an abstainer from food

¹ This is a stock phrase. Compare above VI, 34, 11, and the *Tevigga Sutta* I, 7, 46, and the passages quoted on the last by Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 287.

² That is, as a present, the usual tribute of respect.

³ The names of these *Rishis*, and the above phrases from 'They who' &c. downwards, recur several times in the *Tevigga Sutta*. See Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 172, &c. Most of these names are easily to be identified, being in Sanskrit *Vāmadeva*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Gamadagni* (who is only mentioned in this list in reference to *Rig-veda* III, 62, quoted from below. See also Oldenberg's note to *Sāṅkhāyana's Gṛhya-sūtra* IV, 10 in *Indische Studien* XV, 153), *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Vasiṣṭha*, *Kaśyapa*, and *Bṛigu*. The only doubtful names are *Vāmaka* and *Atthaka*. The latter must be *Aśhaka*, mentioned as the author of *Rig-veda* X, 104, unless it be supposed to be a corrupt reading under which some representation of *Atri* may lurk. *Vāmaka* is the only unintelligible form, for it would be difficult to see how that word could come to stand for the *Vamra* to whom *Rig-veda* X, 99 is ascribed.

at night, an abstainer from food at the wrong time¹. It will be worthy of him too to receive such things as drinks. And when he had had a quantity of drinkables made ready he had them carried on pin-goes and went up to the place where the Blessed One was. And when he had come there, he greeted him; and after exchanging with him the greetings of friendship and civility, he stood by on one side. And so standing Keniya the ascetic spake thus to the Blessed One:

‘May the Blessed One accept at my hands these drinkables.’

‘Very good then, Keniya; give them to the Bhikkhus.’

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not receive them.

‘Receive them, O Bhikkhus, and make use of them.’

4. Then Keniya the ascetic having, with his own hand, satisfied the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head with many drinkables until they refused any more, took his seat, when the Blessed One had washed his hands, and had laid aside the bowl, on one side. And when he was so seated the Blessed One taught and incited and aroused and gladdened Keniya the ascetic with religious discourse: and Keniya the ascetic, when he had been taught and incited and aroused and gladdened by the Blessed One with religious discourse, spake thus to the Blessed One:

‘May the venerable Gotama grant to me the privilege of providing the to-morrow’s meal for him, together with the company of the Bhikkhus.’

¹ See the eighth section of the *Kūḷa-sīla*.

grape-juice, and syrup made from the edible root of the water-lily¹, and phârusaka²-syrup. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the juice of all fruits, except the juice prepared from corn³. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, drinks prepared from all leaves, except drinks prepared from potherbs⁴. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, drinks prepared from all flowers, except liquorice-juice⁵. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of the juice of the sugar cane.'

7. And Keniya the ascetic, at the end of the night, had sweet food, both hard and soft, made ready at his hermitage: and he had the time announced to the Blessed One, saying, 'It is time, O Gotama, and the meal is ready.'

And the Blessed One, having put on his under robes early in the morning, went, duly bowled and robed, to the place where the hermitage of Keniya the ascetic was. And when he had arrived there, he sat down on the seat spread out for him, and with him the company of the Bhikkhus. Then

cannot be, as usual, seed; for there is no such thing as a palmyra fruit with one seed. See Rh. D.'s note on p. 94 of the 'Buddhist Birth Stories.'

¹ In the text read *sâlûka*.

² This is the *Grewia Asiatica* of Linnaeus. See Böhlingk-Roth under *parûsaka*.

³ Toddy and arrack are so prepared. The use of toddy was one of the famous Ten Points of the heretics at the Council of Vesâli. See below, *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 11. Buddhaghosa explains this as 'drink made from any one of the seven kinds of corn;' where the seven kinds referred to must be those mentioned in the *Abhidhâna-ppadîpikâ*, verses 450, 451.

⁴ *Dâka* = *sâka*. Compare our note below on VI, 36, 8, and *Gâtaka*, ed. Fausböll, I, 308.

⁵ *Madhuka-puppha-rasam*; *Madhuka* is the *Bassia Latifolia* of Linnaeus.

Keniya the ascetic, with his own hand, offered to the company of the Bhikkhus with the Buddha at their head, and satisfied them with the sweet food, both hard and soft. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal and had washed his hands and his bowl, he (Keniya) took his seat on one side.

8. And when he was so seated the Blessed One pronounced the benediction on Keniya the ascetic in these verses :

‘Of the offerings¹ the fire sacrifice is the chief, of sacred verses the chief is the Sâvitthi²;

‘Among men the king is chief, and of waters the ocean,

‘Of constellations the moon is chief, and of heat-givers the sun,

‘But of them, the conquering ones, who long after good, the Samgha, verily, is chief.’

And when the Blessed One had, in these verses, pronounced the benediction³ on Keniya the ascetic, he rose from his seat, and departed thence⁴.

36.

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed at Âpâra as long as he thought fit, he went on, on his pilgrimage, to Kusinârâ, with a great company

¹ Yaññâ. Compare above, I, 22, 4, and our note there (p. 138).

² This is of course the well-known verse Rig-veda III, 62, 10. The argumentum ad hominem here is a fresh confirmation of the view already expressed above in our note on I, 15, 1, that by the Gatilas are to be understood the orthodox Brâhman ascetics.

³ Compare the Book of the Great Decease I, 31, and Gâtaka I, 119.

⁴ §§ 7, 8 recur in the Sela Sutta (Sutta Nipâta, III, 7, 21, 22), where they stand in a much more appropriate context.

of Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. And the Mallas of Kusinârâ heard, saying, 'The Blessed One, they say, is coming to Kusinârâ with a great company of Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus.' And they established a compact to the effect that whosoever went not forth to welcome the Blessed One, should pay a fine of five hundred (pieces¹).

Now at that time there was a certain Malla, by name Roga, who was a friend of the venerable Ânanda's. And the Blessed One, continuing in due course his pilgrimage, arrived at Kusinârâ.

2. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ went forth to welcome the Blessed One. And Roga the Malla, having gone forth to welcome the Blessed One, went on to the place where the venerable Ânanda was: and when he had come there, he saluted the venerable Ânanda, and stood by on one side. And to him, so standing, the venerable Ânanda spake thus:

'This is most excellent of thee, friend Roga, that thou hast come forth to welcome the Blessed One!'

'It is not I, O Ânanda, who am much moved² by the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the Saṃgha. But by the clansmen a compact was made to the effect that whosoever went not forth to welcome the Blessed One should pay a fine of five hundred (pieces). So that it was through fear of being fined

¹ That is, the square kahâpâṇas of copper or bronze, figured in the Bârhut bas-reliefs, and mentioned in the Dhammapada. See Rh. D.'s 'Ancient Coins and Measures,' p. 4, § 5.

² Bahukato; only found in this passage. Buddhaghosa says, Nâham bhante Ânanda bahukato ti nâham Buddhâdi-gatapâsâda-bahumânena idhâgato ti dassetî ti. Here Buddhâdi means the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṃgha.

by my clansmen that even I went forth to welcome the Blessed One.'

Then the venerable Ānanda was filled with sorrow, thinking, 'How can Roga the Malla speak thus?'

3. And the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was: and when he had come there, he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side, and so sitting the venerable Ānanda spake to the Blessed One thus:

'This Roga the Malla, Lord, is a very distinguished and well-known person. Great would be the efficacy¹ of the adherence given by well-known persons like him to this doctrine and discipline. May the Blessed One be pleased so to act, that Roga the Malla shall become devoted to this doctrine and discipline.'

'Now that, Ānanda, is not a hard thing for the Tathāgata—so to act that Roga the Malla should become devoted to this doctrine and discipline.'

4. Then the Blessed One suffused Roga the Malla with the feeling of his love², and rising from his seat he entered into his dwelling-place. And Roga the Malla, overcome by the Blessed One by the sense of his love, just as a young calf follows the kine, so did he go on from dwelling-place to dwelling-place, and from apartment to apartment, asking the Bhikkhus:

'Where then, Sirs, is that Blessed One dwelling now, the Arahāt Buddha? For we desire to visit that Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha.'

¹ Mahiddhiyo, where, as so often elsewhere, Iddhi has no supernatural connotation. Compare the passages quoted above in our note on I, 15, 2.

² Compare Rh. D., 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 112.

‘This, friend, is his dwelling-place, the door of which is shut. Go up therefore quietly, and without crossing the threshold, enter into the verandah, and knock at the cross-bar. The Blessed One will open the door to thee.’

5. So Roga the Malla did so, and the Blessed One opened the door. And Roga the Malla entered into the dwelling-place, and saluted the Blessed One and took his seat on one side. And to Roga the Malla sitting there the Blessed One preached in due course: that is to say, he talked to him of giving; of moral conduct; of heaven; of the danger of vanity, of the corruption of lusts; and of the advantages of renunciation. When the Blessed One saw that the mind of Roga the Malla was prepared, impressible, free from obstacles to understanding the truth, elated, and believing, then he preached that which is the principal doctrine of the Buddhas, namely, Suffering, the Cause of suffering, the Cessation of suffering, and the Path. And just as a clean cloth, free from black specks, properly takes the dye, thus did Roga the Malla, even while sitting there, obtain the pure and spotless eye of the truth (that is, the knowledge that), ‘Whatsoever is subject to the condition of beginning, that is subject also to the condition of cessation.’ And Roga the Malla, having seen the truth, having mastered the truth, having understood the truth, having penetrated the truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on no one else for knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, thus spake to the Blessed One:

‘May the venerable one be pleased, Lord, to

receive from me alone, and not from others, the requisites of the Order: that is to say, robes, and food, and dwelling-places, and medicine for the use of the sick.'

'Whosoever, Roga, with the knowledge of a disciple, and with the insight of a disciple¹, has perceived the Truth, even as thou hast, they also will think, "Oh! that the venerable ones would be pleased to receive from me alone, and not from others, the requisites of the order." Therefore, Roga, they shall receive them from you, indeed, but also from others.'

6. Now at that time a certain succession had been fixed, in which the inhabitants of Kusinârâ should each in succession provide food for the Samgha. And it occurred to Roga the Malla, who had not received a place in the succession, thus: 'What if I were to inspect the Samgha's storehouse, and provide whatever I found wanting in the storehouse?' And on inspecting the storehouse, he found there no potherbs, and no meal².

Then Roga the Malla went up to the place where the venerable Ânanda was, and when he had come there, he spake to the venerable Ânanda thus:

'It occurred to me (&c., as before, down to :) and no meal. If, Ânanda, I were to provide potherbs and meal, would the Blessed One accept them at my hands?'

7. The venerable Ânanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Sekhena, as opposed to asekhena. That is, with the knowledge of one who is not himself an Arahant. See our note on Mahâvagga I, 7, 13.

² See the note at the end of § 8.

‘Very good, then, Ānanda. Let him provide them.’

‘Very good, then, Roga. Provide them accordingly.’

Then Roga the Malla at the end of the night, after he had had a quantity of potherbs and meal made ready, offered them to the Blessed One, saying, ‘May the Blessed One accept at my hands the potherbs and the meal.’

‘Very good, then, Roga. Present them to the Bhikkhus.’

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, did not accept them.

‘Accept them, O Bhikkhus, and make use of them.’

8. Then Roga the Malla, with his own hand, offered to the company of the Bhikkhus with the Buddha at their head, and satisfied them with the potherbs and the meal. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had cleansed his hands and the bowl, he (Roga) took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the Blessed One taught, and incited, and conversed, and gladdened Roga the Malla with religious discourse. And Roga the Malla, when he had been taught, &c., rose from his seat and departed thence.

And the Blessed One, on that occasion, and in that connection, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, all kinds of potherbs¹, and all kinds of meal².’

¹ *Sabbāṇ ka ṭākan* (sic) *ti sappi-ādīhi pakkam vā apakkam vā yam kiṇṇi ṭākam* (B.)

² *Piṭṭha-khādaniyan ti piṭṭhamayam khādaniyam* (B.)

37.

1. Now the Blessed One, when he had stayed at Kusinârâ as long as he thought fit, went on, on his pilgrimage to Âtumâ, with a great company of the Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. And at that time there was dwelling at Âtumâ a certain man, who had entered the Order in his old age, and who had previously been a barber¹. He had two sons, handsome², skilled in discourse³, able, fully educated in all the arts which belonged to the barbers' craft handed down to them by their teachers⁴.

2. Now this dotard⁵ heard the news: 'The Blessed One, they say, is coming to Âtumâ with

¹ This man is identified by the tradition with the Subhadda mentioned in the accounts of the Great Decease, and of the First Council. See Rh. D.'s note on Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta VI, 40.

² Buddhaghosa understands this word, which he reads differently, as meaning 'sweet-voiced.' Maññukâ (sic) ti madhura-vañanâ. We follow the ordinary meaning of maññu.

³ Here again Buddhaghosa gives a technical meaning to the word, unsupported by the derivation. He says, Pañibhāneyyakā ti sake sippe pañibhāna-sampannā. This agrees with Childers's rendering (sub voce) of Gâtaka I, 60; but compare Sigâlovâda Sutta, ed. Grimblot, p. 309.

⁴ On the idiomatic phrase sakam âkariyakam, compare Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta III, 7, 8 (text ed. Childers, pp. 24 and following).

⁵ Literally, 'this man who had gone forth (from the household state into the homeless life of the Order) in his old age.' But it is impossible to repeat this long phrase throughout the narrative as is done in the Pâli, where the meaning of the phrase is expressed by one compound. As the Pâli word vuddha-pabbagito connotes contempt, and even censure (men entering the Order in their old age being often represented as incapable of appreciating even the simplest principles of the 'doctrine and discipline'), the use of the word 'dotard' in our translation seems to retain the spirit of the Pâli epithet, while avoiding the inconvenient length of a literal version.

a great company of the Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus.' Then that dotard spake thus to his sons: 'They say the Blessed One is coming, my children¹, to Âtumâ with a great company of Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. Go, therefore, my children, and taking your barbers' lad² with you, collect in quart pots from house to house, salt, and oil, and rice, and meal. And we will prepare congey for the Blessed One when he has arrived.'

3. Very good, Father, said they, and (did so). And when people saw those young men, of pleasing appearance, and skilful in discourse, so acting, then even those who were not willing to be led into joining in the act were led to join in it; and being so led, they gave abundantly. So the young men collected a great quantity of salt, and oil, and rice, and meal.

4. And the Blessed One in due course arrived in his journey at Âtumâ; and there at Âtumâ the Blessed One stayed at the Threshing-floor. And that dotard, when the night was far spent, had much congey made ready, and offered it to the Blessed One, saying, 'May the Blessed One accept the congey at my hands.'

Now the Tathâgatas sometimes ask about what they know; sometimes they do not ask about what they know. They understand the right time when to ask, and they understand the right time when not to ask. The Tathâgatas put questions full of

¹ Tâta, not tâtâ. It will be seen that Childers is wrong in supposing that the plural form is always used when more than one person is addressed.

² Khura-bhaṇḍam; not 'shaving materials;' compare hatthi-bhaṇḍo and assa-bhaṇḍo at Mahāvagga I, 61, and below, § 5.

sense, not void of sense: to what is void of sense, the bridge is pulled down for the Tathāgatas. For two purposes the blessed Buddhas put questions to the Bhikkhus—when they intend to preach the Truth, and when they intend to institute a rule of conduct to their disciples¹. And the Blessed One spake thus to that dotard, ‘Whence, O Bhikkhu, is this congey?’

Then that dotard informed the Blessed One of the whole matter.

5. The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, ‘This is improper, O foolish one, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a Samana, unbecoming, and ought not to be done. How can you, O foolish one, having gone forth (from the world into the Order), instigate others to do what is unlawful. This will not conduce, O foolish one, to the conversion of the unconverted.’

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: ‘One who has gone forth ought not, O Bhikkhus, to instigate others to an unlawful act². Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa. And one, O Bhikkhus, who has formerly been a barber is not to keep a barber’s boy. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

38.

1. And when the Blessed One had tarried at Ātumā as long as he thought fit, he went on his

¹ See Mahāvagga I, 31, 5.

² Unlawful, because one Bhikkhu may not beg for others, and it is unlawful for those others to accept things thus procured.

journey towards Sâvatthi. And in due course, journeying straight on, he arrived at Sâvatthi, and there, at Sâvatthi, the Blessed One stayed in the Ārama of Anâtha-pindîka.

Now at that time there was in Sâvatthi great abundance of solid food in the shape of fruits. And the question arose among the Bhikkhus, 'Has, now, the Blessed One permitted the use of fruits as solid food, or has he not?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, all solid food in the shape of fruits.'

39.

1. Now at that time, seedlings belonging to the Samgha grew upon private ground, and seedlings belonging to private persons grew upon ground which was the property of the Samgha.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Of seedlings belonging to the Samgha, grown upon private ground, half the produce, O Bhikkhus, you may have, when you have given a part to the private owner. Of seedlings belonging to a private person, grown upon ground the property of the Samgha, you may have the use, when you have given a part to the private owner¹.'

40.

1. Now at that time there used to arise among the Bhikkhus a fear lest they should offend in

¹ Buddhaghosa explains the 'part' (bhâgam) as the twelfth part, which, he says, is in accordance with the ancient custom of India. Used absolutely, as in this passage, bhâga usually means 'half.'

some particular or other, they thinking, 'Has this been permitted by the Blessed One, or has it not?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Whatsoever, O Bhikkhus, has not been disallowed by me in the words, "This beseems you not," then, if that thing is in accord with what is unlawful, and is contrary to what is lawful, that is not lawful. Whatsoever has not been disallowed by me with the words, "This beseems you not," then, if that thing is in accord with what is lawful, and is contrary to what is unlawful, that is lawful.'

'And whatsoever, O Bhikkhus, has not been allowed by me with the words, "This beseems you," then, if that thing is in accord with what is lawful, and is contrary to what is unlawful, that is not lawful. Whatsoever has not been allowed by me with the words, "This beseems you," then, if that thing is in accord with what is lawful, and is contrary to what is unlawful, that is lawful¹.'

2. Then the Bhikkhus thought: 'Is food that may be eaten till the first watch of the night² lawful, or not, when mixed with food that ought to be eaten before noon on the same day? Is food that may be eaten at any time within seven days³ lawful, or not, when mixed with food that ought to be eaten before noon on the same day? Is food that may be eaten at any time during life⁴ lawful, or not, when mixed with food that ought to be eaten

¹ The formal expressions referred to in these two paragraphs are precisely the expressions to which, in the Book of the Great Decease VI, 40, and in the Kullavagga XI, 1, 1, Subhadda is stated to have taken such serious objection.

² This refers to certain medicines; see Mahāvagga VI, 1, 5.

³ This also refers to certain medicines; see the 23rd Nissaggiya.

⁴ What this refers to is unknown to us.

before noon on the same day? Is food that may be eaten at any time within seven days lawful, or not, when mixed with food that may be eaten at any time during life? Is food that may be eaten at any time during life lawful, or not, when mixed with food that may be eaten at any time within seven days?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. ‘Food that may be eaten up to the first watch of the night, or food that may be eaten at any time within seven days, or food that may be eaten at any time during life, is lawful, O Bhikkhus, when mixed with food that ought to be eaten before noon on the same day, up till noon-time, and it is not lawful after noon-time. Food that may be eaten at any time within seven days, or food that may be eaten at any time during life, is lawful, O Bhikkhus,—when it has been mixed with food that may be eaten up to the first watch of the night,—up till the first watch of the night, and is not lawful after the first watch of the night. Food that may be eaten at any time during life, is lawful, O Bhikkhus,—when it has been mixed with food that may be eaten at any time within seven days,—at any time within seven days, and is not lawful beyond seven days¹.’

Here ends the sixth Khandhaka on Medicaments.

¹ Buddhaghosa says that this holds good if the two are so mixed that the taste (*rasu*) has become one (*sambhinna*). If the two are not so mixed, then they may be divided, and the part allowable during the longer period may be enjoyed up to the end of that period. See I, 20, 9; V, 2, 1; VI, 16, 3; VIII, 1, 24, and the notes there.

SEVENTH KHANDHAKA.

(THE KATHINA CEREMONIES.)

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Sāvattthi, in the *Getavana*, Anāthapīṇḍika's Grove. And at that time about thirty Pāṭheyyaka Bhikkhus¹,

¹ Buddhaghosa says, 'Pāṭheyya (the Berlin MS. reads Pāveyya) is the name of a kingdom situated to the west of the Kosala country. This passage refers to Bhikkhus who dwelt there. The Bhattavaggiya Theras (so the Berlin MS.; query Satta-vaggiya), who were brothers of the Kosala king, sons of the same father, are here alluded to.'

But with which of the many kingdoms 'to the west of the Kosala country' are we to identify Pāṭheyya? The word does not occur in the stock list, found in different parts of the Pāli Piṭakas, of the sixteen Mahā-ganapadā; that is to say, Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśi, Kosala, Vaggi, Malla, Ketiya, Vamsa, Kuru, Pañṭāla, Maṭṭha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra, Kamboga. The account of the Council at Vesālī gives us a hint as to the right answer to the above question; for the Thera Sambhūta, who took part in that Council, is called a Pāṭheyyaka in *Kullavagga* XII, 2, 7, and is also said at *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 8 to have lived Ahogaṅge Pabbate. The position of this hill is further described in the Mahāvamsa as being on the upper Ganges—uddhagaṅgāya . . . Ahogaṅgamhi pabbate (p. 39, ed. Turnour). Then again in *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 7 the Thera Yasa, when wishing to put himself in communication with the Bhikkhus in Pāṭheyya and in other places, goes to Kosambī as the most convenient meeting-place for Bhikkhus coming from the East. The other places mentioned in that passage in juxta-position with Pāṭheyya would seem to show that Pāṭheyya, with Pāṭīna, Avanti, and Dakkhināpatha, is one of the principal divisions into which India, as then known, was divided; and that it includes most, if not all, of the great westerly kingdoms of

who were all dwellers in the forest, all living on alms, all dressed in rags from the dust heap, all having only three robes each, when they were on the way to Sāvatti to visit the Blessed One, at the time when the period for entering upon Vassa was at hand, were unable to reach Sāvatti in time to spend the Vassa there, and stayed at Sāketa on the way for the Vassa. And they spent the period of Vassa in discomfort, thinking, 'Our Blessed One is staying near us, six leagues from here, and we are not able to visit the Blessed One.'

And when, after three months, those Bhikkhus had completed their Vassa residence, and had held their Pavāraṇā, they went on to the place where the Blessed One was, at Sāvatti, in the Getavana, Anāthapiṇḍika's Grove, while the rain was falling, and the waters were gathering¹, and the swamps were forming, and their robes were all drenched, and they were weary. And when they had arrived, they saluted the Blessed One, and took their seats on one side.

2. Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas to greet kindly Bhikkhus who have just arrived. And the Blessed One said to those Bhikkhus²:

'Do things go well with you, O Bhikkhus? Do

Kuru, Pañkāla, &c., which are the last eight of the sixteen kingdoms in the stock list above referred to. Probably the literal meaning of Pāṭheyya is 'western' (Sans. *pratyāñk*). In the Suttavibhaṅga (Pāṭittiya 34) merchants are mentioned who are travelling from Rāgagaha to the Paṭiyāloka, which must mean 'the western country,' just as Paṭiyārāma (Dīpav. 17, 11) means 'the western Ārāma.'

¹ Udaka-saṃgahe 'ti udakena saṃgaḥite ghaṭite samsaṭṭhe thale ka minne ka ekodakibhūte 'ti attho (B.).

² Compare IV, 1, 8, and foll.

you get enough to support yourselves with? Have you kept Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and have you not suffered from want of food?’

‘Things go well with us, Lord; we get enough to support ourselves with, Lord; we have kept Vassa, Lord, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and have not suffered from want of food. When we were on our way, Lord, about thirty *Pātheyyaka* Bhikkhus, to Sāvatti to visit the Blessed One, we were unable to reach Sāvatti in time (&c., as in § 1, down to:). And when, after three months, Lord, we had completed our Vassa residence, and had held our Pavâranâ, we have made our way, while the rain was falling, and the waters were gathering, and the swamps were forming; and our robes were all drenched; and we have become weary.’

3. Then the Blessed One in that connection, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said¹:

¹ As has been remarked in a previous note (to the first Nissaggiya Pāṭittiya Rule) some of the details of these *Kaṭhina* ordinances are at present difficult to understand. But the general meaning of them is already clear. Immediately after the Pavâranâ, the ceremony by which the Vassa residence is closed, there follows a distribution of the robes belonging to the local *Samgha*, (that is, the portion of the Order dwelling within one boundary,) to the particular Bhikkhus composing the *Samgha*. This distribution commences with the *kaṭhin-atthâra*, *atthâra*, ‘spreading out,’ not being used here literally for spreading out on the ground or otherwise, but in a secondary, juristic sense. And the act performed receives the technical name *atthâra* by a process of putting a part for the whole, the spreading out in the sun (see our note, p. 18) for the whole ceremony. We translate the term according to the context, sometimes by ‘spreading out,’ sometimes by ‘ceremony,’ sometimes by ‘dedication.’

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Kathina ceremony shall be performed by Bhikkhus when

The Kathina, literally ‘hard,’ is the stock of cotton cloth provided by the faithful to be made up into robes for the use of the Samgha during the ensuing year. The whole of this cotton cloth must be dyed, sewn together, and made into robes, and then formally declared to be (not only common property, Samghika, but) available for immediate distribution—all on one and the same day. The object of this was that the Samgha, or at least a quorum of the Samgha, being able to be present throughout, there would be less chance of any mistake by which what was intended equally for all might come to be unequally divided among a few. All the Brethren who have kept their Vassa within the limits of the district within which the particular Samgha lives (and therefore technically called an *āvāsa*, ‘residence’), and who have taken part in the Pavāraṇā, are entitled to share in the distribution.

(Buddhaghosa says, ‘*Ettha kathinatthāram ke labhanti ke na labhanti. Gaṇavasena tāva paṭṭhima-koṣyā pañka ganā* (for at least five must be present to make a Pavāraṇā legal, Mahāvagga IX, 4, 1) . . . *vutthavassavasena purimikāya vassam upagantivā paṭhama-pavāraṇāya pavāritā labhanti.*’)

There can of course be no kaṭṭhin-atthāra if there is no kaṭṭhina; and, under certain restrictions laid down in the Nissaggiya Pāṭittiya Rules, laymen were allowed to give robes for the special use of a particular Bhikkhu. If, however, a layman was desirous of giving the much more meritorious gift of a Kathina to the whole community, then he is to present the cloth in the early morning to a properly constituted meeting of the Samgha, and the Kathina ceremony has to be gone through. All the Brethren living within the boundary have to be present, and to take part in the work of making the cotton cloth up into robes; and if there is any danger of the work not being concluded before the day is over, even the most senior Bhikkhus, or the most revered for their learning or insight, must lend a hand. Then follows the distribution so far only as is set forth in the next section (§ 4) and in the note to it.

Now it would often happen that, at the end of the rainy season of Vassa, the last year’s robes of some of the Bhikkhus would be worn out. And yet no laymen would come forward to give a Kathina until some time after the Vassa residence had closed. But

they have completed their Vassa. And five things are allowable to you, O Bhikkhus, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been held—going for alms to the houses of people who have not invited you¹, going

if any one did offer a *Kaṭhina*, and the ceremony was duly performed, then each Bhikkhu had a right to supply his actual needs from the robes made out of the *Kaṭhina*. He need not do so at once. His want might not be pressing, or might not even arise till afterwards. During such an interval the five privileges (*Ānisaṃsā*) mentioned in this section (§ 3) are accorded to the Bhikkhus, though they would be against the rules in force during the rest of the year.

But if the Bhikkhu kept on postponing his choice would the privileges accorded by this section hold good even during the whole year? Could the Bhikkhu, by his mere abstention, thus bring about a practical abrogation of the general rules? Not so, for the five privileges are in their turn suspended by any one of the eight things mentioned below in § 7.

We may add that at the present time in Burma and Ceylon, the robes for the Bhikkhus are usually provided in accordance with the rules regulating gifts to particular Bhikkhus. But the gift of a *Kaṭhina* is still by no means uncommon. See Spence Hardy's 'Eastern Monachism,' pp. 121 and foll. There is probably, however, very seldom any necessity for the Bhikkhus to avail themselves of any of the five privileges, except the last.

¹ This privilege is one of the exceptions allowed, in the *Pāṭimokkha*, to the 46th *Pāṭittiya*. Bhikkhus were allowed, as a general rule, to pass through a village, with their alms-bowls in their hands, in order to give any disciple who wished to do so the opportunity of giving them food. (To describe this procedure by our word 'begging,' as is so often done, is, to say the least, misleading.) The 46th *Pāṭittiya* lays down, in certain circumstances, a restriction on this general rule. The present section removes that restriction during the period of *Kaṭhin-atthāra*; in order, according to Buddhaghosa (see the note on *Pāṭ.* 46), to prevent the stock of robes falling short. That is, apparently, with the hope that a freer intercourse than usual between Bhikkhus and laity might lead to a gift of a *Kaṭhina* when it was urgently required.

Here Buddhaghosa says simply, '*Anāmantanta-kāro 'ti yāva kaṭhinam na uddharyati tāva anāmantetvā.*' *Āmanteti* must be equal to *āpuṭṭhati*. Compare Böhtlingk-Roth under *āmantrana*.

for alms without wearing the usual set of three robes¹, going for alms in a body of four or more², possessing as many robes as are wanted³, and whatever number of robes shall have come to hand, that shall belong to them (that is, to the Bhikkhus entitled, by residence and otherwise, to share in the distribution⁴).

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the Kathina to be dedicated.

4. ‘Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim

¹ This privilege is granted as a relaxation of the 2nd Nissaggiya. Buddhaghosa says, ‘Asamâdâna-kâro ‘ti ti-kivaram asamâdâya karanam kivaravippavâso kappissattī attho.’ Compare Mahāvagga VIII, 23, 3. It will be seen that the wording of the Pâtimokkha Rule is not inconsistent with the rule laid down here.

² This is a relaxation of the 3rd Pâkittiya, and is mentioned in that rule.

³ This would seem to be a relaxation of the 1st Pâkittiya. Though it is not referred to there in terms, it is implied in the clause by which the operation of the rule is postponed till after the Kathina has been ‘taken up,’ i. e. till each Bhikkhu has actually received his share, or otherwise lost his claim to it. Till that has taken place, a Bhikkhu may use (temporarily, and without actually appropriating them) as many robes as he likes. B. says, ‘Yâvadattha-kivaran ti yâvatâ kivarena attho tâvatakam anadhihitam avikkappitam (compare Sutta-vibhaṅga Niss. I, 3, 1) kappissattī attho.’

⁴ That is, according to Buddhaghosa, either those belonging to a Bhikkhu who has died, or those belonging to the Saṅgha in any way. This shows that at the division not only the robes made out of the gift of a Kathina were to be included, but whatever robes had not been given as intended specially for some one Bhikkhu. As to the actual practice now in Ceylon, compare Spence Hardy, loc. cit. Buddhaghosa says here: ‘Yo ka tattha kivar-uppâdo tattha kathinatthata-simâya mataka-kivaram vâ hotu saṅgham uddissa dinnam vâ saṅghikena tat’ uppâdena âbhatam vâ yena kenaî âkârena yam saṅghikam kivaravippavâso kappissattī attho.’ The use of the pronoun *nesam* at the end of the rule is awkward, following after *vo*; but the meaning as translated is not open to doubt.

the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "This *Kathina*-cloth has become the property of the *Samgha*. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hand over the *Kathina*-cloth to such and such a *Bhikkhu* to spread out the *Kathina*. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This *Kathina*-cloth has become the property of the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* hands it over to such and such a *Bhikkhu* to spread out the *Kathina*. If the *Samgha* approves of the handing over of the *Kathina* to such and such a *Bhikkhu* for spreading it out, let it remain silent. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore does it remain silent. Thus I understand¹."

5. 'Now thus, O *Bhikkhus*, has the *Kathina* ceremony been duly held; and thus has it not been duly held².

¹ This formula is one of those included in the collection entitled *Kammavâkam*. It appears from Minayeff (*Prâtimoksha*, pp. 75, 76) that the *Bhikkhu* so appointed superintends the processes of dyeing, sewing, &c. When the new robes are ready for wear, he lays aside one of his old robes which has been worn out (*paṭṭakuddharitvâ*), and chooses for himself one of the new ones (*navam adhiṭṭhahitvâ*), saying as he does so, 'imâya samghâṇiyâ (or, as the case may be, uttarâsaṅgena, antaravâsakena) kaṭṭhinam attharâmi.' This speech shows the technical application of the verb *attharati* in this connection. He then points out the remaining robes to the *Bhikkhus* there present, specifying which he thinks fit for the elder, and which for the younger members of the Order (*Theras* and *Navakas*); but not assigning further any particular robes to particular *Bhikkhus*. Finally he calls upon the *Samgha* for their formal approval of his procedure (compare the closing words of §§ 5, 6). But when they have given it, the distribution is not at an end. The time has only come when each of the *Bhikkhus* can transmute his claim to an undivided share into the actual possession of a divided share. Until he does so, the *Kathina* privileges set out in § 3 are allowed to him.

² The formal permission to each *Bhikkhu* to take his share is

‘When, O Bhikkhus, has it not been duly held?’

‘The *Kathina* ceremony has not been duly held when the stuff has only been marked (for the purposes of measurement)¹: when it has only been washed: when it has only been calculated (to see how many robes it will make): when it has only been cut out: when it has only been pieced together²: when it has only been sewn in lengths³: when it has only been marked⁴: when it has only been made strong (in the seams)⁵: when it has only

not completed by any one of the following acts having been performed. The technical terms of the tailor’s craft are, as will be seen, by no means easy to follow.

¹ Ullikhita-mattenâ ‘ti dighato ka puthulato ka pamâna-gahana-mattena. Pamânam hi ganhanto tassa tassa padesassa saṅgānanattham nakhâdhi vâ parikkhedam dassento ullikhati, nalâ-âdisu vâ ghamasati. Tasmâ tam pamâna-gahanam ullikhita-mattan ti vuṭṭati (B.).

² Bandhana-mattenâ ‘ti mogha-suttak-âropana-mattena (B.). Mogha-suttakâni, ‘false threads,’ are threads put in the cloth to show where it is to be cut or sewn. See Buddhaghosa on *Kullavagga* V, 11, 3 (p. 317 of H. O.’s edition). Our clause therefore means temporarily pieced together as the commencement of the tailoring work.

³ Ovaṭṭiya (sic) -karana-mattenâ ‘ti mogha-suttakânusârena digha-sibbita-mattena (B.). Sewn in lengths along the lines of the false threads mentioned in the last note. The word occurs also in *Mahāvagga* VIII, 14, 2; and in *Kullavagga* V, 1, 2 we are told that the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus ovaṭṭikam dhārenti. Buddhaghosa says there *viggḥita-karanam ovaṭṭikā*.

⁴ By joining on a little piece of cloth. *Kandusa-karana-mattenâ ‘ti muddiya-paṭṭa-bandhana-mattena*, says Buddhaghosa.

⁵ Daḥhi-karana-mattenâ ‘ti dve kimilikāyo (MS. *kimilikāyo*) ekato katvâ sibbita-mattena: athavâ paḥhama-kimilikā ghaṭṭetvâ ṭhapitā hoti, kaṭhina-sātakam tassâ kukkhi-kimilikam katvâ sappita- (read sibbita-) mattenâ ‘ti pi attho. Mahâ-pakkariyam pakati-kivarassa upassaya-dānenâ ‘ti vuttam. Kurundiyam pakati-paḥhavarā dupaṭṭam kâtuṃ kukkhi-kimilikam alliyâpana-mattenâ ‘ti vuttam (B.). On *kimilikā* compare Minayeff’s ‘Prātimoksha,’ p. 87.

been strengthened by a braid¹ or by a binding² along the back, or by being doubled in parts³: when it has only been put into the dye⁴: when the decision (by the presiding Bhikkhu, as to which robes he will take for himself) has been made (but not been carried out⁵): when there has been talk (about the merit acquired by presenting the *Samgha* with cloth, and the donor has been induced thereby to show his liberality⁶): when the gift is only a temporary one⁷: when the ceremony has been postponed⁸:

¹ Anuvāta-karāṇa-mattenā 'ti piṭṭhi-anuvāta-āropana-matena (B.). Compare VIII, 21, 1.

² Paribhanda-karāṇa-mattenā 'ti kukkhi-anuvāta-āropana-matena (B.). Compare VIII, 21, 1.

³ Ovattḥeyya (sic) -karāṇa-mattenā 'ti āgantuka-paṭṭi-āropana-matena: kaṭhina-kīvarato vā paṭṭam gahetvā aññasim akāṭhina-kīvare paṭṭi-āropana-matena (B.).

⁴ Kambala-maddana-mattenā 'ti ekavāram yeva ragane pakkhittena danta-vannena pandu-palāsa-vannena vā: saṭe pana sakim vā dvikkhattum vā rattam (MS. rattum) pi saruppaṃ hoti vattati (B.).

⁵ Or perhaps, according to some commentators, when it has been decided to accept the gift as a *Kaṭhina*, that is, when it has been decided that the cloth is of a suitable kind to make robes out of. Buddhaghosa says: Nimitta-katenā 'ti iminā dussena kaṭhinam attharissāmiti evaṃ nimittakatenā. Ettakam eva Parivāre vuttam. Attakathāsu pana ayam sātako sundaro, sakkā iminā kaṭhinam attharittuṃ ti evaṃ nimittakatam katvā laddhenā 'ti attho. Compare below, § 6, for this and the two following words, the meaning of which is very doubtful.

⁶ Buddhaghosa: Parikathā-katenā 'ti kaṭhinam nāma dātum vaṭṭati, kaṭhina-dāyako bahu-puññaṃ pasavatīti evaṃ parikathāya uppaditena. Kaṭhinam nāma ati-ukkaṭṭham vaṭṭati: mātaram pi na viññāpetum vaṭṭati: ākāśato oṭṭha-sadisam eva vaṭṭati.

⁷ Buddhaghosa simply says: kukku-katenā 'ti tāvakālikena. The last word means 'only for a time, temporary, on loan'; see *Gāṭaka* I, 121, 393, and *Kullavagga* X, 16, 1; but the explanation is not clear. According to the *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā* kukku is a measure of length.

⁸ Sannidhi-katenā 'ti ettha duvidho sannidhi; karāṇa-sannidhi

when the ceremony has had to be abandoned (because it has lasted through the night)¹: when the ceremony has fallen through (from other causes)²: when (in the formal choice by the presiding Bhikkhu) the upper robes have been left out, or the under robes, or the waist-cloths: when any one of the five parts of the robe have been omitted in the cutting out³: when the ceremony has been presided over by more than one Bhikkhu⁴. And even when the Kathina ceremony has (otherwise) been normally performed, if (the Samgha) ratifying the distribution, be other than the (whole Samgha) dwelling within the boundary, then also the Kathina ceremony has not been duly held⁵.

‘In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the Kathina ceremony has not been duly held.

6. ‘And when, O Bhikkhus, has the Kathina ceremony been duly held?’

‘When the robes have been made out of new

ka nīṭaya-sannidhi ka. Tattha tadah’ eva akatvā ṭhapetvā karanam karana-sannidhi; samgho agga kathina-dussam labhitvā puna-divase deti ayam nīṭaya-sannidhi (B.).

¹ Nissaggiyenā ‘ti ratti-nissaggiyena. Parivāre pi, vuttam nissaggiyam nāma kayiramāne arunam udriyatīti (B.).

² Akappa-katenā ‘ti anādinna-kappa-bindhunā (B.), which we do not understand. Perhaps we should read bindunā.

³ Aññatra paññakena vā atireka-paññakena vā ‘ti pañña vā atirekāni vā khandāni katvā mahā-maṇḍala-addha-maṇḍalāni das-setvā katen’ eva vattati. Evam hi samandali-katam hoti. Tam ṭhapetvā aññena akkhinnakena vā dvi-tti-katu-khandena vā na vattati (B.). On these five parts of the robe compare below, Mahāvagga VIII, 12, 2.

⁴ Aññatra puggalassa atthārā ‘ti puggalassa atthāram ṭhapetvā na aññena samghassa vā ganassa vā atthārena atthatam hoti (B.). The official ‘distributor’ (atthāraka) must be a single person, not a gana, or the Samgha.

⁵ See the note on § 4, and below, VIII, 23.

cotton-cloth, or as good as new, or out of cloth¹, or out of (rags) taken from the dust-heap², or out of odd bits picked up in the bazaar³: when the decision (by the presiding Bhikkhu as to which robes he will take for himself) has not (merely) been made (but carried out): when there has been no talk about (the merit acquired by offering a *Kaṭhina*): when the gift is not merely a temporary one: when the ceremony has not been postponed: when it has not been necessary to abandon the ceremony: when the ceremony has not fallen through: when (in the choice made by the presiding Bhikkhu) the upper robes have not been left out, nor the under robes, nor the waist-cloths: when not one of the five parts of the robe have been omitted in the cutting out: when (the ceremony has been presided over) by one Bhikkhu. And also when, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been (otherwise) normally performed, the ratification has been given by the (whole *Samgha*) dwelling within the boundary.

‘In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been duly held.’

2⁴.

1. 7. ‘Now when, O Bhikkhus, is the *Kaṭhina* (that is to say, the privileges allowed after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony) suspended?’

¹ *Piloṣikāyā* ‘ti hata-vatthaka-sāḥakena (B.).

² *Pamsukulenā* ‘ti te-visatīyā khettesu uppanna-pamsukulena.

³ *Pāpānikenā* ‘ti āpana-dvāre patita-piloṣikam gahetvā *kaṭhin*-athāya deti, tenāpi vaṭṭatīti attho (B.). Compare VIII, 14, 2.

⁴ The new chapter should have begun here, and not with the next section as printed in the text.

‘ There are, O Bhikkhus, these eight grounds¹ for the suspension of the *Kathina* (privileges)²—the ground depending on (the Bhikkhus) having gone away, on (his robe being ready) finished, on his resolve (not to have it finished), on (his robe) having been destroyed, on his having heard (of the general suspension of the privileges of the whole *Samgha*), on the lapse of expectation (that a special gift of a robe would be made to him), on his having gone beyond the boundary (of the *Samgha* to whom the *Kathina* was given), on the common suspension (of the *Kathina* privileges of the whole *Samgha*).

¹ *Mâtikâ* ‘ti *mâtaro ganettiyo* ‘ti *attho* (B.). So also in VIII, 14.

² The discussion of these eight grounds of the suspension of the five *Kathina* privileges is closely connected with the description in the 13th chapter of the two so-called *Palibodhas*. *Palibodha* seems to mean the continued existence of a claim on the Bhikkhu’s side to a share in the distribution of the *Kathina*. Two conditions are necessary to the validity of this claim; the first touching the Bhikkhu’s domicile (*âvâsa*), the second the state of his wardrobe (*âvara*). He must remain within the boundary (*simâ*) of the *Samgha* to whom the *Kathina* has been given; or if he has left it, then he must have the intention of returning, the *animus reverendi*. And secondly, he must be in actual want of robes. If either of these conditions fail, then the Bhikkhu is *apalibodha* in respect of the *âvâsa* or the *âvara* respectively. If he is *apalibodha* in both respects, then there follows the suspension of the *Kathina* privileges, the *kañhin-uddhâra*, or *kañhin-ubbhâra*, so far as he is concerned.

So the eight grounds of the suspension of the privileges referred to in our present section (chap. 1. 7) either refer to the Bhikkhu’s domicile or to the state of his robes, or to ways in which his case falls within the general suspension of privileges of the whole *Samgha*. Each of the eight cases is explained in detail in the following sections, except the sixth ground, which is specially treated of afterwards in chapters 8 and 9. See the note on the title at the end of this chapter, and compare further our note on the first *Nissaggiya Pâkittiya*.

2. 1. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held¹, takes a robe ready for wear, and goes away, thinking, "I will come back."

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having gone away.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away. And when he had got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he gets the robe made up.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having a robe ready for wear.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away. And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will neither have the robe made up, nor will I go back."

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having so decided.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away. And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he has the robe made up. And as the robe is being made up for him, it is spoilt.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the robe being so spoilt.

2. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking, "I will come back." When he has got beyond the boundary he has that robe made up. When his robe has thus been made up he bears the news, "The *Kaṭṭhina*, they say, has been suspended in that district¹."

¹ Literally, 'whose *Kaṭṭhina* has been spread out.'

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having heard that news.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary he has that robe made up. And then, after it has been made up, he postpones his return until the (general) suspension of privileges has taken place.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his being beyond the boundary.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary he has that robe made up. And then, when it has been made up, he postpones his return until the very moment when the (general) suspension of privileges takes place¹.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the common suspension (of the privileges of the whole *Samgha*).'

End of the section entitled *Ādāya-sattaka*².

3.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been

¹ In the table of contents (p. 266) *sambhuzāti* is replaced by *sambhoti*. *Abhisambhureyyam* occurs in Burnouf's 'Lotus,' &c., p. 313.

² That is, 'the seven cases in which he takes a robe away.' The eighth case is explained below in chapters 8, 9.

held, takes with him a robe ready for wear, and goes away, &c.¹

End of the section entitled Samâdâya-sattaka².

4.

'A Bhikkhu, after the Kathina ceremony has been held, takes a robe not ready, and goes away. And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back;" and he gets the robe made up, &c.³

End of the section entitled Âdâya-khakka⁴.

5.

'A Bhikkhu, after the Kathina ceremony has been held, takes with him a robe not ready, and goes away, &c.⁵

End of the section entitled Samâdâya-khakka⁶.

¹ This chapter is word for word identical with chap. 2: only instead of 'takes' (âdâya) read 'takes with him' (samâdâya). We cannot say what different meaning these two words are intended to convey.

² That is, 'the seven cases in which he takes a robe with him.'

³ Six of the seven cases specified in chap. 2 (with the exception of the first of the seven) are repeated here in the same words, with the only difference that instead of 'takes a robe' it is said here 'takes a robe not ready.' The first case is necessarily omitted, because it is essential to that case, that the Bhikkhu going away takes with him a robe ready for wear.

⁴ 'The six cases in which he takes a robe away.'

⁵ As in chap. 4. For 'takes' read 'takes with him.' See the note at chap. 3.

⁶ 'The six cases in which he takes a robe with him.'

6.

1. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe, and goes away. And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he gets the robe made up.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having a robe ready for wear, &c.¹

2. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking, "I will never come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here." And he gets the robe made up, &c.²

3. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, without taking a resolution; he neither thinks "I will come back," nor does he think "I will not come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, &c.³

4. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking,

¹ This case is word for word identical with the second case in chap. 2. 1. After it follow the third and fourth case of chap. 2. 1, which it is unnecessary to print here again in full extent. The triad of these cases is repeated here in order to serve as a basis for the variations which are to follow in §§ 2, 3.

² The triad of § 1 is repeated here, with the difference, as is seen from the opening clauses which we have fully printed, that the Bhikkhu, before he has got beyond the boundary, and not afterwards as in § 1, resolves upon not returning to the *āvāsa*.

³ The whole triad as in § 1. The only difference between § 3 and § 1 consists in the following words being added in § 3 in each of the three cases, 'without taking a resolution; he neither thinks "I will come back," nor does he think "I will not come back."'

"I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, &c.¹

7.

'A Bhikkhu, after the Kāṭhina ceremony has been held, takes a robe with him and goes away, &c.²

End of the Ādāya-('Taking away') Bhānavāra.

8.

1. 'A Bhikkhu, after the Kāṭhina ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe (presented). And when he has got beyond the boundary, &c. And he adopts such a course of action as may lead to his expectation being realised. But he obtains a robe where he had not expected it, and does not obtain it where he had expected it. And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he gets the robe made up.

'That Bhikkhu's Kāṭhina privileges are suspended on the ground of his having a robe ready for wear.

'A Bhikkhu, after the Kāṭhina ceremony has been

¹ Supply here the whole triad as in § 1, the words 'thinking "I will come back"' being constantly added. After this triad follow three other cases which are exactly identical with the three contained in chap. 2. 2.

² The whole chapter 6 is repeated here three times, the first time replacing the words 'takes a robe' by 'takes a robe with him' (comp. chap. 3); the second time replacing 'takes a robe' by 'takes a robe not ready' (comp. chap. 4); and the third time with these two modifications combined (comp. chap. 5).

held (&c., as in the preceding case). And he thinks, "I will neither have the robe made up, nor will I go back."

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having so decided.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, &c. And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he has the robe made up. And as the robe is being made up for him, it is spoilt.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the robe being so spoilt.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe (presented). And when he has got beyond the boundary, he thinks, "I will adopt here such a course of action as may lead to my expectation being realised, and will never go back." And he devotes himself to obtaining that expected gift, but his expectation comes to nothing.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the lapse of that expectation.'

2, 3¹.

End of the section entitled *Anâsâ-do/asaka* ².

9.

1. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting

¹ §§ 2, 3 stand exactly in the same relation to § 1 in which chap. 6. 2, 3 stand to chap. 6. 1.

² 'The twelve cases (in which the robe is received) against expectation.'

a robe (presented), thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he devotes himself to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains a robe where he had expected it, and does not obtain one where he had not expected it. And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back," &c.¹

2. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Katthina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe (presented), thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he hears the news: "The *Katthina*, they say, has been suspended in that district." And he thinks, "Since the *Katthina* has been suspended in that district, I will devote myself here to obtaining the gift I am expecting." And he adopts such action as may lead to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains a robe where he had expected it, and does not obtain one where he had not expected it. And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back," &c.²

3. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Katthina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe (presented), thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he adopts such action as may lead to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains a robe where he had expected it, and does not obtain one where he had not expected it, and he has that robe made up.

¹ Here follows the same development into the four cases of *ni//hānantika*, *sanni//hānantika*, *nāsanantika*, and *āsavaṭṭhedika ka//hinuddhāra*, as in chap. 8. 1.

² Supply here the same four cases as in the preceding paragraph or in chap. 8. 1.

When that robe has thus been made up he hears the news, "The *Kaṭhina*, they say, has been suspended in that district."

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having heard that news.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe, thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he thinks, "I will devote myself to obtaining that expected gift, and will never go back." And he cares for that expected gift, but his expectation collapses.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the lapse of that expectation.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe, thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he devotes himself to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains a robe where he had expected it, and does not obtain one where he had not expected it, and he has that robe made up. And then, after it has been made up, he postpones his return until the (general) suspension of privileges has taken place.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his being beyond the boundary.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been held (&c., as in the preceding case, down to :) And then, after it has been made up, he postpones his return until the very moment when the (general) suspension of privileges takes place.

‘That Bhikkhu’s *Katthina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the common suspension.’

End of the section entitled *Āsā-do/asaka* ¹.

10.

‘A Bhikkhu, after the *Katthina* ceremony has been held, goes away on some business. And when he has got beyond the boundary, he conceives the expectation of getting a robe (presented). And he devotes himself to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains, &c.’²

End of the *Karāṇiya-do/asaka* ³.

11.

1. ‘A Bhikkhu, after the *Katthina* ceremony has been held, goes away travelling to the (four) quarters (of the world ⁴), guarding⁵ his claim to a share in the robes. When he is so travelling, the Bhikkhus ask him: “Where have you kept Vassa, friend, and where have you your share in the robes?”

‘He replies: “I have kept Vassa in such and such

¹ ‘The twelve cases (in which the robe is received) as expected.’

² See chap. 8. 1. The same three times four cases are specified here as in chap. 8; only the opening clauses of each case, which we have printed above, are different from those in chap. 8.

³ ‘The twelve cases of (the Bhikkhu’s going away on) business.’

⁴ Comp. II, 21, 1.

⁵ *Apaṇinayamāna*, comp. *apaṇṇiti*, *apaṇṇita*.

a residence, and there I have my share in the robes."

'They say to him: "Go, friend, and bring your robe hither; we will make it up for you here."

'And he goes to that residence and asks the Bhikkhus: "Where is the portion of robes due to me, friends?"

'They reply: "Here it is, friend; where are you going?"

'He says: "I will go to such and such a residence; there the Bhikkhus will make up the robe for me."

'They answer: "Nay, friend, do not go; we will make up the robe for you here."

'And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will not go back (to that other place)," &c.¹

2. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, goes away travelling (&c., as in § 1, down to:) "Here it is, friend." And he takes that robe and sets out for that residence. On the way some Bhikkhus ask him: "Friend, where are you going?"

'He says: "I intend to go to such and such a residence; there the Bhikkhus will make up the robe for me."

'They answer: "Nay, friend, do not go; we will make up the robe for you here."

'And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will not go back (to that other place)," &c.²

3. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, goes away travelling (&c., as in § 1, down to:) "Here it is, friend." And he takes that robe, and sets out for that residence. And when going

¹ Here follow the three cases as given in chap. 6. 1, in the usual way.

² The usual three cases; see the preceding note.

to that residence, he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will not go back (to that place)," &c.¹

End of the Apaḥinana-navaka ².

12.

'A Bhikkhu intent on finding a comfortable place (to live in), after the Kaṭṭhina ceremony has been held, takes a robe, and goes away, thinking, "I will go to such and such a residence; if it is comfortable there, I will remain there; if it is not, I will go to such and such a residence; if it is comfortable there, I will remain there; if it is not, I will go to such and such a residence; if it is comfortable there, I will remain there; if it is not, I will go back."

'When he has got beyond the boundary, he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back," &c.³

End of the five cases of the Bhikkhu intent on comfort.

13.

1. 'On two conditions, O Bhikkhus, the claim (of a Bhikkhu to a share in the distribution) of the

¹ The same three cases as before.

² 'The nine cases in which he guards (his claim).'

³ The usual three cases as before, and then the two cases of the sîmâtikkantika kaḥḥinuddhâra and the saha bhikkhûhi kaḥḥinuddhâra, which run as may be seen from chap. 2. 2 (the two last cases there) or from chap. 9. 3.

Kathina continues to exist, and on the failing of these two conditions it is lost¹.

‘And which are the two conditions, O Bhikkhus, for the continued existence of that claim? The condition regarding the residence, and the condition regarding the robe.

‘And which, O Bhikkhus, is the condition regarding the residence? A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, goes away (for a time), when it is raining or storming, with the intention of returning to that residence. In this case, O Bhikkhus, the condition regarding the residence is fulfilled. And which, O Bhikkhus, is the condition that regards the robe? A Bhikkhu’s robe, O Bhikkhus, is not made up, or not ready, or his expectation of getting a robe has ceased. In this case, O Bhikkhus, the condition regarding the robe is fulfilled. These, O Bhikkhus, are the two conditions for the continued existence of the claim.

2. ‘And which, O Bhikkhus, is the failing of the two conditions by which the claim is lost? The failing of the condition regarding the residence, and the failing of the condition regarding the robe.

‘And in which case, O Bhikkhus, does the condition regarding the residence fail?

‘A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, goes away from the residence, giving it up, turning away from it with contempt, abandoning it, with the intention of not returning. In this case, O Bhikkhus, the condition regarding the residence fails. And in which case, O Bhikkhus, does the condition regarding the robe

¹ Literally, there are two Palibodhas of the *Kathina* and two Apalibodhas. On the subject discussed in this chapter—the Palibodhas—see the note on chap. I. 7.

fail? A Bhikkhu's robe, O Bhikkhus, has been made up, or spoilt, or lost, or burnt, or his expectation of getting a robe has ceased. In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the condition regarding the robe fails. This is the failing of the two conditions, O Bhikkhus, by which the claim is lost.'

End of the seventh Khandhaka, the *Katthina*-
khandhaka.

EIGHTH KHANDHAKA.

(THE DRESS OF THE BHIKKHUS.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at Rāgagaha, in the Veḷuvana, in the Kalandaka-nivāpa. At that time Vesālī was an opulent, prosperous town, populous, crowded with people, abundant with food¹; there were seven thousand seven hundred and seven storeyed buildings, and seven thousand seven hundred and seven pinnacled buildings, and seven thousand seven hundred and seven pleasure grounds (Ārāmas), and seven thousand seven hundred and seven lotus-ponds. There was also the courtesan Ambapālīkā², who was beautiful, graceful, pleasant, gifted with the highest beauty of complexion, well versed in dancing, singing, and lute-playing, much visited by desirous people. She asked fifty (kahā-paṇas) for one night. Through that person Vesālī became more and more flourishing.

2. Now a merchant from Rāgagaha went to Vesālī on a certain business. That Rāgagaha merchant saw what an opulent, prosperous town Vesālī was, how populous, crowded with people, and abundant with food, and the seven thousand seven

¹ Compare Mahā-sudassana Sutta I, 3, and Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta V, 42.

² See above, VI, 30, 6; Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta II, 16 seq.

hundred and seven storeyed buildings and the courtesan Ambapālī, who was beautiful and through whom Vesālī became more and more flourishing. And the Rāgagaha merchant, after having done his business in Vesālī, returned to Rāgagaha and went to the place where the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra was. Having approached him, he said to the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra : 'Vesālī, Your Majesty, is an opulent, prosperous town (&c., as in § 1, down to :) Through that person Vesālī becomes more and more flourishing. May it please Your Majesty, let us also install a courtesan.'

(The king replied), 'Well, my good Sir, look for such a girl whom you can install as courtesan.'

3. Now at that time there was at Rāgagaha a girl Sālavatī by name, who was beautiful, graceful, pleasant, and gifted with the highest beauty of complexion. That girl Sālavatī the Rāgagaha merchant installed as courtesan. And before long the courtesan Sālavatī was well versed in dancing, singing, and lute-playing, and much visited by desirous people, and she asked one hundred (*kaḥāpanas*) for one night. And before long the courtesan Sālavatī became pregnant. Now the courtesan Sālavatī thought : 'Men do not like a pregnant woman. If anybody should find out regarding me that "The courtesan Sālavatī is pregnant," my whole position will be lost. What if I were to have the people told that I am sick.'

And the courtesan Sālavatī gave orders to the door-keeper (saying), 'Let no man enter here, my good door-keeper, and if a man calls for me, tell him that I am sick.' The door-keeper accepted

this order of the courtesan Sâlavatî (by saying), 'Yes, Madam.'

4. And the courtesan Sâlavatî, when the child in her womb had reached maturity, gave birth to a boy. And the courtesan Sâlavatî gave orders to her maid-servant (saying), 'Go, my girl, put this boy into an old winnowing basket, take him away, and throw him away on a dust-heap.' The servant accepted this order of the courtesan Sâlavatî (by saying), 'Yes, Madam,' put that boy into an old winnowing basket, took him away, and threw him away on a dust-heap.

At that time a royal prince, Abhaya by name¹, went betimes to attend upon the king, and saw that boy, around whom crows were gathering. When he saw that, he asked the people: 'What is that, my good Sirs, around which the crows are gathering?'

'It is a boy, Your Highness².'

'Is he alive, Sirs?'

'He is alive, Your Highness.'

'Well, my good Sirs, bring that boy to our palace and give him to the nurses to nourish him.'

And those people accepted that order of the royal prince Abhaya (by saying), 'Yes, Your Highness,' brought that boy to the palace of the royal prince Abhaya, and gave him to the nurses (saying), 'Nourish (this boy).'

¹ This 'royal prince Abhaya' (Abhaya kumâra) is mentioned by the Gainas under the name of Abhayakumâra as the son of Seniya, i.e. Bimbisâra. See Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxiv, p. 187.

² The word which we have translated 'Your Highness' (deva, lit. 'God') is the same which is used by all persons except by Samanas in addressing a king.

Because (the people had said about this boy to Abhaya), 'He is alive' (*gīvati*), they gave him the name of *Gīvaka*; because he had been caused to be nourished by the royal prince (*kumārena posāpito*), they gave him the name of *Komārabhakkā*¹.

5. And ere long *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* came to the years of discretion. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* went to the place where the royal prince Abhaya was; having approached him he said to the royal prince Abhaya: 'Who is my mother, Your Highness, and who is my father?'

'I do not know your mother, my good *Gīvaka*, but I am your father, for I have had you nourished.'

Now *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* thought: 'In these royal families it is not easy to find one's livelihood without knowing an art. What if I were to learn an art.'

6. At that time there lived at Takkasilā (*Τάξιλα*) a world-renowned physician. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* without asking leave of the royal prince Abhaya set out for Takkasilā. Wandering from place to place he came to Takkasilā and to the place where

¹ Evidently the redactors of this passage referred the first part of the compound *Komārabhakkā* to the royal prince (*kumāra*) Abhaya, and intended *Komārabhakkā* to be understood as 'a person whose life is supported by a royal prince.' So also the name *Kumāra-Kassapa* is explained in the *Gāṭaka* commentary (Rh. D., 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 204). The true meaning of the name, however, appears to have been different, for in Sanskrit *kumārabhṛtyā* and *kaumārabhṛtya* are technical terms for the part of the medical science which comprises the treatment of infants (see Wise, 'Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine,' p. 3). We believe, therefore, that this surname *Komārabhakkā* really means, 'Master of the *kaumārabhṛtya* science.'

that physician was. Having approached him he said to that physician, 'I wish to learn your art, doctor.'

'Well, friend *Gīvaka*, learn it.'

And *Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga* learnt much, and learnt easily, and understood well, and did not forget what he had learnt. And when seven years had elapsed, *Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga* thought: 'I learn much, and learn easily, and I understand well, and I do not forget what I have learnt. I have studied now seven years, and I do not see the end of this art. When shall I see the end of this art?'

7. And *Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga* went to the place where that physician was; having approached him he said to that physician: 'I learn much, doctor, and I learn easily; I understand well, and do not forget what I have learnt. I have studied now seven years, and I do not see the end of this art. When shall I see the end of this art?'

'Very well, my dear *Gīvaka*, take this spade, and seek round about *Takkasilâ* a *yogana* on every side, and whatever (plant) you see which is not medicinal, bring it to me.'

Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga accepted this order of that physician (saying), 'Yes, doctor,' took a spade, and went around about *Takkasilâ* a *yogana* on every side, but he did not see anything that was not medicinal. Then *Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga* went to the place where that physician was; having approached him he said to that physician: 'I have been seeking, doctor, all around *Takkasilâ* a *yogana* on every side, but I have not seen anything that is not medicinal.'

(The physician replied), 'You have done your learning, my good *Gīvaka*; this will do for acquiring your livelihood.' Speaking thus he gave to *Gīvaka*

Komārabhaṅka a little (money) for his journey (home).

8. And Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka took that little money, given to him for his journey, and set out for Rāgagaha. And on the way at Sāketa that little money of Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka was spent. Now Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka thought: 'These ways are wild, and there is but little water and little food; it is difficult to travel here without money for the journey. What if I were to try to get some money for my journey.'

At that time the *setthi*'s¹ wife at Sāketa had been suffering for seven years from disease in the head; many very great and world-renowned physicians came, but they could not restore her to health; they received much gold, and went away.

And Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka, when he had entered Sāketa, asked the people: 'Who is sick here, my good Sirs? Whom shall I cure?'

'That *setthi*'s wife, doctor, has been suffering for seven years from a disease in the head; go, doctor, and cure that *setthi*'s wife.'

9. Then Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka went to the house of that householder, the *setthi*; and when he had reached it, he gave orders to the door-keeper (saying), 'Go, my good door-keeper, and tell the *setthi*'s wife: "A physician has come in, Madam, who wants to see you."'

That door-keeper accepted this order of Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka (saying), 'Yes, doctor,' went to the place where the *setthi*'s wife was, and having approached her, he said to the *setthi*'s wife: 'A physician has come in, Madam, who wants to see you.'

¹ See the note at I, 7, 1.

‘What sort of man is that physician, my good door-keeper?’

‘He is a young man, Madam.’

‘Nay, my good door-keeper, what can a young physician help me? Many very great and world-renowned physicians have come and have not been able to restore me to health; they have received much gold, and have gone away.’

10. Thus that door-keeper went to *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga*; having approached him he said to *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga*: ‘The *setthi*’s wife has said, doctor: “Nay, my good door-keeper (&c., as in § 9).”’

(*Gīvaka* replied), ‘Go, my good door-keeper, and tell the *setthi*’s wife: “The physician, Madam, says: ‘Do not give me anything beforehand, Madam; when you shall have been restored to health, then you may give me what you like.’”’

The door-keeper accepted this order of *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga* (saying), ‘Yes, doctor,’ went to the place where the *setthi*’s wife was, and having approached her he said to the *setthi*’s wife: ‘The physician, Madam, says (&c., as above).’

‘Well, my good door-keeper, let the physician enter.’

The door-keeper accepted this order of the *setthi*’s wife (saying), ‘Yes, Madam,’ went to the place where *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga* was, and having approached him he said to *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga*: ‘The *setthi*’s wife calls you, doctor.’

11. Then *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga* went to the place where the *setthi*’s wife was; having approached her, and having carefully observed the change in the appearance of the *setthi*’s wife, he said to the

setthi's wife: 'We want one *pasata*¹ of ghee, Madam.' Then the *setthi*'s wife ordered one *pasata* of ghee to be given to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* boiled up that *pasata* of ghee with various drugs, ordered the *setthi*'s wife to lie down on her back in the bed, and gave it her through her nose. And the butter given through the nose came out through the mouth. And the *setthi*'s wife spat it out into the spittoon, and told the maid-servant: 'Come, my girl, take this ghee up with a piece of cotton.'

12. Then *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* thought: 'It is astonishing how niggardly this house-wife is, in that she has this ghee, which ought to be thrown away, taken up with a piece of cotton. I have given her many highly precious drugs. What sort of fee will she give me?'

And the *setthi*'s wife, when she observed the change of demeanour in *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*, said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*: 'Why are you perplexed, doctor?'

'I thought: "It is astonishing, &c."'

'Householders like us, doctor, know why to economize thus; this ghee will do for the servants or workmen to anoint their feet with, or it can be poured into the lamp. Be not perplexed, doctor, you will not lose your fee.'

¹ One *prasrita* or *prasriti* ('handful') is said by the Sanskrit lexicographers to be equal to two *palas*. About the *pala*, which according to the ghee measure (*ghrita pramāṇa*) of Magadha was the thirty-second part of a *prastha*, see the *Atharva-pariśiṣṭa* 35, 3, ap. Weber, *Ueber den Vedakalender namens Jyotiṣham*, p. 82. Compare also Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' pp. 18, 19.

13. And *Gīvaka Komârabhaṭṭha* drove away the disease in the head which the *setṭhi*'s wife had had for seven years, by once giving her medicine through the nose. Then the *setṭhi*'s wife, who had been restored to health, gave four thousand (*kâhâpanas*) to *Gīvaka Komârabhaṭṭha*; her son (thinking), 'My mother stands there restored,' gave him four thousand; her daughter-in-law (thinking), 'My mother-in-law stands there restored,' gave him four thousand; the *setṭhi*, the householder, (thinking), 'My wife stands there restored,' gave him four thousand and a man-servant and a maid-servant and a coach with horses.

Then *Gīvaka Komârabhaṭṭha* took those sixteen thousand (*kâhâpanas*) and the man-servant, the maid-servant, and the coach with the horses, and set out for *Râgagaha*. In due course he came to *Râgagaha*, and to the place where the royal prince *Abhaya* was; having approached him he said to the royal prince *Abhaya*: 'This, Your Highness, (have I received for) the first work I have done, sixteen thousand and a man-servant and a maid-servant and a coach with horses; may Your Highness accept this as payment for my bringing up.'

'Nay, my dear *Gīvaka*, keep it, but do not get a dwelling for yourself elsewhere than in our residence.'

Gīvaka Komârabhaṭṭha accepted this order of the royal prince *Abhaya* (saying), 'Yes, Your Highness,' and got himself a dwelling in the residence of the royal prince *Abhaya*.

14. At that time the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra* suffered from a fistula; his garments were stained with blood. When the queens saw that,

they ridiculed (the king, and said): 'His Majesty is having his courses. His Majesty will bring forth!' The king was annoyed at that. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to the royal prince Abhaya: 'I am suffering, my dear Abhaya, from such a disease that my garments are stained with blood; and the queens, when they see it, ridicule (me by saying), "His Majesty is, &c." Pray, my dear Abhaya, find a physician for me, able to cure me.'

'This excellent young physician of ours, Sire, *Gīvaka*, he will cure Your Majesty.'

'Then pray, my dear Abhaya, give orders to the physician *Gīvaka*, and he shall cure me.'

15. Then the royal prince Abhaya gave orders to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* (saying), 'Go, my dear *Gīvaka*, and cure the king.'

Gīvaka Komārabhakkā accepted this order of the royal prince Abhaya (by saying), 'Yes, Your Highness,' took some medicament in his nail, and went to the place where the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra was. Having approached him, he said to the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra: 'Let us see your disease, Your Majesty.' And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* healed the fistula of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra by one anointing.

Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, having been restored to health, ordered his five hundred wives to put on all their ornaments; then he ordered them to take their ornaments off and to make a heap of them, and he said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*: 'All these ornaments, my dear *Gīvaka*, of my five hundred wives shall be thine.'

'Nay, Sire, may Your Majesty remember my office.'

‘Very well, my dear *Gtvaka*, you can wait upon me and my seraglio and the fraternity of *Bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head.’

Gtvaka Komārabhakkā accepted this order of the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* (by saying), ‘Yes, Your Majesty.’

16. At that time the *setthi* at *Rāḡagaha* had been suffering for seven years from a disease in the head. Many very great and world-renowned physicians came, and were not able to restore him to health; they received much gold and went away. And a prognostication had been made by the physicians to him, to wit: Some of the physicians said: ‘The *setthi*, the householder, will die on the fifth day;’ other physicians said: ‘The *setthi*, the householder, will die on the seventh day.’

Now (a certain) *Rāḡagaha* merchant thought: ‘This *setthi*, this householder, does good service both to the king and to the merchants’ guild. Now the physicians have made prognostication to him (&c., as above). There is *Gtvaka*, the royal physician, an excellent young doctor. What if we were to ask the king for his physician *Gtvaka* to cure the *setthi*, the householder?’

17. And the *Rāḡagaha* merchant went to the place where the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* was; having approached him, he said to the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra*: ‘That *setthi*, Sire, that householder, does good service both to Your Majesty and to the merchants’ guild. Now the physicians have made prognostication to him, &c. May it please Your Majesty to order the physician *Gtvaka* to cure the *setthi*, the householder.’

Then the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* gave

orders to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* (saying), 'Go, my dear *Gīvaka*, and cure the *setthi*, the householder.'

Gīvaka Komārabhakkā accepted this order of the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* (by saying), 'Yes, Your Majesty,' went to the place where the *setthi*, the householder, was, and having approached him, and having carefully observed the change in his appearance, he said to the *setthi*, the householder: 'If I restore you to health, my good householder, what fee will you give me?'

'All that I possess shall be yours, doctor, and I will be your slave.'

18. 'Well, my good householder, will you be able to lie down on one side for seven months?'

'I shall be able, doctor, to lie down on one side for seven months.'

'And will you be able, my good householder, to lie down on the other side for seven months?'

'I shall be able, doctor, to lie down on the other side for seven months.'

'And will you be able, my good householder, to lie down on your back for seven months?'

'I shall be able, doctor, to lie down on my back for seven months.'

Then *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* ordered the *setthi*, the householder, to lie down on his bed, tied him fast to his bed, cut through the skin of the head, drew apart the flesh on each side of the incision, pulled two worms out (of the wound), and showed them to the people (saying), 'See, Sirs, these two worms, a small one and a big one. The doctors who said, "On the fifth day the *setthi*, the householder, will die," have seen this big worm, and how it would penetrate on the fifth day to the brain of

the *setthi*, the householder, and that when it had penetrated to the brain, the *setthi*, the householder, would die. Those doctors have seen it quite rightly. And the doctors who said, "On the seventh day the *setthi*, the householder, will die," have seen this small worm, and how it would penetrate on the seventh day to the brain of the *setthi*, the householder, and that when it had penetrated to the brain, the *setthi*, the householder, would die. Those doctors have seen it quite rightly.' (Speaking thus) he closed up the sides of the wound, stitched up the skin on the head, and anointed it with salve.

19. And when seven days had elapsed, the *setthi*, the householder, said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* : 'I am not able, doctor, to lie down on one side for seven months.'

'Did you not tell me, my good householder : "I shall be able, doctor, to lie down on one side for seven months?"'

'It is true, doctor, I told you so indeed, but I shall die (if I do); I cannot lie down on one side for seven months.'

'Well, my good householder, then you must lie down on the other side for seven months.'

And when seven days had elapsed, the *setthi*, the householder, said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* : 'I am not able, doctor, to lie down on the other side for seven months.'

'Did you not tell me, &c.'

'It is true, doctor, I told you so indeed, &c.'

'Well, my good householder, then you must lie down on your back for seven months.'

And when seven days had elapsed, the *setthi*, the householder, said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* : 'I am

not able, doctor, to lie down on my back for seven months.'

'Did you not tell me, &c.?'

'It is true, doctor, I told you so indeed, &c.'

20. 'If I had not spoken thus to you, my good householder, you would not have lain down even so long a time. But I knew beforehand, "After three times seven days the *setthi*, the householder, will be restored to health." Arise, my good householder, you are restored; look to it what fee you give me.'

'All that I possess shall be yours, doctor, and I will be your slave.'

'Nay, my good householder, do not give me all that you possess, and do not be my slave; give one hundred thousand (*kāhāpanas*) to the king, and one hundred thousand to me.'

Then the *setthi*, the householder, having regained his health, gave a hundred thousand (*kāhāpanas*) to the king, and a hundred thousand to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*.

21. At that time the son of the *setthi* at Benares, who used to amuse himself by tumbling (*mokkha-kikā*¹), brought upon himself an entanglement of his

¹ *Mokkha-kikā* is explained in a passage quoted by Childers sub voce and taken from the *Sumāṅgala Vilāsinī* on the 4th *Magghima Sīla*. (Compare Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 193.) The passage from Buddhaghosa is however not devoid of ambiguity. He says: '*Mokkha-kikā* is the feat of turning over and over. One gets hold of a staff in the air, and places his head on the ground; turning himself upside down. This is what is meant (by the word *mokkha-kikā*).' It is not clear whether the performer suspends himself by his feet from a horizontal bar fixed at a height above the ground; or whether he turns a somersault, holding at the same time a stick in his hands. The latter seems

intestines, in consequence of which he could digest neither the rice-milk which he drank, nor the food of which he partook, nor was he able to ease himself in the regular way. In consequence of that he grew lean, he looked disfigured and discoloured, (his complexion became) more and more yellow, and the veins stood out upon his skin.

Now the *setthi* of Benares thought : 'My son is suffering from such and such a disease : he neither can digest the rice-milk which he drinks (&c., as above, down to :) and the veins stand out upon his skin. What if I were to go to Râgagaha and to ask the king for his physician *Gīvaka* to cure my son.'

And the *setthi* of Benares went to Râgagaha and repaired to the place where the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra was ; having approached him he said to the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra : 'My son, Your Majesty, is suffering from such and such a disease : he neither can digest the rice-milk which he drinks (&c., as above, down to :) and the veins stand out upon his skin. May it please Your Majesty to order the physician *Gīvaka* to cure my son.'

22. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra gave orders to *Gīvaka* *Komârabhakkā* (saying), 'Go, my dear *Gīvaka* ; go to Benares, and cure the *setthi*'s son at Benares.'

Gīvaka *Komârabhakkā* accepted this order of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra (by saying), 'Yes, Your Majesty,' went to Benares, and repaired to the place where the son of the Benares *setthi* was ; having approached him, and having carefully

more in accordance with the phrase 'holding a stick in the air' (*âkâse dandam gahetvâ*) and with the phrase 'turning over and over' (*samparivaṭṭanam*).

observed the change in his appearance, he ordered the people to leave the room, drew the curtain, tied him fast to a pillar, placed his wife in front of him, cut through the skin of the belly, drew the twisted intestines out, and showed them to his wife (saying), 'Look here what the disease was, from which your husband was suffering. This is the reason why he neither can digest the rice-milk which he drinks, nor can digest the food of which he partakes, nor is able to ease himself in the regular way, and why he has grown lean, and looks disfigured and discoloured, and (why his complexion has become) more and more yellow, and the veins have stood out upon his skin.' (Speaking thus), he disentangled the twisted intestines, put the intestines back (into their right position), stitched the skin together, and anointed it with salve. And before long the Benares *setthi*'s son regained his health.

Then the *setthi* of Benares (saying to himself), 'My son stands here restored to health,' gave sixteen thousand (*kāhāpanas*) to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* took those sixteen thousand (*kāhāpanas*), and went back again to *Rāgagaha*.

23. At that time king *Paggota* (of *Uggenti*) was suffering from jaundice. Many very great and world-renowned physicians came and were not able to restore him to health; they received much gold and went away. Then king *Paggota* sent a messenger to the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* (with the following message): 'I am suffering from such and such a disease; pray, Your Majesty¹, give

¹ This passage in which king *Paggota* is represented as addressing king *Bimbisāra* by the respectful expression '*deva*' may in our

orders to the physician *Gīvaka* ; he will cure me.' Then the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* gave orders to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* (saying), 'Go, my dear *Gīvaka*; go to *Uggent*, and cure king *Paggota*.'

Gīvaka Komārabhakkā accepted this order of the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* (by saying), 'Yes, Your Majesty,' went to *Uggent* and to the place where king *Paggota* was, and having approached him, and having carefully observed the change in his appearance, he said to king *Paggota* :

24. 'I will boil up some ghee, Sire, which Your Majesty must drink.'

'Nay, my good *Gīvaka* ; do what you can for restoring me without giving me ghee ; I have an aversion and a distaste for ghee.'

Then *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* thought : 'The disease of this king is such a one that it cannot be cured without ghee. What if I were to boil up ghee so that it takes the colour, the smell, and the taste of an astringent decoction¹.'

Then *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* boiled some ghee with various drugs so as to give it the colour, the smell, and the taste of an astringent decoction. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* thought : 'When this king shall have taken the butter and digested it, it will make him vomit. This king is cruel ; he might have me killed. What if I were to take leave before-

opinion be brought forward against Professor Jacobi's conjecture (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxiv, p. 188) that *Bimbisāra* was merely a feudal chief under the supreme rule of king *Paggota*. The *Pitaka* texts are always very exact in the selection of the terms of respect in which the different persons address each other.

¹ See, about the decoctions used in medicine, VI, 4.

hand.' And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* went to the place where king *Paggota* was; having approached him he said to king *Paggota* :

25. 'We physicians, Sire, draw out roots and gather medical drugs at such an hour as this. May it please Your Majesty to send the following order to the (royal) stables, and to the gates (of the town): "Let *Gīvaka* ride out on what animal he likes; let him leave (the town) by what gate he likes; let him leave at what hour he likes; let him enter again at what hour he likes."'

And king *Paggota* sent the following order to the (royal) stables and to the gates (of the town): 'Let *Gīvaka* ride out on what animal he likes, &c.'

At that time king *Paggota* had a she-elephant, called *Bhaddavatikā*, which could travel fifty *yogas* (in one day). And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* gave the ghee to king *Paggota* (saying), 'May Your Majesty drink this decoction.' Then, having made king *Paggota* drink the ghee, *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* went to the elephant stable, and hasted away from the town on the she-elephant *Bhaddavatikā*.

26. And when king *Paggota* had drunk that ghee and was digesting it, it made him vomit. Then king *Paggota* said to his attendants: 'That wicked *Gīvaka*, my good Sirs, has given me ghee to drink. Go, my good Sirs, and seek the physician *Gīvaka*.'

(The attendants answered), 'He has run away from the town on the she-elephant *Bhaddavatikā*.'

At that time king *Paggota* had a slave, *Kāka* by name, who could travel sixty *yogas* (in one day), who had been begotten by a non-human being. To this slave *Kāka*, king *Paggota* gave the order: 'Go, my good *Kāka*, and call the physician *Gīvaka* back

(saying), "The king orders you to return, doctor." But those physicians, my good Kâka, are cunning people ; do not accept anything from him.'

27. And the slave Kâka overtook Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha on his way, at Kosambi, when he was taking his breakfast. And the slave Kâka said to Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha : 'The king orders you to return, doctor.'

(Gîvaka replied), 'Wait, my good Kâka, until we have taken our meal ; here, my good Kâka, eat.'

(Kâka said), 'Nay, doctor, the king has told me, "Those physicians, my good Kâka, are cunning people ; do not accept anything from him."' "

At that time Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha, who had cut off some drug with his nail, was eating an emblic myrobalan fruit and drinking water. And Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha said to the slave Kâka : 'Here, my good Kâka, eat of this myrobalan fruit and take some water.'

28. Then the slave Kâka thought : 'This physician eats the myrobalan and drinks the water ; there cannot be any harm in it ;' so he ate half of the myrobalan and drank some water. And that half myrobalan which (Gîvaka) had given him to eat, opened his bowels on the spot.

Then the slave Kâka said to Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha : 'Can my life be saved, doctor ?'

(Gîvaka replied), 'Be not afraid, my good Kâka, you will be quite well. But the king is cruel ; that king might have me killed ; therefore do I not return.'

Speaking thus he handed over to Kâka the she-elephant Bhaddavatikâ and set out for Râgagaha. Having reached Râgagaha in due course, he went to

the place where the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra was; having approached him he told the whole thing to the Magadha king Bimbisāra.

(Bimbisāra said), 'You have done right, my good Gṭvaka, that you have not returned; that king is cruel; he might have had you killed.'

29. And king Paggota, being restored to health, sent a messenger to Gṭvaka Komārabhaḷḷa (with this message), 'May Gṭvaka come to me; I will grant him a boon.'

(Gṭvaka replied), 'Nay, Sir, may His Majesty remember my office.'

At that time king Paggota had a suit of Siveyyaka cloth¹, which was the best, and the most excellent, and the first, and the most precious, and the noblest of many cloths, and of many suits of cloth, and of many hundred suits of cloth, and of many thousand suits of cloth, and of many hundred thousand suits of cloth. And king Paggota sent this suit of Siveyyaka cloth to Gṭvaka Komārabhaḷḷa. Then Gṭvaka Komārabhaḷḷa thought: 'This suit of Siveyyaka cloth which king Paggota has sent me, is the best and the most excellent (&c., down to :) and of many hundred thousand suits of cloth. Nobody else is worthy to receive it but He the blessed, perfect

¹ Buddhaghosa gives two explanations of Siveyyakam dussayugam. 'Either Siveyyaka cloth means the cloth used in the Uttarakuru country for veiling the dead bodies when they are brought to the burying-ground (sivathikā). (A certain kind of birds take the bodies to the Himavat mountains in order to eat them, and throw the cloths away. When eremites find them there, they bring them to the king.) Or Siveyyaka cloth means a cloth woven from yarn which skilful women in the Sivi country spin.' No doubt the latter explication is the right one.

Arahat-Buddha, or the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra.'

30. At that time a disturbance had befallen the humors of the Blessed One's body. And the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'A disturbance, Ānanda, has befallen the humors of the Tathāgata's body; the Tathāgata wishes to take a purgative.' Then the venerable Ānanda went to the place where Gīvaka Komārabhakkā was; having approached him he said to Gīvaka Komārabhakkā:

'My good Gīvaka, a disturbance has befallen the humors of the Tathāgata's body; the Tathāgata wishes to take a purgative.'

(Gīvaka replied), 'Well, venerable Ānanda, you ought to rub the Blessed One's body with fat for a few days.'

And the venerable Ānanda, having rubbed the Blessed One's body with fat for some days, went to the place where Gīvaka Komārabhakkā was; having approached him he said to Gīvaka Komārabhakkā: 'I have rubbed, my good Gīvaka, the Tathāgata's body with fat; do you now what you think fit.'

31. Then Gīvaka Komārabhakkā thought: 'It is not becoming that I should give a strong purgative to the Blessed One.' (Thinking thus), he imbued three handfuls of blue lotuses with various drugs and went therewith to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him he offered one handful of lotuses to the Blessed One (saying), 'Lord, may the Blessed One smell this first handful of lotuses; that will purge the Blessed One ten times.' Thus he offered also the second handful of lotuses to the Blessed One (saying), 'Lord, may the Blessed One smell this second handful of lotuses;

that will purge the Blessed One ten times.' Thus he offered also the third handful of lotuses to the Blessed One (saying), 'Lord, may the Blessed One smell this third handful of lotuses; that will purge the Blessed One ten times. Thus the Blessed One will have purged full thirty times.' And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*, having given to the Blessed One a purgative for full thirty times, bowed down before the Blessed One, and passed round him with his right side towards him, and went away.

32. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*, when he was out of doors, thought: 'I have given indeed to the Blessed One a purgative for full thirty times, but as the humors of the Tathāgatha's body are disturbed, it will not purge the Blessed One full thirty times; it will purge the Blessed One only twenty-nine times. But the Blessed One, having purged, will take a bath; the bath will purge the Blessed One once; thus the Blessed One will be purged full thirty times.'

And the Blessed One, who understood by the power of his mind this reflection of *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*, said to the venerable *Ānanda*: '*Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*, *Ānanda*, when he was out of doors, has thought: "I have given indeed (&c., as above, down to:) thus the Blessed One will be purged full thirty times." Well, *Ānanda*, get warm water ready.'

The venerable *Ānanda* accepted this order of the Blessed One (saying), 'Yes, Lord,' and got warm water ready.

33. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him; sitting near him *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, has the

Blessed One purged?’ (Buddha replied), ‘I have purged, *Gīvaka*.’ (*Gīvaka* said), ‘When I was out of doors, Lord, I thought: “I have given indeed, &c.” Lord, may the Blessed One take a bath, may the Happy One take a bath.’ Then the Blessed One bathed in that warm water; the bath purged the Blessed One once; thus the Blessed One was purged full thirty times.

And *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, until the Blessed One’s body is completely restored, you had better abstain from liquid food.’ And ere long the Blessed One’s body was completely restored.

34. Then *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* took that suit of *Siveyyaka* cloth and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him, *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, I ask one boon of the Blessed One.’ (Buddha replied), ‘The *Tathâgatas*, *Gīvaka*, are above granting boons (before they know what they are).’ (*Gīvaka* said), ‘Lord, it is a proper and unobjectionable demand.’—‘Speak, *Gīvaka*.’

‘Lord, the Blessed One wears only *paṃsukūla* robes (robes made of rags taken from a dust heap or a cemetery¹), and so does the fraternity of *Bhikkhus*. Now, Lord, this suit of *Siveyyaka* cloth has been sent to me by king *Paggota*, which is the best, and the most excellent, and the first, and the most precious, and the noblest of many cloths and of

¹ *Buddhaghosa*: ‘To the Blessed One during the twenty years from his *Sambodhi* till this story happened no one had presented a lay robe.’

many suits of cloth, and of many hundred suits of cloth, and of many thousand suits of cloth, and of many hundred thousand suits of cloth. Lord, may the Blessed One accept from me this suit of Siveyyaka cloth, and may he allow to the fraternity of Bhikkhus to wear lay robes¹.'

The Blessed One accepted the suit of Siveyyaka cloth. And the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* by religious discourse. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*, having been taught, incited, animated, and gladdened by the Blessed One by religious discourse, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, passed round him with his right side towards him, and went away.

35. And the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse in consequence of that, thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wear lay robes. He who likes may wear *paṃsukūla* robes; he who likes may accept lay robes. Whether you are pleased with the one or with the other sort² of robes, I approve it.'

Now the people at Rāgagaha heard, 'The Blessed One has allowed the Bhikkhus to wear lay robes.' Then those people became glad and delighted (because they thought), 'Now we will bestow gifts (on the Bhikkhus) and acquire merit by good works,

¹ *Gahapatiṭṭhivara* may be translated also, as Buddhaghosa explains it, 'a robe presented by lay people.'

² *Itarītara* ('the one or the other') clearly refers to the two sorts of robes mentioned before, not, as Childers (s.v. *itaritara*) understands it, to whether the robes are good or bad. Compare also chap. 3, § 2.

since the Blessed One has allowed the Bhikkhus to wear lay robes.' And in one day many thousands of robes were presented at Rāgagaha (to the Bhikkhus).

And the people in the country heard, 'The Blessed One has allowed the Bhikkhus to wear lay robes.' Then those people became glad (&c., as above, down to:) And in one day many thousands of robes were presented through the country also (to the Bhikkhus).

36. At that time the *Samgha* had received a mantle. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wear a mantle.'

They had got a silk mantle.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wear a silk mantle.'

They had got a fleecy counterpane¹.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use a fleecy counterpane.'

End of the first Bhānavāra.

2.

At that time the king of Kāśi² sent to Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭa a woollen garment made half of Benares cloth . . .³. Then Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭa

¹ See Abhidhānapp. v. 312.

² Buddhaghosa: 'This king was Pasenadi's brother, the same father's son.' He appears to have been a sub-king of Pasenadi, for in the *Lohikā-sutta* it is stated that Pasenadi's rule extended both over Kāśi and Kosala ('Rāgā Pasenadi Kosalo Kāsikosalam agghāvasati').

³ Our translation of *addhakāsikam kambalam* is merely

took that woollen garment made half of Benares cloth and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him, *Gīvaka Komārabhaḥka* said to the Blessed One : 'Lord, this woollen garment made half of Benares cloth. . . .¹ has been sent to me by the king of Kâsi. May the Blessed One, Lord, accept this woollen garment, which may be to me a long time for a good and a blessing.' The Blessed One accepted that woollen garment.

And the Blessed One taught (&c., as in chap. 1, § 34, down to :) and went away.

And the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse in consequence of that, thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use woollen garments.'

3.

1. At that time the fraternity got robes of different kinds. Now the Bhikkhus thought : 'What robes are allowed to us by the Blessed One, and what robes are not allowed ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, six kinds of robes, viz.

conjectural. Buddhaghosa has the following note : '*Addhakâsiyam*, here *kâsi* means one thousand; a thing that is worth one thousand, is called *kâsiya*. This garment was worth five hundred; therefore it is called *addhakâsiya*. And for the same reason it is said, *upaddhakâsinam khamamânam*.' Perhaps *vikâsikam* at VI, 15, 5 may have some connection with the word used here.

¹ See last note.

those made of linen, of cotton, of silk, of wool, of coarse cloth, and of hempen cloth.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus accepted lay robes, but did not get paṃsukūla robes, because they had scruples (and thought): 'The Blessed One has allowed us either kind of robes only, not both kinds¹.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, that he who accepts lay robes, may get also paṃsukūla robes. If you are pleased with those both sorts of robes, I approve that also.'

4.

1. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. Some of these Bhikkhus went off (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves paṃsukūla robes; some (other) Bhikkhus did not wait. Those Bhikkhus who had gone to the cemetery for paṃsukūla robes, got themselves paṃsukūlas; those Bhikkhus who had not waited, said to them: 'Friends, give us also a part (of your paṃsukūlas).' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why have you not waited?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are not obliged to give a part against your will to Bhikkhus who have not waited.'

2. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. Some

¹ See chap. 1, § 35.

of these Bhikkhus went off (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves paṃsukūla robes; some (other) Bhikkhus waited for them. Those Bhikkhus who had gone to the cemetery for paṃsukūla robes, got themselves paṃsukūlas; those Bhikkhus who had waited, said to them: 'Friends, give us also a part (of your paṃsukūlas).' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why did you not also go off (to the cemetery)?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give a part (even) against your will to Bhikkhus who have waited.'

3. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. Some of these Bhikkhus went aside first from (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves paṃsukūla robes; some (other) Bhikkhus went aside later. Those Bhikkhus who had gone first to the cemetery for paṃsukūla robes, got themselves paṃsukūlas; those Bhikkhus who had got off later, did not get any, and said (to the other ones): 'Friends, give us also a part.' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why did you get off (to the cemetery) after us?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are not obliged to give a part against your will to Bhikkhus who have gone (to the cemetery) later (than yourselves).'

4. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. They went altogether off (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves paṃsukūla robes; some of the Bhikkhus got paṃsukūlas, other Bhikkhus did not

get any. The Bhikkhus who had got nothing, said : 'Friends, give us also a part (of your *pamsukûlas*).' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why did you not get (them yourselves)?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give a part (even) against your will to Bhikkhus who have gone (to the cemetery) together with yourselves.'

5. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. They went off (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves *pamsukûla* robes, after having made an agreement (about the distribution of what they were to find). Some of the Bhikkhus got themselves *pamsukûlas*, other Bhikkhus did not get any. The Bhikkhus who had got nothing, said : 'Friends, give us also a part (of the *pamsukûlas*).' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why did you not get (them yourselves)?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give a part, (even) against your will, to Bhikkhus who have gone (with you to the cemetery) after having made with you an agreement (about the distribution of the *pamsukûlas*).'

5.

1. At that time people went to the Ârâma with robes¹ (which they intended to present to the

¹ It will be as well to remind the reader that here and in the following chapters *ñivara* can mean both 'a robe' and 'cloth for making robes.'

Bhikkhus). They found there no Bhikkhu who was to receive the robes; so they took them back again. (In consequence of that) few robes were given (to the Bhikkhus).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint a Bhikkhu possessed of the following five qualities, to receive the robes (presented to the Bhikkhus): (a person) who does not go in the evil course of lust, in the evil course of hatred, in the evil course of delusion, in the evil course of fear, and who knows what has been received and what has not.

2. ‘And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint (such a Bhikkhu) in this way: First, that Bhikkhu must be asked (to accept that commission). When he has been asked, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* appoint the Bhikkhu N. N. to receive the robes (presented to the Bhikkhus). This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. The *Samgha* appoints the Bhikkhu N. N. to receive the robes (presented). Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of our appointing the Bhikkhu N. N. to receive the robes (presented), be silent, and any one who is not in favour of it, speak. The Bhikkhu N. N. has been appointed by the *Samgha* to receive the robes (presented). The *Samgha* is in favour of it, therefore are you silent; thus I understand.”’

6.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus who had to receive the robes (presented), after having received them, left them there (in the Vihâras) and went away; the robes were spoilt.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint a Bhikkhu possessed of the following five qualities, to lay by the robes (received): (a person) who does not go in the evil course of lust, in the evil course of hatred, in the evil course of delusion, in the evil course of fear, and who knows what is laid by and what is not.

2. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint (&c., see chap. 5, § 2).'

7.

At that time the Bhikkhus appointed to lay the robes by, laid the robes by in an open hall, or at the foot of a tree, or in the hollow of a Nimba tree¹; thus they were eaten by rats and white ants.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint what the *Samgha* chooses, a Vihâra, or an *Addhayoga*², or a storied building, or an attic, or a cave, to be the store-room³ (of the *Samgha*).

¹ Compare III, 12, 5.

² Compare I, 30, 4.

³ The word *bhandâgâra* does not imply any special reference to robes more than to any other articles belonging to the *Samgha*. A good many things which were usually kept in the *bhandâgâra* are mentioned at *Kullav.* VI, 21, 3.

‘And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint it in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* appoint the *Vihāra* called N. N. to be the store-room (of the *Samgha*), (&c., the usual formula of a *ñattidutiya kamma*).”’

8.

1. At that time the cloth in the *Samgha*’s store-room was not protected (from rain, mice, &c.)

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint a Bhikkhu possessed of the following five qualities, to take charge of the store-room: (a person) who does not go in the evil course of lust (&c., as in chap. 5, § 1), and who knows what is protected and what is not.

‘And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint (&c., see chap. 5, § 2).’

2. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus expelled a Bhikkhu, who had charge of a store-room, from his place.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, expel a Bhikkhu, who has charge of a store-room, from his place. He who does so, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

9.

1. At that time the *Samgha*’s store-room was over-full of clothes.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that they should be distributed by the assembled *Samgha*.'

At that time the whole *Samgha*, when distributing the clothes, made a bustle.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint a Bhikkhu possessed of the following five qualities, to distribute the clothes: (a person) who does not go in the evil course of lust . . . and who knows what is distributed and what is not.

'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint (&c., see chap. 5, § 2).'

2. Now the Bhikkhus appointed to distribute the clothes thought: 'In what way are we to distribute the clothes?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you first assort the clothes, estimate them, share them according to their higher or lower value¹, then count the Bhikkhus, divide them into troops², and divide the portions of cloth (accordingly).'

Now the Bhikkhus, who were to distribute the clothes, thought: 'What portion of cloth shall be given to the *Sāmañeras*?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give to the *Sāmañeras* half a portion.'

¹ Buddhaghosa: 'If there are robes of the same quality, for instance, each worth ten (*kāhāpāṇas*), for all Bhikkhus, it is all right; if they are not, they must take together the robes which are worth nine or eight, with those which are worth one or two, and thus they must make equal portions.'

² 'In case the day should not suffice for distributing the robes to the Bhikkhus one by one' (Buddhaghosa).

3. At that time a certain Bhikkhu wished to go across (a river or a desert) with the portion that should come to him.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give to a Bhikkhu who is going across (a river or a desert), the portion that should come to him.’

At that time a certain Bhikkhu wished to go across (a river or a desert) with a greater portion (of cloth than fell to his share).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give more than the due portion (to a Bhikkhu who desires it), if he gives a compensation.’

4. Now the Bhikkhus, who were to distribute the clothes, thought: ‘How are we to assign the portions of cloth (to the single Bhikkhus), by turns as they arrive (and ask for cloth), or according to their age (i. e. the time elapsed since their ordination)?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you cast lots, made of grass-blades, after having made every defective portion even.’

10.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus dyed cloth with (cow-)dung or with yellow clay. The robes were badly coloured.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you use the following six kinds of dye, viz. dye made of roots, dye made of trunks of trees, dye made of bark, dye made of leaves, dye made of flowers, dye made of fruits.’

2. At that time the Bhikkhus dyed cloth with unboiled dye ; the cloth became ill-smelling.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you boil the dye (and use) little dye-pots.’

They spilt the dye.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you put basins (under the dye-pots) to catch the spilt (dye).’

At that time the Bhikkhus did not know whether the dye was boiled or not.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you let a drop of dye fall into water, or on to your nail (in order to try if the dye is duly boiled).’

3. At that time the Bhikkhus, when pouring the dye out (of the pot), upset the pot ; the pot was broken.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you use a dye-ladle or a scoop with a long handle.’

At that time the Bhikkhus did not possess vessels for keeping dye.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you get jars and bowls for keeping the dye.’

At that time the Bhikkhus rubbed the cloth against the vessels and the bowls (in which they dyed it); the cloth was rent.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you use a (large) trough for dying (cloth) in.’

11.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus spread the cloth on the floor (when they had dyed it); the cloth became dusty.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you spread grass (and put the cloth on it).’

The grass they had spread was eaten by white ants.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you get a bambû peg or rope to hang the cloth on.’

They hung it up in the middle; the dye dropped down on both sides.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you tie it fast at the corner.’

The corner wore out.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the use of a clothes-line.’

The dye dropped down on one side.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you turn the cloth, when dyeing it, whenever required, and that you do not go away before the dye has ceased to drop.’

2. At that time the cloth had become stiff¹.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Buddhaghosa: Patthinan ti (this is the reading of the Berlin MS.) atiragitaṭṭā thaddham, i. e. ‘Patthinam means that it had become stiff from too much dye.’ Thīna or thinna is Sanskrit styâna.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you dip (the cloth) into water (in order to remove the excessive dye).’

At that time the cloth became rough.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, (that you smooth it by) beating it with your hands.’

At that time the Bhikkhus possessed *akkhin-naka*¹ robes of yellowish colour like ivory. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘(The Bhikkhus dress) like those who still live in the pleasures of the world.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to possess *akkhin-naka* robes. He who does, commits a *dukkata* offence.’

12.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, he set forth on his journey towards Dakkhinâ-giri (the Southern Hills²). And the Blessed One beheld how the Magadha rice fields were divided into short pieces³,

¹ That is, made of untorn cloth. See VIII, 21, 2.

² These are always mentioned in connection with Râgagaha (Mahâvagga I, 53; Kullavagga XI, 1-10), and are probably the name of the mountainous district immediately south of Râgagaha.

³ *Akkibaddhan* (sic) *ti katurassakedâarakabaddham* (B.). I have never seen a field divided ‘ray-fashion,’ which would apparently be the literal translation of the term, and it is difficult to see how the necessary water could be conducted from strip to strip of a field so divided. Buddhaghosa also, though his explanation is insufficient, evidently does not take *akki* in the ordinary sense (Rh. D.).

and in rows¹, and by outside boundaries² (or ridges), and by cross boundaries³.

On seeing this the Blessed One spake thus to the venerable Ānanda: 'Dost thou perceive, Ānanda, how the Magadha rice fields are divided into short pieces, and in rows, and by outside boundaries, and by cross boundaries?'

'Even so, Lord.'

'Could you, Ānanda, provide⁴ robes of a like kind for the Bhikkhus?'

'I could, Lord.'

Now when the Blessed One had remained in the Southern Hills as long as he thought fit, he returned again to Rāgagaha.

Then Ānanda provided robes of a like kind for many Bhikkhus; and going up to the place where the Blessed One was, he spake thus to the Blessed One: 'May the Blessed One be pleased to look at the robes which I have provided.'

2. Then the Blessed One on that occasion addressed the Bhikkhus and said: 'An able man, O Bhikkhus, is Ānanda; of great understanding, O Bhikkhus, is Ānanda, inasmuch as what has been spoken by me in short that can he understand in full, and can make the cross seams⁵, and the

¹ *Paṭibaddhan* (sic) ti āyāmato ka vitthārato ka dighamariyāda-baddham (B.).

² *Mariyādabaddhan* (sic) ti antarantarāya mariyādāya mariyādabaddham (B.).

³ *Siṅghātakabaddhan* (sic) ti mariyādāyā (sic) mariyādam vini-vigghitvā gatattāne siṅghātakabaddham. *Katukkasanāṇan* ti attho (B.).

⁴ *Samvidahitun* ti kātum (B.).

⁵ *Kusim* pi'ti āyāmato ka vitthārato ka anuvātādinam digha-paṭṭānam etam adhivaṇanam (B.).

intermediate cross seams¹, and the greater circles², and the lesser circles³, and the turning in⁴, and the lining of the turning in⁵, and the collar piece⁶, and the knee piece⁷, and the elbow piece⁸. And it shall be of torn pieces⁹, roughly sewn together¹⁰, suitable for a Samana, a thing which his enemies cannot covet¹¹. I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, the use of an under robe of torn pieces, and of an upper robe of torn pieces, and of a waist cloth of torn pieces¹².

¹ *Addhakusī ti antarantarā rassa-paṭṭānam nāmam* (B.).

² *Mandalan ti paṇṇāka-khandika-kivaraṣṣa ekekasmim khande mahā-maṇḍalam* (B.).

³ *Addhamandalan ti khuddaka-maṇḍalam* (B.).

⁴ *Vivattan ti maṇḍalañ ka addha-maṇḍalañ ka ekato katvā sibbitam magghima-khaṇḍam* (B.).

⁵ *Anuvivattan ti tassa ubhosu passesu dve khaṇḍāni. Athavā vivaṭṭassa ekekapassato dvinnam pi kṭannam pi khaṇḍānam etam nāmam* (B.).

⁶ *Giveyyakan ti gīva-tṭhāne dalhi-karan-attham aññam suttaṃ sibbitam āgantuka-paṭṭam* (B.).

⁷ *Gaṅgheyyakan ti gaṅgha-pāpuna-tṭhāne tath' eva samsibbita-paṭṭam. Gīva-tṭhāne ka gaṅgha-tṭhāne ka paṭṭānam ev' etam nāman ti pi vadanti* (B.).

⁸ *Bāhantan ti anuvivaṭṭānam bahi ekekakhaṇḍam. Athavā suppaṃānam kivarāṃ pārupentena saṃharitā bāhāya upari ṭhapitā ubho anto-bahi-mukhā tiṭṭhanti. Tesam etam nāmam. Ayam eva hi nayo Mahā-atthakathāyaṃ vutto ti* (B.). This latter explanation from bāhā seems evidently more correct than the other one from bahi; and we accordingly follow it.

⁹ See the end of the last chapter.

¹⁰ *Satta-lūkha*; in which compound the signification of *satta* is by no means clear. *Buddhaghosa* has no note upon it. Now it is curious that in chapter 21, below, it is laid down that the robe is to be *sutta-lūkha*, the meaning of which would fit this passage excellently. We have accordingly adopted that reading here.

¹¹ Compare the similar expressions at *Gātaka* I, 8 and 9.

¹² The general sense of this chapter is clear enough. As an Indian field, the common property of the village community, was

13.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, he went forth on his journey towards Vesāli. And the Blessed One, when on the high road between Rāgagaha and Vesāli, saw a number of Bhikkhus smothered up in robes¹, they went along with robes made up into a roll² on their heads, or on their backs, or on their waist. And when the Blessed One saw them, he thought: 'With too great celerity have these foolish persons given themselves up to superfluity³ in the matter of dress. It would be well were I to confine the dress of the Bhikkhus within limits, and were to fix a bound thereto.'

2. And the Blessed One, proceeding in due course on his journey toward Vesāli, arrived at that place. And there, at Vesāli, the Blessed One stayed at the Gotamaka shrine⁴. And at that time in the cold

divided, for the purposes of cultivation, across and across, so must also the Bhikkhu's robe be divided. That some, both of the agricultural and of the tailoring terms, should now be unintelligible to us is not surprising. Buddhaghosa himself, as the extracts from his commentary show, was not certain of the meaning of them all.

¹ *Ubbhāṇḍite āvarehi*. The former word is of course applied to the Bhikkhus. Compare Childers, under *Bhaṇḍikā*, and *Gātaka* I, 504 (last line but one).

² *Bhisī* = Sanskrit *Brisī*. Compare the 14th *Pāṭittiya*, where we ought to have rendered the word 'bolster.' Childers is incorrect in translating it by 'mat.'

³ Mentioned also, as being near to Vesāli, in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' III, 2.

⁴ *Bāhullāya āvattā*. This phrase occurs in *Mahāvagga* I, 31, 5.

winter nights, in the period between the *Ashṭakā* festivals when the snow falls¹, the Blessed One sat at night in the open air with but one robe on, and the Blessed One felt not cold. As the first watch of the night was coming to its end, the Blessed One felt cold; and he put on a second robe, and felt not cold. As the middle watch of the night was coming to its end, the Blessed One felt cold; and he put on a third robe, and felt not cold. As the last watch of the night was coming to an end, when the dawn was breaking and the night was far spent², the Blessed One felt cold; and he put on a fourth robe, and felt not cold.

3. Then this thought sprang up in the Blessed One's mind: 'Those men of good birth³ in this doctrine and discipline who are affected by cold, and are afraid of cold, they are able to make use of three robes⁴. It were well if in confining within limits the dress of the Bhikkhus, and in fixing a bound thereto, I were to allow the use of three robes.' And on that occasion the Blessed One, when he had

¹ See our note on the same phrase at *Mahāvagga* I, 20, 15.

² *Nandimukhiyā rattiyā*. The derivation of this phrase is uncertain, though the general meaning is not subject to doubt. The Sanskrit form of the whole phrase will be found in the *Lalita Vistara* at p. 447. Comp. *Sāṅkhāyana-grīhya*, ed. Oldenberg, IV, 4, where the word *nāṇḍimukho* occurs in a different connection.

³ In the text read *Ye pi kho kulaputtā*. The idea is that men of lower grade, being accustomed to cold, would not want so many robes. But there must be one rule for all; and the rule is accordingly made to suit the comfort of the weaker brethren—early Buddhism, contrary to an erroneous opinion still frequently expressed, being opposed to asceticism.

⁴ Or, 'to get on with the three robes.' Compare the use of *yāpetum* in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' II, 32.

delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

4, 5. 'When on the high road, &c. . . . I saw, &c. . . . and I thought, &c. . . . (all the chapter is repeated down to ". . . . I were to allow the use of three robes"). I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of three robes, (to wit), a double waist cloth, and a single¹ upper robe, and a single under garment².'

¹ *Ekakkhiyam*. Compare *Gâtaka* I, 326. Buddhaghosa says *dvigunam dupaṭṭa-samghâṣim ekakkhiyam ekapaṭṭam*. Though 'single,' the lengths of cotton cloth, pieced together, of which the robes were made, were allowed to be doubled at the seams, the collar, the elbows, and the knees. See above, VII, 1, 5.

² The waist cloth (*samghâṭi*) was wrapped round the waist and back, and secured with a girdle. The under garment (*antara-vāsaka*; see also the end of this note) was wrapped round the loins and reached below the knee, being fastened round the loins by an end of the cloth being tucked in there; and sometimes also by a girdle. The upper robe (*uttarāsanga*) was wrapped round the legs from the loins to the ankles, and the end was then drawn, at the back, from the right hip, over the left shoulder, and either (as is still the custom in Siam, and in the Siamese sect in Ceylon) allowed to fall down in front, or (as is still the custom in Burma, and in the Burmese sect in Ceylon) drawn back again over the right shoulder, and allowed to fall down on the back. From the constant reference to the practice of adjusting the robe over one shoulder as a special mark of respect (for instance, *Mahāvagga* I, 29, 2; IV, 3, 3), the Burmese custom would seem to be in accordance with the most ancient way of usually wearing the robe. The oldest statues of the Buddha, which represent the robe as falling over only one shoulder, are probably later than the passages just referred to.

The ordinary dress of laymen, even of good family, in Gotama's time was much more scanty than the decent dress thus prescribed for the Bhikkhus. See Rh. D.'s note on the 'Book of the Great Decease,' VI, 26. But it consisted also, like that of the Bhikkhus, not in garments made with sleeves or trousers, to fit the limbs, but in simple lengths of cloth.

The *antara-vāsaka* corresponds, in the dress of the monks, to

6. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, on the ground that three robes had been allowed by the Blessed One, used to frequent the village in one suit of three robes, and in another suit to rest in the *Ârâma*, and in another to go to the bath. Then those Bhikkhus who were modest were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus wear extra suits of robes.'

And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear an extra suit of robes. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to law¹.'

7. Now at that time the venerable *Ânanda* had acquired an extra suit of robes, and the venerable *Ânanda* was desirous of giving the extra suit to the venerable *Sâriputta*, but the venerable *Sâriputta* was staying at *Sâketa*. Then the venerable *Ânanda* thought: 'It hath been laid down by the Blessed One that we are not to keep an extra suit of robes. Now I have received one, and I want to give it to the venerable *Sâriputta*; but he is staying at *Sâketa*. What now shall I do?'

the *sâ/ika* in the dress of ordinary women, and was of the same shape as the *udaka-sâ/ika*, or bathing dress, prescribed for the use both of monks (below, chapter 15) and of nuns (*Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâṭṭiya* XXII). The latter was, however, somewhat shorter.

The ordinary dress of the *Bhikkhunîs* or Sisters consisted of the same three garments as that of the Bhikkhus.

¹ That is, according to the first *Nissaggiya*. The first section of the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on that rule is identical with this section.

And the venerable Ānanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘How long will it be, Ānanda, before the venerable Sāriputta returns?’

‘He will come back, Lord, on the ninth or the tenth day from now.’

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to keep an extra suit of robes up to the tenth day¹.’

8. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to get extra suits of robes given to them. And these Bhikkhus thought: ‘What now should we do with extra suits of robes?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to make over an extra suit of robes (to other Bhikkhus who have no robes²).’

14.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Vesāli as long as he thought fit, he went onwards on his journey towards Benares. And in due course he arrived at Benares, and there, at Benares, he stayed in the hermitage in the Migadāya.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu’s under robe was torn. And that Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed

¹ So the first Nissaggiya; the second section of the Sutta-vibhaṅga on which rule is identical with this section 7.

² On *vikappetum*, compare our note above, the 59th Pāṭṭiya, and below, chapters 20, 22.

One has ordained the use of three robes, a double waist cloth, and a single upper robe, and a single under-garment¹, and this under-garment of mine is torn. What if I were to insert a slip of cloth² so that the robe shall be double all round and single in the middle.'

2. So that Bhikkhu inserted a slip of cloth. And the Blessed One on his way round the sleeping apartments saw him doing so, went up to the place where he was, and said to him :

'What are you doing, O Bhikkhu ?'

'I am inserting a slip of cloth, Lord.'

'That is very good, O Bhikkhu. It is quite right of you, O Bhikkhu, to insert a slip of cloth.'

And the Blessed One on that occasion, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use a double waist cloth, and a single upper robe, and a single under-garment, of cloths which are new, or as good as new³; and the use of a fourfold waist cloth, and of a double upper robe, and of a double under robe of cloth which has been worn for a long time. You are to make endeavour to get sufficient material from rags taken from the dust-heap⁴, or from bits picked up in the bazaar⁴. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, slips of cloth inserted bolt-like to hold a torn robe

¹ See above, VIII, 13, 5.

² Buddhaghosa says, *Aggaḷam akkhaḍḍeyyan* (sic) *ti khinna-tthāne* *pilotika-khaṇḍam* *laggāpeyyam*. The word occurs at *Gāṭaka* I, 8, where the liability to want such an insertion is given as one of the nine disadvantages of a robe from the ascetic's point of view.

³ *Ahata-kappānam*. See above, VII, 1, 6.

⁴ See our notes on these expressions above, VII, 1, 6.

together, patches¹, darns², and small pieces of cloth sewn on by way of marking², or of strengthening² the robe.'

15.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Benares as long as he thought fit, he went onwards on his journey toward Sâvatthi. And in due course journeying straight on he arrived at Sâvatthi; and there, at Sâvatthi, he stayed at the *Getavana*, *Anâtha-piṇḍika's* *Ârâma*. And Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when she had come there, she saluted the Blessed One, and took her seat on one side. And the Blessed One taught Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra seated thus: and incited, and aroused, and gladdened her with religious discourse. And Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra when she had been thus taught, &c., spake thus to the Blessed One: 'Will my Lord the Blessed One consent to accept his morrow's meal at my hands, together with the company of the Bhikkhus?' The Blessed One, by remaining silent, granted his consent; and Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra, perceiving that the Blessed One had consented, rose from her seat, and saluted the Blessed One, and keeping him on her right side as she passed him, she departed thence.

¹ This liability to have to be patched is given, in connection with the previous phrase, as one of the nine disadvantages of robes at *Gâtaka* I, 8; and *tunnavâya* occurs as the expression for a mender of old clothes at *Kullavagga* VI, 5, 1:

² See our notes on these expressions above, VII, 1, 5.

2. Now at that time, when the night was far spent, there was a great storm of rain over the whole world¹. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus:

‘Just as it is raining in the *Getavana*, O Bhikkhus, so is it raining over the whole world. Let yourselves, O Bhikkhus, be rained down upon, for this is the last time there will be a mighty storm of rain over the whole world.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said those Bhikkhus in assent to the Blessed One; and throwing off their robes they let themselves be rained down upon.

3. And Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra having provided sweet food, both hard and soft, gave command to a slave girl, saying,

‘Go thou² to the *Ârâma*; and when you are there, announce the time, saying, “The time, Sirs, has arrived, and the meal is ready.”’

‘Even so, my Lady,’ said the slave girl in assent to Visâkhâ, the mother of Migâra; and going to the *Ârâma* she beheld there the Bhikkhus, with their robes thrown off, letting themselves be rained down upon. Then thinking, ‘These are not Bhikkhus in the *Ârâma*, they are naked ascetics letting the rain fall on them,’ she returned to the place where Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra was, and said to her:

‘There are no Bhikkhus in the *Ârâma*; there are

¹ *Kâtuddîpiko*, literally, ‘over the four continents,’ into which the world was supposed to be divided. Compare Genesis vii. 44.

² *Gakkha ge*; where *ge* is the appropriate form of address invariably used to a female slave or maid-servant. Compare Childers, in the ‘Dictionary,’ p. 617.

naked ascetics there, letting the rain fall on themselves.'

Then it occurred to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra—she being learned, expert, and wise—'For a certainty the venerable ones must have thrown off their robes in order to let themselves be rained down upon, and this foolish girl thinks therefore that there are no Bhikkhus in the Ârâma, but only naked ascetics letting the rain fall on them.' And she again gave command to the slave girl, saying,

'Go thou to the Ârâma; and when you are there, announce the time, saying, "The time, Sirs, has arrived, and the meal is ready."'

4. Now the Bhikkhus when they had cooled their limbs, and were refreshed in body, took their robes, and entered each one into his chamber. When the slave girl came to the Ârâma, not seeing any Bhikkhus, she thought: 'There are no Bhikkhus in the Ârâma. The Ârâma is empty.' And returning to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra she said so.

Then it occurred to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra—she being learned, expert, and wise—'For a certainty the venerable ones, when they had cooled their limbs and were refreshed in body, must have taken their robes, and entered each one into his chamber.' And she again gave command to the slave girl, saying,

'Go thou to Ârâma; and when you are there announce the time, saying, "The time, Sirs, has arrived, and the meal is ready."'

5. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'Make yourselves ready, O Bhikkhus, with bowl and robe; the hour for the meal has come.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the Bhikkhus in assent to

the Blessed One. And in the morning the Blessed One, having put on his under-garment, and being duly bowled and robed, vanished from the *Getavana* as quickly as a strong man would stretch forth his arm when it was drawn in, or draw it in again when it was stretched forth, and appeared in the mansion¹ of *Visâkhâ* the mother of *Migâra*. And the Blessed One took his seat on the seat spread out for him, and with him the company of the *Bhikkhus*.

6. Then said *Visâkhâ* the mother of *Migâra*: 'Most wonderful, most marvellous is the might and the power of the *Tathâgata*, in that though the floods are rolling on knee-deep, and though the floods are rolling on waist-deep, yet is not a single *Bhikkhu* wet, as to his feet, or as to his robes.' And glad and exalted in heart she served and offered with her own hand to the company of the *Bhikkhus*, with the *Buddha* at their head, sweet food, both hard and soft. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had cleansed his hands and the bowl, she took her seat on one side. And, so sitting, she spake thus to the Blessed One:

'Eight are the boons, Lord, which I beg of the Blessed One.'

'The *Tathâgatas*, O *Visâkhâ*, are above granting boons (before they know what they are)².'

'Proper, Lord, and unobjectionable are the boons I ask.'

'Speak then, O *Visâkhâ*.'

7. 'I desire, Lord, my life long to bestow robes

¹ *Koṭṭhaka* does not only mean a room, as given by Childers: it signifies here, as at *Gâtaka* I, 227, a battlemented dwelling, the house of a person of rank.

² See our note on this phrase at I, 54, 4.

for the rainy season on the *Samgha*, and food for in-coming Bhikkhus, and food for out-going Bhikkhus, and food for the sick, and food for those who wait upon the sick, and medicine for the sick, and a constant supply of congey, and bathing robes for the nuns.'

'But what circumstance is it, O Visâkhâ, that you have in view in asking these eight boons of the Tathâgata?'

'I gave command, Lord, to my slave girl, saying, "Go thou to the Ârâma; and when you are there, announce the time, saying, 'The time, Sirs, has arrived, and the meal is ready.' " And the slave girl went, Lord, to the Ârâma; but when she beheld there the Bhikkhus with their robes thrown off, letting themselves be rained down upon, she thought: "These are not Bhikkhus in the Ârâma, they are naked ascetics letting the rain fall on them," and she returned to me and reported accordingly. Impure, Lord, is nakedness, and revolting. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with special garments for use in the rainy season¹.

8. 'Moreover, Lord, an in-coming Bhikkhu, not being able to take the direct roads, and not knowing the places where food can be procured, comes on his way wearied out by seeking for an alms. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for in-coming Bhikkhus, he will come on his way without being wearied out by seeking for an alms, taking the direct road, and knowing the place where food can be procured. It was this circumstance

¹ See below, the note on § 15.

that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with food for in-coming Bhikkhus.

‘Moreover, Lord, an out-going Bhikkhu, while seeking about for an alms for himself, may be left behind by the caravan¹, or may arrive too late at the place whither he desires to go, and will set out on the road in weariness. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for out-going Bhikkhus, he will not be left behind by the caravan; he will arrive in due time at the place whither he desires to go, and he will set out on the road when he is not weary. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with food for out-going Bhikkhus.

9. ‘Moreover, Lord, if a sick Bhikkhu does not obtain suitable foods his sickness may increase upon him, or he may die. But if a Bhikkhu have taken the diet that I shall have provided for the sick, neither will his sickness increase upon him, nor will he die. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with diet for the sick.

‘Moreover, Lord, a Bhikkhu who is waiting upon the sick, if he has to seek out food for himself, may bring in the food (to the invalid) when the sun is already far on his course², and he will lose his

¹ Compare *sukhâ vihâyati* in the *Sigâlovâda Sutta* at p. 302 of Grimblot's ‘*Sept Suttas Pâlis*.’

² Compare *Ussûra-seyyo* in the *Sigâlovâda Sutta* at p. 302 of Grimblot's ‘*Sept Suttas Pâlis*;’ and Böhrling-Roth, under *utsûra*.

opportunity of taking his food¹. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for those who wait upon the sick, he will bring in food to the invalid in due time, and he will not lose his opportunity of taking his food. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with food for those who wait upon the sick.

10. 'Moreover, Lord, if a sick Bhikkhu does not obtain suitable medicines his sickness may increase upon him, or he may die. But if a Bhikkhu have taken the medicines which I shall have provided for the sick, neither will his sickness increase upon him, nor will he die. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with medicines for the sick.

'Moreover, Lord, the Blessed One when at Andhakavinda, having in view the ten advantages thereof, allowed the use of congey². It was those advantages I had in view, Lord, in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with a constant supply of congey.

11. 'Now, Lord, the Bhikkhunts are in the habit of bathing in the river *Akiravattī* with the courtesans, at the same landing-place, and naked. And the courtesans, Lord, ridiculed the Bhikkhunts, saying, "What is the good, ladies, of your maintaining³ chastity when you are young? are not the

¹ *Bhattakkhedam* karissati, because he may not eat solid food after sun-turn.

² See *Mahāvagga* VI, 24. The ten advantages are enumerated in § 5 there.

³ In the text read *kinna*. Compare *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*, *Pāṭiṭṭiya* XXI, 1, where the whole passage recurs. The first sentence also recurs *ibid.*, *Pāṭiṭṭiya* II.

passions things to be indulged? When you are old, maintain chastity then; thus will you be obtainers of both ends." Then the Bhikkhuns, Lord, when thus ridiculed by the courtesans, were confused. Impure, Lord, is nakedness for a woman, disgusting, and revolting. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the Bhikkhun^s-saṃgha my life long with dresses to bathe in.'

12. 'But what was the advantage you had in view for yourself, O Visâkhâ, in asking these eight boons of the Tathâgata?'

'Bhikkhus who have spent the rainy seasons in various places will come, Lord, to Sâvatthi, to visit the Blessed One. And on coming to the Blessed One they will ask, saying, "Such and such a Bhikkhu, Lord, has died. Where has he been re-born, and what is his destiny?" Then will the Blessed One explain that he had attained to the fruits of conversion, or of the state of the Sakadâgâmins, or of the state of the Anâgâmins, or of Arahats¹hip. And I, going up to them, shall ask, "Was that brother, Sirs, one of those who had formerly been at Sâvatthi?"'

13. 'If they should reply to me, "He had formerly been at Sâvatthi," then shall I arrive at the conclusion, "For a certainty did that brother enjoy either the robes for the rainy season, or the food for the in-coming Bhikkhus, or the food for the out-going Bhikkhus, or the food for the sick, or the food for those that wait upon the sick, or the

¹ A conversation of the kind here referred to is related, as having actually taken place at Nâdika, in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' II, 5-8.

medicine for the sick, or the constant supply of congey." Then will gladness spring up within me on my calling that to mind; and joy will arise to me thus gladdened; and so rejoicing all my frame will be at peace; and being thus at peace I shall experience a blissful feeling of content; and in that bliss my heart will be at rest; and that will be to me an exercise of my moral sense, an exercise of my moral powers, an exercise of the seven kinds of wisdom¹! This, Lord, was the advantage I had in view for myself in asking those eight boons of the Blessed One.'

14. 'It is well, it is well, Visākhā. Thou hast

¹ The succession of ideas in this paragraph is very suggestive, and throws much light both upon the psychological views and upon the religious feelings of the early Buddhists. The exact rendering of course of the abstract terms employed in the Pāli text is no doubt, as yet, beset with difficulty, for the reasons pointed out in Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' pp. xxv, xxvi; but the general sense of the passage is already sufficiently clear. For one or two words we have no real and adequate equivalent.

Kāya is neither 'body' nor 'faculties'; it is the whole frame, the whole individuality, looked at rather objectively than subjectively, and rather from the outward and visible than from the inner, metaphysical, stand-point. Compare the use of *Sakkāya-di//hi* and of *Kāyena passati*.

Sukha is not so much 'happiness,' simply and vaguely, as the serenity of the bliss which follows on happiness. It is contrasted with, and follows after, *pāmogga* and *pti*, in the same way as in this passage, in the standing description of the *Ghānas* (translated by Rh. D. in the *Mahā-sudassana Sutta* II, 5-8, in the 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 272). Its opposite, *Dukkha*, is a positive state of pain, and in comparison with this, *sukha* is negative, the absence of pain.

Kitta is always more emotional than intellectual. It has the connotation, not of 'mind,' as is usually and erroneously supposed, but of 'heart.'

done well in asking eight boons of the Tathâgata with such advantages in view.'

And the Blessed One gave thanks to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra in these verses ;

'Whatsoever woman, upright in life, a disciple of the Happy One, gives, glad at heart and overcoming avarice, both food and drink—a gift, heavenly, destructive of sorrow, productive of bliss,—

'A heavenly life does she attain, entering upon the Path that is free from corruption and impurity ;

'Aiming at good, happy does she become, and free from sickness, and long does she rejoice in a heavenly body.'

And when the Blessed One had given thanks to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra in these verses, he arose from his seat, and departed thence.

15. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, after he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, garments for the rainy season¹, and food for in-coming Bhikkhus, and food for out-going Bhikkhus, and diet for the sick, and food for those that wait upon the sick, and medicine for the sick, and a constant supply of congey, and bathing robes for the sisterhood.'

Here ends the chapter called the
Visâkhâ-bhânavâra.

¹ The size of such a garment is limited by the 91st Pâṭittiya to six spans by two-and-a-half—that is just enough to go round the loins from the waist half down to the knee. It would be decent, and yet avoid the disadvantage of wearing the robes in the rain, where they would become wet and heavy in the manner described, for instance, at Mahāvagga VII, 1, 1.

16.

1, 2. Now at that time Bhikkhus who had eaten sweet foods went to sleep unmindful and unthoughtful. And they who had thus gone to sleep, dreamed¹.

3. 'I allow, O Bhikkhus, for the protection of the body, and of the robe, and of the sleeping-place, the use of a mat.'

4. Now at that time the mat, being too short², did not protect the whole of the sleeping-place.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have a covering made as large as you like.'

17³.

1. Now at that time the venerable Belatthasīsa, the superior of the venerable Ānanda, had a disease of thick scabs; and by reason of the discharge thereof his robes stuck to his body. The Bhikkhus moistened those robes with water, and loosened them (from his body).

The Blessed One, as he was going on his rounds through the sleeping-places, saw them [doing so], and going up to the place where they were, he asked them :

¹ The remainder of this introductory story scarcely bears translation. The first sentences recur in the Sutta-vibhaṅga, *Samghādisesa* I, 2, 1, and *Pāṭiṭṭiya* V, 1, 1.

² The length of a mat (*nisīdanam*) was limited by the 89th *Pāṭiṭṭiya* to two spans by one.

³ This introductory story is also given as the introduction to Mahāvagga VI, 9.

‘What is the matter, O Bhikkhus, with this Bhikkhu?’

‘The venerable one has the disease of thick scabs; and by reason of the discharge thereof his robes stick to his body. So we are moistening those robes thoroughly with water, to loosen them (from his body).’

2. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, to whomsoever has the itch, or boils, or a discharge, or scabs, the use of an itch-cloth¹.’

18.

1. Now Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra took a cloth for wiping the face, and went up to the place where the Blessed One was. And on arriving there, she saluted the Blessed One, and took her seat on one side, and, so sitting, Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra spake thus to the Blessed One :

‘May the Blessed One be pleased to accept of me this cloth for wiping the face, that that may be to me for a long time for a blessing and for good.’

And the Blessed One accepted the cloth for wiping the face. And he taught, and incited, and aroused, and gladdened Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra with religious discourse. And she, so taught &c., rose from her seat, and saluted the

¹ According to the 90th Pâṭṭiya such a cloth must not be more than four spans in length, and two in breadth.

Blessed One, and passing him on her right side, she departed thence.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a cloth to wipe your faces with.’

19.

1. Now at that time Roga the Malla was a friend of the venerable Ānanda's¹. And a linen cloth belonging to Roga the Malla had been deposited in the keeping of the venerable Ānanda; and the venerable Ānanda had need of a linen cloth.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take a thing on trust (that it would be given to you) when it belongs to a person possessed of these five qualifications—he must be an intimate and familiar friend who has been spoken to (about it)² and is alive, (and the Bhikkhu taking the thing) must know “He will remain pleased with me after I have taken it.” I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take a thing on trust (that it would be given to you)³ when it belongs to a person possessed of these five qualifications.’

¹ He is also mentioned as such in Mahāvagga VI, 36.

² Buddhaghosa says, *Ālapito ti mama santakam gāhāhi yam ikkheyyāsi evaṃ vutto*.

³ *Vissāsam gahetum*, on which phrase compare *vissāsā gāhāti* in chapter 31, below, where the context leaves no doubt as to its meaning.

20.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus were fully provided with the three robes, but they had need of water-strainers¹ and of bags (to carry their bowls and other things in)².

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, pieces of cloth requisite (for those purposes).’

2. Then it occurred to the Bhikkhus: ‘The things allowed by the Blessed One—the three robes, and the robes for the rainy season, and the mat, and the bed-covering, and the cloth to cover boils &c. with, and to wipe the face with, and required (for water-strainers and bags)—are all these things things which ought to be kept to ourselves³, or things which ought to be handed over⁴ (from time to time by one Bhikkhu to another)?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to keep in hand the three robes, and not to assign them—to keep to yourselves the robes for the rainy season during the four months of the rains, but beyond that time to hand them over—to keep to yourselves the mats and the bed coverings, and not to hand them over—to keep to yourselves the coverings for the itch &c. while the disease lasts, but beyond that time to

¹ Compare *Kullavagga* VI, 13.

² Compare the passages given in the index to the text of the *Kullavagga*, p. 355, s. v. *thavikā*.

³ Compare below, VIII, 24, 3.

⁴ Compare above, VIII, 8, 3.

hand them over—to keep to yourselves the cloths to wipe the face with, and those required for water-strainers and bags, and not to hand them over.’

21.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘What is the limit for the size of a robe up to which it ought to be handed over to another Bhikkhu¹?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, to hand over any robe which is in length eight inches according to the accepted inch².’

Now at that time a robe belonging to the venerable Mahā Kassapa, which had been made of cast-off pieces of cloth became heavy (by reason of the weight of the new pieces tacked on to it³).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to darn it roughly together with thread⁴.’

It was uneven at the end⁵.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to remove the unevenness⁶.’

¹ See VIII, 13, 8, and our note on the 59th Pākittiya.

² See our note on this word in the 92nd Pākittiya.

³ So explains the commentary, *Khinna-ñhāne aggalāropanena garuko hoti*.

⁴ *Suttalūkham kātun ti sutten’ eva aggalam kātun ti atho* (B.). Compare above, chapter 12. 2.

⁵ *Vikanno ti suttam aññitvā sabbantānam eko samghāṇ-kono digho hoti*, says Buddhaghosa. *Vikannaka* in the 233rd Gāṭaka seems to mean ‘harpoon.’

⁶ *Vikannam uddharitun ti dīgha-konam khinditum* (B.).

The threads frayed out¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to put a braiding or a binding along or round (the edge)².’

Now at that time the ribbons³ of the under garment gave way⁴.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make an eight-footed . . . ⁵.’

2. Now at that time when a set of robes was being made for a certain Bhikkhu it was impossible to make it entirely from torn pieces of cloth⁶.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have two of the robes made of torn pieces of cloth, and one of cloth not torn.’

It was impossible to make two of the robes of torn pieces of cloth, and one of cloth not torn.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make two robes

¹ Okiratî (sic) ti *khinna-konato gaḷati* (B.). *Gaḷati* at VI, 13, 1, is ‘ran over,’ whereas *okiriyanti* at the corresponding passages VI, 12, 1, 2, is ‘were spilt.’ Probably the above rendering is the real meaning here, as the threads could not be literally spilt or sprinkled.

² On these difficult technical terms Buddhaghosa provokingly says, *anuvātaṃ paribhaṇḍaṃ anuvātañ k’eva paribhaṇḍaṃ*. Childers, under the first, has merely ‘with the wind,’ and under the second, ‘girdle.’ The same expressions occur also above, at VII, 1, 5, where Buddhaghosa again only explains the words by the words themselves.

³ We probably ought to read *paṭṭā*, not *pattā*; but what is meant by the ribbons of the *samghāṭi* is very doubtful. Buddhaghosa says nothing.

⁴ For *luggati* compare *paluggati*.

⁵ What this is is again uncertain, and Buddhaghosa gives no help.

⁶ See above, chapter 11, at the end.

(out of the set) of untorn pieces, and one of torn pieces.'

Even this was impossible.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make (each robe out of the set) half (from torn pieces) and half¹ (from untorn pieces). But a set of robes made entirely from untorn pieces is not to be worn. Whosoever shall wear (a set of robes so made) is guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

22.

1. Now at that time a quantity of robes had come into the possession of a certain Bhikkhu, and he was desirous of giving those robes to his father and mother.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Since they are his father and mother, what can we say, O Bhikkhus, though he give them to them. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give (robes, in such a case,) to your parents. And a gift of faith is not to be made of no avail. Whosoever shall make it of no avail, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa².'

23.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu who had deposited his robes³ in Andhavana entered the

¹ *Anvādhikam*, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing.

² Compare the 1st and 3rd Nissaggiyas, and above, VIII, 13, 8, as to the rules concerning extra robes, and what is to be done with them.

³ For the rule as to such depositing, see the 29th Nissaggiya.

village for alms (clad only) in his waist cloth and nether garment¹. Thieves carried off that robe. That Bhikkhu became ragged and ill-clad.

The Bhikkhus spake thus: 'How is it, friend, that you have become ragged and ill-clad?'

'I had deposited my robe in Andhavana, and entered the village in my waist cloth and nether garment. Thieves carried off that robe. Thence am I become ragged and ill-clad.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to enter the village (clad only) in your waist cloth and nether garment. Whosoever shall do so is guilty of a dukkaṭa².'

2. Now at that time the venerable Ānanda through thoughtlessness went into the village for alms in his waist cloth and nether garment.

The Bhikkhus spake to him thus: 'Hath it not been laid down by the Blessed One that we are not to enter the village in our waist cloth and nether garment. Why have you, O friend, gone so into the village?'

'It is true, my friends, that it has been laid down by the Blessed One that we are not to enter the village so, but I did it out of thoughtlessness.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

3. 'There are five reasons, O Bhikkhus, for laying

Kīvara (robe) must here be used for *Samghāṭi*. See our note on VIII, 13, 5, and section 2, below, where *samghāṭi* occurs.

¹ On *Santaruttara*, see the 7th *Nissaggiya*. It is clear from this passage that Buddhaghosa was right in his limitation of the word as used in that rule; and we should have done better, therefore, to follow it in our translation of the rule.

² Compare the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th *Sekhiyas*, and the 2nd *Nissaggiya*; and also above, VII, 1, 3.

aside the robe¹—when he (the Bhikkhu) is sick, when it is the appointed time for keeping the rainy season², when it is necessary to go to the other side of a river, when the vihâra has been securely fastened with a bolt³, when the Kathina ceremony has been performed⁴. These, O Bhikkhus, are the five reasons for laying aside the robe (*Samghâti*).

‘There are five reasons, O Bhikkhus, for laying aside the waist cloth and the nether garment. [The reasons are the same as in the last paragraph.] These, O Bhikkhus, are the five reasons, &c.

‘There are five reasons for laying aside the garment for use in the rainy season—when he is sick, when it is necessary to go beyond the boundary (?)⁵, when it is necessary to go to the other side of a river, when the vihâra has been securely fastened with a bolt, when the garment for use in the rainy

¹ Here the word used is *Samghâti*.

² On *samketa*, compare II, 8, 1. Buddhaghosa merely says here, *Vassika-samketan ti kattâro mâse*. As *samketa* implies a mutual agreement, the ‘appointed time’ here probably means, not the time fixed by the Buddha, but the time agreed upon by the *Samgha* as that to which the rule laid down by the Buddha should apply. There may easily have arisen questions as to the exact day on which the four months should properly begin; and there were even differences of opinion as to the exact length of the period itself, some making it three, and some four months. See on these points Childers, under *Vassa* and *Vassûpanâyikâ*.

³ From fear of thieves.

⁴ See the 2nd *Nissaggiya*, and above, VII, 1, 3.

⁵ Buddhaghosa has nothing on this reason. It would seem that the garment in question might be left behind when the Bhikkhu had to go on a journey, if that journey would take him beyond the boundary of the technical ‘residence.’ On the use of the word, see the passages collected by H. O. in the Index to the Pâli Text (vol. ii. p. 349, s. v. *sîmâ*).

season has not been made, or has been left unfinished¹.

‘These, O Bhikkhus, are the five reasons,’ &c.

24.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu kept Vassa² alone. The people then gave him robes, saying, ‘We give them to the Samgha.’

Then that Bhikkhu thought: ‘It has been laid down by the Blessed One that the lowest number which can constitute a Samgha is four³. Now I am by myself, and these people have given the robes, saying, “We give them to the Samgha.” I had better take these robes, which are the property of a Samgha, to Sāvatti.’

So that Bhikkhu did so, and told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘These robes are your own, O Bhikkhu, until the Kathina ceremony shall have been performed⁴.’

2. ‘Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu keep Vassa alone, and the people of the place give

¹ It is evident from this last reason that the reasons are not such as would justify a Bhikkhu in laying aside the garment in such a way as to remain naked, but such as would justify him in not using the rainy-season garment when he might otherwise have done so. In the five cases mentioned he might wear the nether garment only reaching from above the navel to below the knees, instead of the garment for the rainy season, which was smaller in size. See our note above on VIII, 13, 5, and VIII, 15, 15.

² That is, spent the rainy season.

³ This is laid down in Mahāvagga IX, 4, 1.

⁴ And thereby the Kathina license suspended. Compare the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Nissaggiyas, and our note on p. 18.

him robes, intending them for the *Samgha*,—I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that those robes shall be his until the *Katthina* ceremony shall have been performed.’

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu spent the rest of the year (besides the rainy season)¹ alone. The people there (&c., as before, in the first paragraph of 24. 1, down to the end).

So that Bhikkhu did so, and told the matter to the Bhikkhus. They told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are to divide such robes with the *Samgha* (whether large or small in number) that may be present there.

4. ‘Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu spend the rest of the year (besides the rainy season) alone, and the people of the place give him robes, intending them for the *Samgha*,—I allow, O Bhikkhus, that that Bhikkhu should appropriate those robes to himself², saying, “These robes are for me.” If another Bhikkhu should arrive before those robes have been appropriated to that Bhikkhu, an equal share is to be given (to the in-coming Bhikkhu). If while the robes are being divided by those Bhikkhus, and before the lot has been cast, another Bhikkhu should arrive, an equal share is to be given to him. If while the robes are being divided by those Bhikkhus, and after the lot has been cast, another Bhikkhu

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *Utukâlan ti vassânato aññam kâlam*, where *vassâna* means the rainy season. See *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*, verse 79.

² On this sense of *adhihâtu*, see above, *Mahâvagga* VIII, 20, 2.

should arrive, an equal share need not, if they do not wish it¹, be given to him.'

5. Now at that time two Theras, who were brothers, the venerable Isidâsa and the venerable Isibhatta, having spent the rainy season in Sâvatthi, went to take up their abode in a certain village. The people there, thinking, 'It is long since these Theras have arrived here,' made gifts of both food and robes.

The Bhikkhus who resided there asked the Theras, saying, 'These robes, Sirs, which are the property of the Samgha, have come to us through the Theras' arrival². Will the Theras accept a share?'

The Theras answered: 'As we understand the rule laid down by the Blessed One, these robes belong to you alone until the Kathina ceremony shall have been performed³.'

6. Now at that time three Bhikkhus spent the rainy season at Râgagaha. The people there made gifts of robes, saying, 'We give them to the Samgha.'

Then those Bhikkhus thought thus: 'It has been laid down by the Blessed One that the smallest Samgha shall consist of four persons, and we are only three, and these people have made gifts of robes, intending to give them to the Samgha. What now ought we to do with them?'

Now at that time there were staying in Pâṭali-

¹ Akâmâ; on which compare II, 27, 15, and especially II, 34, 3, and IV, 17, 6.

² Âgamma, which is here nearly the same as uddissa. To give the full import of the expression it would be necessary to say, 'have come to us in consequence of the inducement offered to the givers by the presence of the Theras here.'

³ See our note above on § 1.

putta, at the kukkuṭārāma, a number of Theras—the venerable Nilavāsi, and the venerable Sānavāsi¹, and the venerable Gopaka, and the venerable Bhagu, and the venerable Phalika-sandāna. And those Bhikkhus went to Pāṭaliputta, and asked the Theras what they should do.

The Theras answered: 'As we understand the rule laid down by the Blessed One, these robes belong to you alone until the Kāṭhina ceremony shall have been performed.'

25.

1. Now at that time the venerable Upananda of the Sakya race, having spent the rainy season at Sāvattī, went to take up his abode in a certain village. The Bhikkhus in that place assembled together with the object of dividing the robes. They said to him:

'These robes, friend, which are the property of the Saṃgha, are about to be divided. Will you accept a share of them?'

'Yes, friends, I will,' said he; and taking his share, departed thence and took up his abode elsewhere.

[The same thing happened there, and] he departed thence and took up his abode elsewhere.

[The same thing happened there, and so] he returned to Sāvattī with a great bundle of robes.

2. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'What a merito-

¹ There is a Sānavāsi who takes a prominent part at the Council of Vesālī (*Kullavagga* XII, 1, 8; XII, 2, 4). He is probably meant to be considered the same as this one.

rious person you are, friend Upananda. Plenty of robes have come into your possession!’

‘Where is my merit, friends?’ said he, and [told them all that had happened]¹.

3. ‘How then, friend Upananda, have you spent the rainy season in one place, and accepted a share of robes in another place?’

‘Yes, friends, that is so.’

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were indignant, murmured, and became annoyed, saying, ‘How can the venerable Upananda spend the rainy season in one place, and accept a share of robes in another place?’

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, Upananda, as they say, that you have spent the rainy season in one place, and have accepted a share of robes in another place?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, ‘How can you, O foolish one, act so? This will not redound to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted!’

And after having rebuked him, and delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, saying, ‘Whosoever, O Bhikkhus, has spent the rainy season in one place, is not to accept a share of the robes in another place. Whosoever does so shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

4. Now at that time the venerable Upananda of the Sakya race spent the rainy season alone in two residences, thinking thus to obtain many robes. And the Bhikkhus thought: ‘How should his portion

¹ Section 1 repeated, with the necessary change of person, &c.

of the robes be assigned to Upananda of the Sakya race ?'

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Give, O Bhikkhus, to that foolish one but one portion¹. In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu spend the rainy season alone in two residences, thinking thus to obtain many robes, then, if he have spent exactly half the season in one place and half in another, a half portion of the robes due to him shall be given to him in one place, and a half in the other; but in whichever place of the two he have spent a greater part of the rainy season, thence shall the portions of robes due to him be given.'

26.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a disturbance in his bowels, and he lay fallen in his own evacuations. And the Blessed One on going round the sleeping-places accompanied by the venerable Ānanda came to that Bhikkhu's abode, and saw him so. And he went up to him, and asked him, 'What is the matter with you, O Bhikkhu ?'

'I have a disturbance, Lord, in my bowels.'

'Then have you, O Bhikkhu, any one to wait upon you ?'

'No, Lord.'

'Why do not the Bhikkhus wait upon you ?'

'Because I am of no service, Lord, to the Bhikkhus.'

2. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *Ekādhippāyan ti ekam adhippāyam. Eka-puggala-paṭvisam eva dethā ti attho.*

Ânanda : 'Go, Ânanda, and fetch some water. Let us bathe this Bhikkhu.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent to the Blessed One, and fetched the water. And the Blessed One poured the water over that Bhikkhu ; and the venerable Ânanda wiped him down. And the Blessed One taking hold of him at the head, and the venerable Ânanda at the feet, they lifted him up, and laid him down upon his bed.

3. Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus, 'Is there, O Bhikkhus, in such and such an apartment, a Bhikkhu who is sick?'

'There is, Lord.'

'Then what, O Bhikkhus, is the matter with that Bhikkhu?'

'He has a disturbance, Lord, in his bowels.'

'And is there any one, O Bhikkhus, to wait upon him?'

'No, Lord.'

'Why, then, do not the Bhikkhus wait upon him?'

'That Bhikkhu, Lord, is of no service to the Bhikkhus ; therefore do they not wait upon him.'

'Ye, O Bhikkhus, have no mothers and no fathers who might wait upon you ! If ye, O Bhikkhus, wait not one upon the other, who is there indeed who will wait upon you ? Whosoever, O Bhikkhus, would wait upon me, he should wait upon the sick.

4. 'If he have an upagghâya, his upagghâya should wait upon him as long as his life lasts, and wait until he has recovered ; and so if he have an âka-riya, a saddhi-vihârika, an antevâsika, a fellow

saddhi-vihârika, or a fellow antevâsika¹. And if he have neither of all these, then should the *Samgha* wait upon him; and whosoever does not do so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.

5. 'There are five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when a sick man has, he is difficult to wait upon—when he does not do what is good for him; when he does not know the limit (of the quantity of food) that is good for him²; when he does not take his medicine; when he does not let a nurse who desires his good know what manner of disease he has, or when it is getting worse that that is so, or when it is getting better that that is so, or when it is stationary that that is so; and when he has become unable to bear bodily pains that are severe, sharp, grievous, disagreeable, unpleasant, and destructive to life³. These are the five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when a sick man has, he is difficult to wait upon.

6. 'There are five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when a sick man has, he is easy to wait upon—when he does' (&c., the contrary of the last section).

7. 'There are five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is incompetent to the task—when he is not capable of prescribing medicines; when he does not know what (diet) is good and what is not good for the patient, serving what is not good, and not serving what is good for him; when he waits upon the sick out of

¹ On all except the last two this duty has already been enjoined above in the passages on the mutual duties of masters and pupils (Mahāvagga I, 24, 25; I, 26, 11; I, 32, 3; I, 33, 1).

² Compare *Gâtaka* II, 293, 294.

³ This last clause occurs also above, at I, 49, 6.

greed, and not out of love ; when he revolts from removing evacuations, saliva or vomit ; when he is not capable from time to time of teaching, inciting, arousing, and gladdening the patient with religious discourse. These are the five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is incompetent to the task.

8. 'There are five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is competent to the task—when he is capable' (&c., the contrary of the last section).

27.

1. Now at that time two Bhikkhus were journeying along a high road in the country of Kosala. And they came to a certain residence, and there one of the two fell ill. Then the Bhikkhus there thought : 'Waiting upon the sick has been highly spoken of by the Blessed One. Let us then, friends, now wait upon this Bhikkhu.' And they waited upon him, and while he was being nursed by them, he completed his time¹. Then those Bhikkhus took that Bhikkhu's bowl and his robes, and went to Sāvatti, and told the matter to the Blessed One.

2. 'On the death of a Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, the *Samgha* becomes the owner of his bowl and of his robes. But, now, those who wait upon the sick are of much service. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the bowl and the set of robes are to be assigned by the

¹ That is, he died.

Samgha to them who have waited upon the sick. And thus, O Bhikkhus, are they to be assigned. The Bhikkhu who has waited upon the sick ought to go before the *Samgha*, and to say thus: "Such and such a Bhikkhu, Sirs, has completed his time. These are his set of robes and his bowl." Then a discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the proposition before the *Samgha*, saying, "Let the *Samgha* hear me. Such and such a Bhikkhu has completed his time. These are his set of robes and his bowl. If it is convenient to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* assign this set of robes and this bowl to those who have waited upon the sick." This is the *ñattī*.¹ [Here follow the usual formal words of a *kamma-vâtâ*.¹]

3. Now at that time a certain *Sāmaṇera* had completed his time.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

[The decision and the *kamma-vâtâ* are the same as in § 2.]

4. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu and a *Sāmaṇera* waited upon a sick Bhikkhu; and while he was being waited upon by them he completed his time. And the Bhikkhu who had waited upon the sick thought: 'How now ought the due portion of robes be given to the *Sāmaṇera* who waited upon the sick?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are to give an equal portion to a *Sāmaṇera* who waits upon the sick.'

5. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu who was

¹ There is only one, not three *Kammavâtâs*, given in the text.

possessed of much property, and of a plentiful supply of a Bhikkhu's requisites, completed his time.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'On the death of a Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, the *Samgha* becomes the owner of his bowl and of his robes. But, now, those who wait upon the sick are of much service. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the set of robes and the bowl are to be assigned by the *Samgha* to them who have waited upon the sick. And whatever little property and small supply of a Bhikkhu's requisites there may be, that is to be divided by the *Samgha* that are present there; but whatever large quantity of property and large supply of a Bhikkhu's requisites there may be, that is not to be given away¹ and not to be apportioned², but to belong to the *Samgha* of the four directions³, those who have come in, and those who have not⁴.'

28.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu came naked up to the place where the Blessed One was, and said:

'The Blessed One, Lord, has praised in many ways the moderate man and the contented who has eradicated (evil), who has shaken off his passions, who is gracious, reverent, energetic⁵. Now this

¹ See *Kullavagga* VI, 15, 2.

² See *Kullavagga* VI, 16, 2.

³ That is, 'of all the world.'

⁴ This description of the totality of the *Samgha* is constantly found in dedicatory inscriptions. See Rh. D.'s paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, May, 1872.

⁵ So, for example, in *Kullavagga* I, 1, 3.

nakedness, Lord, is in many ways effectual to moderation and content, to the eradication of evil, to the suppressions of the passions, to graciousness, reverence, and zeal. It were well, Lord, if the Blessed One would enjoin nakedness upon the Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, 'This would be improper, O foolish one, crooked, unsuitable, unworthy of a Samāna, unbecoming, and it ought not to be done. How can you, O foolish one, adopt nakedness as the Titthiyas do? This will not conduce, O foolish one, to the conversion of the unconverted.'

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to adopt nakedness, as the Titthiyas do¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a grave offence (Thullaṅkāya).'

2. [The whole section repeated respectively in the case of a Bhikkhu clad in a garment of grass, clad in a garment of bark², clad in a garment of phalaka cloth³, clad in a garment of hair⁴, clad in the skin of a wild animal, clad in the feathers of

¹ Compare above, VIII, 15, 7 and 11.

² This is several times referred to in the *Gātakas* ; for instance, pp. 6, 9, 12.

³ Perhaps made of leaves. Compare Böhtlingk-Roth's, No. 5, sub voce ; and *Gātika* I, 304 (phalakattharasayana). Perhaps also *Gātika* I, 356, 'making a man his phalaka,' may be a figure of speech founded on this use of the word, and mean 'making him his covering.'

⁴ Like the well-known Titthiya Agita, one of the six great heretics (*Sāmañña-phala Sutta*, ed. Grimblot, p. 114, = Book of the Great Decease, V, 60).

an owl, clad in antelope skins (with the hoofs left on)¹. But instead of 'adopt nakedness as the Titthiyas do' substitute respectively 'wear a garment of grass, &c., which is the symbol² the Titthiyas use.']

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu came up to the place where the Blessed One was, clad in cloth made of the stalks of the akka plant³.

[All as before in § 1, down to :]

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to dress yourselves in the stalks of the akka plant. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

[§ 3 is then repeated of a Bhikkhu clad in cloth made of the makaṭi fibre⁴.]

29.

1. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus wore robes that were all of a blue, light yellow, crimson, brown, black, brownish yellow, or dark

¹ Buddhaghosa, at Suttavibhaṅga, Pârâgika I, 10, 3, where this word occurs, says on it, *Aginakkhikan* (sic) *ti salomam sakhuram agina-miga-kammam*. Compare also above, Mahâvagga V, 2, 4.

² Titthiya-dhaga. Compare Gâtaka I, 65, and Kullavagga I, 27.

³ Akkanâ/an ti akkanâ/amayam (B.). Compare Bôhtlingk-Roth, under arka.

⁴ Potthako ti makaṭimayo vuttati (B.). So also Childers, sub voce.

yellow colour¹; they wore robes with skirts to them which were not made of torn pieces of cloth, or were long, or had flowers on them, or cobras' hoods on them; they wore jackets, and dresses of the *Tirîṭṭaka* plant², and turbans.

The people were indignant, murmured, and became annoyed, saying, 'This is like those still living in the enjoyments of the world.'

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Robes that are all of a blue colour [&c.; all the things mentioned in the first paragraph being here repeated] are not to be worn. Whosoever wears them shall be guilty of a *dukkata*³.'

30.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhus, after having spent the rainy season, but before a gift of robes had fallen to the *Samgha*, went away (from the place); left the Order; died; admitted that they were *Sâmaneras*; or that they had abandoned the precepts; or that they had become guilty of an extreme

¹ See Buddhaghosa's explanations of all these colours in the note on V, 2, 1.

² Buddhaghosa says on this word, *Tirîṭṭan* (sic) *ti pana ruk-khaḥhallimayam, tam pâda-punḥhanam kâtum vaṭṭati*. *K'hali* is 'bark.'

³ Buddhaghosa says that the robes of the colours mentioned in this chapter may be worn if they have first been dyed, or may be used as coverlets, or may be cut up and used as parts of robes. So the robes with skirts to them may be worn if the forbidden skirts have first been torn or cut off.

offence; or that they were mad; or that their minds were unhinged; or that they suffered bodily pain; or that suspension had been pronounced against them for their refusal to acknowledge an offence they had committed, or to atone for such an offence, or to renounce a false doctrine; or that they were eunuchs; or that they had furtively attached themselves (to the *Samgha*); or that they had gone over to the *Titthiyas*; or that they were an animal; or that they had been guilty of matricide, or of parricide; or that they had murdered an *Arahat*; or that they had violated a *Bhikkhuni*; or that they had caused a schism in the *Samgha*; or that they had shed (a Buddha's) blood; or that they were hermaphrodites¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu*, after having spent the rainy season, goes away before a gift of robes has fallen to the *Samgha*—then they are nevertheless to be allotted to him if there be any person present proper to receive them on his behalf.

'Moreover in case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu*, after having spent the rainy season, and before a gift of robes has fallen to the *Samgha*, leaves the Order, or dies, or acknowledges that he has become a *Sāmaṇera*, or that he has abandoned the precepts, or lastly that he has become guilty of an extreme offence,—then the *Samgha* becomes the owner (of the portion of robes that would have fallen to him).

¹ The above list of disqualifications has already occurred at II, 36; IV, 14.

‘Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, after having spent the rainy season, and before a gift of robes has fallen to the *Samgha*, acknowledges that he has become mad, or unhinged in his mind, or in bodily pain, or that he has been suspended for refusal to acknowledge an offence he had committed, or to atone for such an offence, or to renounce a false doctrine—then (his portion of robes is nevertheless) to be allotted to him if there be any person present proper to receive them on his behalf.

‘Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, after having spent the rainy season, and before a gift of robes has fallen to the *Samgha*, acknowledges that he is a eunuch, or that he had furtively attached himself to the *Samgha*, or that he had gone over to the *Titthiyas*, or that he is an animal, or that he had been guilty of matricide, or of parricide, or that he had murdered an *Arahat*, or that he had violated a *Bhikkhuni*, or that he had raised a schism in the *Samgha*, or that he had shed a Buddha’s blood, or that he is a hermaphrodite—then the *Samgha* becomes the owner (of the portion of robes that would have fallen to him).

3. ‘[The same rules as in § 2, if he had gone away, &c., after the gift of robes had been made to the *Samgha*, but before the robes had been divided among the individual members of the *Samgha* belonging to the place where he had spent the rainy season.]

4. ‘Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, after the Bhikkhus have spent the rainy season, divisions arise among the *Samgha* before any robes have fallen to them, and the people there give the water (of

presentation¹) to one party, and the robes to the other party, thinking, "We are giving to the *Samgha*"—then those (robes are the property) of the (whole) *Samgha*.

'The people there give the water of presentation to one party, and the robes to the same party, thinking, "We are giving to the *Samgha*"—then those robes are the property of the whole *Samgha*.

5. '[In the same two cases, if the people intend to give to the one party only, the robes are to be the property of that party.]

6. 'Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, after the Bhikkhus have spent the rainy season, divisions arise among the *Samgha* after the gift of robes has been made to the *Samgha*, but before the division (of the robes to the individual members) has taken place—then at the division an equal share is to be given to all.'

31.

1. Now at that time the venerable Revata sent a robe to the venerable Sâriputta in charge of a certain Bhikkhu, saying, 'Give this robe to the Thera.' But that Bhikkhu, whilst on the way, took the robe himself in trust on the venerable Revata².

Now the venerable Revata, on meeting with the

¹ There is no doubt that this is the meaning here of *udaka*. Compare above, *Mahāvagga* I, 22, 18, and *Gâtaka* I, 93; III, 286; *Dīpavamsa* XIII, 29.

² That is, in trust that the venerable Revata, if he knew that the Bhikkhu wanted it, would have given it to him. See above, *Mahāvagga* VIII, 19.

venerable Sâriputta, asked him, saying, 'I sent to the venerable Thera a robe. Did that robe come into his hands?'

'I know nothing, friend, about that robe.'

Then the venerable Revata said to that Bhikkhu: 'I sent a robe, my friend, in your charge to the Thera. Where is that robe?'

'I took the robe myself, Lord, in trust upon you.'

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu send a robe in charge of a Bhikkhu, saying, "Give this robe to such and such a Bhikkhu;" and he, whilst on the way, takes it himself in trust on the one who sends it—then it is rightly taken. But if he takes it himself in trust on the one to whom it was sent, it is wrongly taken.

'[The same repeated, the latter case being put first, and the former case last.]

'Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu send a robe in charge of a Bhikkhu, saying, "Give this robe to such and such a Bhikkhu;" and he, whilst on the way, hears that that Bhikkhu who sent it is dead;—then if he keeps the robe himself¹ as the robe of a deceased Bhikkhu, it is rightly kept; if he takes it himself in trust on the one to whom it was sent, it is wrongly taken.

'[In the same case], if he, whilst on the way, hears that that Bhikkhu to whom it was sent is dead—then if he keeps the robe himself as the robe of a deceased Bhikkhu, it is wrongly kept; if he takes

¹ On this meaning of *adhiti//hati*, see our note above, VIII, 20, 2; VIII, 24, 2.

it himself in trust on the one who sent it, it is rightly taken.

‘[In the same case, if he hears, whilst on the way, that both are dead—then if he keeps it himself as the robe of a deceased Bhikkhu, to wit, the one who sent it, it is rightly kept; if he keeps it himself as the property of a deceased Bhikkhu, to wit, the one to whom it was sent, it is wrongly kept.]

3. ‘Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu send a robe in charge of a Bhikkhu, saying, “I give the robe to such and such a Bhikkhu”—then [in all the cases given in § 2 the decision is reversed]’¹.

32.

1. There are, O Bhikkhus, these eight grounds² for the getting of a gift of robes—when he gives it to the boundary, when he gives it to (a *Samgha* which is) under agreement (with other *Samghas*), when he gives it on a declaration of alms, when he gives it to the *Samgha*, when he gives it to both the *Samghas*, when he gives it to the *Samgha* which has spent the rainy season (at the place), when he gives it to a specified number³, when he gives it to a single Bhikkhu.

¹ The reason of all this is, that if the sender (A) says to the messenger (B), ‘Give this robe to the sendee (C),’ the property in the robe does not pass; if A says to B, ‘I give this robe to C,’ it does pass.

² *Mâtikâ*; used in the same sense here as at VII, 1, 7.

³ That is, of monks and nuns—the Bhikkhu-*saṃgha* and the Bhikkhunī-*saṃgha*.

'When he gives it to the boundary, it is to be divided among all those Bhikkhus who have come within the boundary¹.

'When he gives it to a *Samgha* which is under agreement, there are a number of residences which hold in common whatever they get, and what is given in one residence is given in all.

'When he gives it on a declaration of alms (means when the givers say), "We give it at the place where constant supply of alms is kept up for the *Samgha*."²

'When he gives it to the *Samgha*, it is to be divided among the *Samgha* there present.

'When he gives it to both the *Samghas*, though there be many Bhikkhus and only one Bhikkhuni, an equal half is to be given (to each of the two *Samghas*), and though there be many Bhikkhunis and only one Bhikkhu, an equal half is to be given (to each of the two *Samghas*).

'When he gives it to the *Samgha* which has spent the rainy season, it is to be divided among as many Bhikkhus as have spent the rainy season at that particular residence.

'When he gives it to a specified number, it is the number present at the giving of congey, or

¹ See chapters II, 6 and following.

² Buddhaghosa says, Bhikkhâ-paññattiyâ, ti attano parikkâga-paññâpana-//hâne. Ten' ev' âha yattha samghassa dhuvakârâ kariyanti ti. Tass' attho, yasmim vihâre imassa ñivara-dâyakassa santakam samghassa pâkava//am vâ va//ati, yasmim vâ vihâre bhikkhû attano bhâram katvâ sadâ gehe bhogesi. Yattha vârena âvâso vâ kârîto, salâkabhattâdini vâ nibaddhâni, yena pana sakalo pi vihâro pati//hâpito, tattha vattabbam eva n' atthi ime dhuvakârâ nâma.

rice, or hard food, or robes, or bedding, or medicine¹.

‘When he gives it to a single Bhikkhu, he says,
“I give a set of robes to such and such a one.”’

Here ends the eighth Khandhaka, the *Kīvara-*
khandhaka.

¹ That is, he invites a number of Bhikkhus to partake of *yāgu*, and when the *yāgu* is served he says, ‘I give robes to those who have partaken of the *yāgu*,’ and so on in all the other cases except that of robes. In that case he says, ‘I give robes to those who have previously received robes from me’ (B.).

NINTH KHANDHAKA.

(VALIDITY AND INVALIDITY OF FORMAL ACTS
OF THE SAMGHA.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at *Kampâ*, on the brink of the lotus-pond *Gaggara*. At that time there was in the country of *Kâsi* (a village) called *Vâsabha-gâma*. There a Bhikkhu called *Kassapa-gotta* had his residence, who was bound (to that place) by the string (of the religious duties which he had to perform there¹), and who exerted himself to the end that clever Bhikkhus from a distance might come to that place, and the clever Bhikkhus therein might live at ease, and that (religious life at) that residence might progress, advance, and reach a high state.

Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus, making their pilgrimage in the country of *Kâsi*, came to *Vâsabha-gâma*. And the Bhikkhu *Kassapa-gotta* saw those Bhikkhus coming from afar; when he saw them, he prepared seats for them, brought water for the washing of their feet, a foot-stool, and a towel². Then he went forth to meet them, took their bowls and their robes, offered them (water) to drink, and provided a bath for them, and provided also rice-milk and food hard and soft.

¹ *Tanti-baddha*. *Buddhaghosa* says, *Tanti-baddho 'ti tasmiṃ âvâse kâtabbatâ-tanti-paṭibaddho*.

² See our note at I, 6, 11.

Now those stranger Bhikkhus thought: 'The resident Bhikkhu here, O friends, is indeed good-natured; he provides a bath for us and provides also rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. What if we were to stay here, friends, at Vāsabha-gāma.' Thus those stranger Bhikkhus stayed there at Vāsabha-gāma.

2. Now the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta thought: 'These stranger Bhikkhus are rested now from their travel-weariness; they did not know their way here before, but now they know their way. It is troublesome indeed to be busy all one's life for people not related to one's self, and being asked¹ is disagreeable to men. What if I were to provide no longer rice-milk, and food, hard and soft (for those Bhikkhus).' Thus he did not provide any more (for them) rice-milk, and food, hard and soft.

Then those stranger Bhikkhus thought: 'Formerly, friends, this resident Bhikkhu used to provide baths for us, and to provide also rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. But now he does not provide any more rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. This resident Bhikkhu, friends, is in anger with us now. Well, friends, let us pronounce expulsion against this resident Bhikkhu.'

3. Then those stranger Bhikkhus assembled and said to the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta: 'Formerly, friend, you used to provide baths for us and to provide also rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. But now you do not provide any more rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence?'

¹ As he was obliged to ask the people of Vāsabha-gāma for what the stranger Bhikkhus wanted.

‘There is no offence, friends, for me to see.’

Then those stranger Bhikkhus pronounced expulsion against the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta for his refusal to see that (pretended) offence. Then the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta thought: ‘I do not know indeed whether this is an offence or not, and whether I have made myself guilty of an offence or not, and whether I have been expelled or not, and whether that sentence is lawful or unlawful, objectionable or unobjectionable, valid or invalid. What if I were to go to *Kampâ* and to ask the Blessed One about this matter?’

4. And the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta put his resting-place in order, took up his alms-bowl and his robe, and went forth to *Kampâ*; and in due course he came to *Kampâ* and to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas to exchange greeting with incoming Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta: ‘Is it all well with you, O Bhikkhu? Do you find your living? Have you made your journey without too much fatigue? And from what place do you come, O Bhikkhu?’

‘It is all well, Lord; I find my living, Lord; I have made the journey, Lord, without too much fatigue.

5. ‘There is in the country of *Kâsi*, Lord, (a village) called *Vâsabha-gâma*. There I had my residence, Lord, (&c.¹, down to:) Then those

¹ See §§ 1-3. Instead of ‘the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta’ the

stranger Bhikkhus, Lord, pronounced against me expulsion for my refusal to see that offence. Then I thought, Lord: "I do not know indeed whether this is an offence or not, and whether I have made myself guilty of an offence or not, and whether I have been expelled or not, and whether that sentence is lawful or unlawful, objectionable or unobjectionable, valid or invalid. What if I were to go to *Kāmpā* and to ask the Blessed One about this matter." Thus I have come here, Lord.'

6. (Buddha replied): 'This is no offence, O Bhikkhu; it is not an offence. You are innocent; you are not guilty of an offence. You are not expelled, and have not been expelled; the sentence by which you have been expelled is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid. Go, O Bhikkhu, and settle yourself again at *Vāsabha-gāma*.'

The Bhikkhu *Kassapa-gotta* expressed his assent to the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' rose from his seat, and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One and walked round him with his right side towards him, he went on his way to *Vāsabha-gāma*.

7. Now those stranger Bhikkhus (at *Vāsabha-gāma*) were overcome by scruples and remorse: 'It is all loss to us indeed, it is no gain to us; we will fare ill indeed, we will not fare well, in this that we have expelled that pure, guiltless Bhikkhu without any cause and reason. Well, friends, let us go to *Kāmpā* and let us confess there in the Blessed One's presence our sin in its sinfulness.'

pronoun of the first person is to be read; and the appellation 'Lord,' addressed to Buddha, is inserted several times.

And those stranger Bhikkhus put their resting-places in order, took up their alms-bowls and their robes, and went forth to *Kampā*, and in due course they came to *Kampā* and to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him. Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas (&c.¹, down to :) 'It is all well, Lord; we find our living, Lord; we have made the journey, Lord, without too much fatigue. There is in the country of *Kāsi*, Lord, (a village) called *Vāsabha-gāma*; from that place we come, Lord.'

8. 'So are you, O Bhikkhus, those who have expelled the resident Bhikkhu there?'

'We are, Lord.'

'For what cause, O Bhikkhus, and for what reason?'

'Without any cause and reason, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'That is improper, O Bhikkhus, it is unbecoming, indecent, unworthy of *Samaṇas*, unallowable, and to be avoided. How can you, O fools, expel a pure and guiltless Bhikkhu, without any cause and reason? This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted.' Having thus rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, expel a pure and guiltless Bhikkhu without cause and reason. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

9. Then those Bhikkhus rose from their seats, adjusted their upper robes so as to cover one

¹ See § 4. The alterations to be made ('those Bhikkhus' instead of 'the Bhikkhu *Kassapa-gotta*,' &c.) are obvious.

shoulder, prostrated themselves, inclining their heads to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'Transgression, O Lord, has overcome us like the foolish, like the erring, like the unhappy, in this that we have expelled a pure, guiltless Bhikkhu without any cause and reason. May, O Lord, the Blessed One accept (the confession of) our sin in its sinfulness, and we will refrain from it in future.'

'Truly, O Bhikkhus, transgression has overcome you like the foolish, like the erring, like the unhappy, in that you have expelled a pure, guiltless Bhikkhu without any cause and reason. But as you see, O Bhikkhus, your sin in its sinfulness, and duly make amends for it, we accept it from you. For this, O Bhikkhus, is called progress in the discipline of the noble one, if one sees his sin in its sinfulness, and duly makes amends for it, and refrains from it in future.'

2.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus of *Kampâ* performed official acts in the following ways: they performed unlawful acts before an incomplete congregation; they performed unlawful acts before a complete congregation; they performed lawful acts before an incomplete congregation; they performed seemingly lawful acts before an incomplete congregation; they performed seemingly lawful acts before a complete congregation; a single Bhikkhu pronounced expulsion against a single one; a single Bhikkhu pronounced expulsion against two; a single Bhikkhu

pronounced expulsion against a number of Bhikkhus; a single Bhikkhu pronounced expulsion against a *Samgha*; two Bhikkhus pronounced expulsion against a single one against two against a number of Bhikkhus against a *Samgha*; a number of Bhikkhus pronounced expulsion against a single one against two against another number against a *Samgha*; a *Samgha* pronounced expulsion against another *Samgha*¹.

2. Those Bhikkhus who were moderate, were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Bhikkhus of *Kampā* perform official acts in the following ways: perform unlawful acts before an incomplete congregation (&c., down to :) how can a *Samgha* pronounce expulsion against another *Samgha* ?'

These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, as they say, O Bhikkhus, that the Bhikkhus of *Kampā* perform official acts in the following ways, &c. ?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'It is improper, O Bhikkhus, what these foolish persons are doing; it is unbecoming, indecent, unworthy of *Samanas*, unallowable, and to be avoided. How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, perform official acts in the following ways, &c. This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted.' Having thus rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

3. 'If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed

¹ The cases of a *Samgha*'s expelling a single Bhikkhu, or two Bhikkhus, or a number of Bhikkhus, are omitted, because such proceedings are lawful.

unlawfully by an incomplete congregation, it is no real act¹ and ought not to be performed. An official act performed unlawfully by a complete congregation is no real act and ought not to be performed (&c., as in § 1, down to :). A seemingly lawful act performed before a complete congregation is no real act and ought not to be performed. In case a single Bhikkhu pronounces expulsion against a single one,—this is no real act and ought not to be performed (&c., down to :). In case a Samgha pronounces expulsion against another Samgha,—this is no real act and ought not to be performed.

4. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, four kinds of official acts (which a Samgha can perform); an unlawful act performed by an incomplete congregation, an unlawful act performed by a complete congregation, a lawful act performed by an incomplete congregation, and a lawful act performed by a complete congregation.

'If, O Bhikkhus, an act is unlawful and performed by an incomplete congregation—such an act, O Bhikkhus, is objectionable and invalid on account of its unlawfulness and of the incompleteness (of the congregation). Such an act, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be performed, nor is such an act allowed by me.

'If, O Bhikkhus, an act is unlawful and performed by a complete congregation—such an act, O Bhikkhus, is objectionable and invalid on account of its unlawfulness. Such an act, &c.

'If, O Bhikkhus, an act is lawful and performed by an incomplete congregation—such an act, O Bhikkhus, is objectionable and invalid on account of

¹ I. e. it is null and void.

the incompleteness (of the congregation). Such an act, &c.

‘If, O Bhikkhus, an act is lawful and performed by a complete congregation—such an act, O Bhikkhus, is unobjectionable and valid on account of its lawfulness and of the completeness (of the congregation). Such an act, O Bhikkhus, ought to be performed, and such an act is allowed by me.

‘Therefore, O Bhikkhus, you ought to train yourselves thus: “Lawful acts which are performed by complete congregations—such acts will we perform¹.”’

3.

1. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus performed official acts in the following ways: they performed unlawful acts before an incomplete congregation (&c., as in chap. 2, § 1, down to:) they performed seemingly lawful acts before a complete congregation; they performed acts without a *ñatti*² and with the proclamation (of the *kammavâkâ*²); they performed acts without a proclamation (of the *kammavâkâ*) and with the *ñatti*; they performed acts without a *ñatti* and without a proclamation (of the *kammavâkâ*); they performed acts contrary to the Dhamma; they performed acts contrary to the Vinaya; they performed acts contrary to the doctrine of the Teacher; and they performed acts against which (the Bhikkhus present) protested, which were unlawful, objectionable, and invalid.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate, were annoyed,

¹ A similar injunction is found at the close of chapter II, 14.

² See I, 28, &c.

&c. These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, as they say, O Bhikkhus, that the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus, &c.?'

'It is true, Lord, &c.'

Having thus rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

2. 'If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed unlawfully by an incomplete congregation, it is no real act and ought not to be performed (&c.¹, down to:). If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed against which (the Bhikkhus present) protest, which is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid, this is no real act and ought not to be performed.

3. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, six kinds of official acts (which a *Samgha* can perform): an unlawful act, an act performed by an incomplete congregation, an act performed by a complete congregation, a seemingly lawful act performed by an incomplete congregation, a seemingly lawful act performed by a complete congregation, a lawful act performed by a complete congregation.

'And which, O Bhikkhus, is an unlawful act? If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattidutiya* act² with one *ñatti*, and does not proclaim a *kammavâkâ*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattidutiya* act with two *ñattis* and does not proclaim a *kammavâkâ* . . . with one *kammavâkâ* and does not propose a *ñatti* . . . with two

¹ Here the different categories of forbidden acts are enumerated one after the other, as in § 1.

² About *ñatti*, *kammavâkâ*, *ñattidutiya*, and *ñattikatuttha* acts, see our note at I, 28, 3. 'Proposing a *ñatti*' and 'proclaiming a *kammavâkâ*' mean proposing a motion and putting a resolution to the assembled brethren.

kammavâkâs and does not propose a *ñatti*, such an act is unlawful.

4. 'If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattikatuttha* act with one *ñatti* and does not proclaim a *kammavâkâ*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattikatuttha* act with two (. . . . three, four) *ñattis* and does not proclaim a *kammavâkâ*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattikatuttha* act with one *kammavâkâ* (. . . . with two, three, four *kammavâkâs*) and does not propose a *ñatti*, such an act is unlawful. Such acts, O Bhikkhus, are called unlawful acts.

5. 'And which, O Bhikkhus, is an act of an incomplete congregation ?

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act not all Bhikkhus, as many as are entitled to vote, are present, if the *khandā*¹ of those who have to declare their *khandā* has not been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation.

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, but if the *khandā* of those who have to declare their *khandā* has not been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation.

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, if the *khandā* of those who have to declare their *khandā* has been conveyed, but if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation.

¹ See II, 23.

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattikatuttha* act, &c.¹

‘ Such acts, O Bhikkhus, are called acts performed by incomplete congregations.

6. ‘ And which, O Bhikkhus, is an act of a complete congregation ?

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, if the *khanda* of those who have to declare their *khanda* has been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present do not protest, such an act is performed by a complete congregation.

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattikatuttha* act (&c., as in last section).

‘ Such acts, O Bhikkhus, are called acts performed by complete congregations.

7. ‘ And which, O Bhikkhus, is a seemingly lawful act performed by an incomplete congregation ?

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act the *kammavâkâ* is proclaimed first and the *ñatti* is proposed afterwards, if not all Bhikkhus, as many as are entitled to vote, are present, &c.²

8. ‘ And which, O Bhikkhus, is a seemingly lawful act performed by a complete congregation ?

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act the *kammavâkâ* is proclaimed first and the *ñatti* is proposed afterwards, if as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, &c.³

¹ The identical three cases given before with regard to the *ñattidutiya* act are repeated here.

² The six cases given in this paragraph, of which three refer to *ñattidutiya* acts and three to *ñattikatuttha* acts, differ from those specified in § 5 only by the statement added in each of these cases regarding the inverted order of *ñatti* and *kammavâkâ*.

³ This paragraph stands precisely in the same relation to § 6 in which the preceding one stands to § 5.

9. 'And which, O Bhikkhus, is a lawful act performed by a complete congregation ?

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act the *ñatti* is proposed first and afterwards the act is performed with one *kammavâkâ*, if as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, if the *khanda* of those who have to declare their *khanda* has been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present do not protest, such an act is lawful and performed by a complete congregation.

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñatti-katuttha* act the *ñatti* is proposed first and afterwards the act is performed with three *kammavâkâs*, if as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, &c., such an act is lawful and performed by a complete congregation.'

4.

1. 'There are five kinds of *Samghas*: the Bhikkhu *Samgha* consisting of four persons, the Bhikkhu *Samgha* consisting of five persons of ten persons of twenty persons of more than twenty persons.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu *Samgha* consist of four persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts except three acts, that is, the *upasampadâ* ordination, *pavâraṇâ*, and *abbhâna*¹.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu *Samgha* consist of five persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts except

¹ See *Kullavagga* III, 2 seq.

two acts, that is, the upasampadâ ordination in the central countries¹ and abbhâna.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu Samgha consist of ten persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts except one, namely, abbhâna.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu Samgha consist of twenty persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu Samgha consist of more than twenty persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts.

2. ‘An official act, O Bhikkhus, which requires the presence of four persons, if performed by a congregation in which a Bhikkhunî is the fourth, is no real act, and ought not to be performed. An official act, O Bhikkhus, which requires the presence of four persons, if performed by a congregation in which a sikkhamânâ is the fourth, . . . in which a sâmañera, &c.², is the fourth, . . . in which a person belonging to another communion is the fourth, . . . in which a person staying within a different boundary³ is the fourth, . . . in which a person poised in the air by supernatural power is

¹ As regards the exceptional regulations referring to the upasampadâ ordination in the bordering countries, see above, V, 13, 12.

² Here follows the very frequent enumeration given, for instance, at II, 36, §§ 1-4.

³ Generally speaking, the two categories of ‘persons belonging to another communion,’ and ‘persons staying within another boundary,’ can be considered as coincident. In certain cases, however, they could be distinguished; see X, 1, §§ 9, 10.

the fourth, in which a person against whom the Saṃgha institutes a proceeding is the fourth—is no real act and ought not to be performed.’

End of the regulations about acts performed by
four persons.

3-5. ‘An official act, O Bhikkhus, which requires the presence of five (. . . . ten, twenty) persons, if performed by a congregation in which a Bhikkhū, &c.¹, is the fifth (. . . . tenth, twentieth), is no real act and ought not to be performed.’

End of the regulations about acts performed by
five, (ten, twenty) persons.

6. ‘If, O Bhikkhus, a congregation in which a person sentenced to the parivāsa discipline² is the fourth, institutes the proceedings of parivāsa, of mûlāya paṭikassanā, and of mânatta, or if a congregation in which such a person is the twentieth, confers abbhāna, this is no real act and ought not to be performed.

‘If, O Bhikkhus, a congregation in which a person that ought to be sentenced to mûlāya paṭikassanā that ought to be sentenced to mânatta that is subject to the mânatta discipline

¹ Here the enumeration of § 2 is repeated.

² See about parivāsa, and the other Saṃghakammas referred to in this paragraph, the details given in the second book of the Kullavagga.

on whom the *abbhâna* sentence ought to be conferred¹, institutes the proceedings of *parivâsa*, of *mûlâya paṭikassanâ*, and of *mânatta*, or if a congregation in which such a person is the twentieth, confers *abbhâna*, this is no real act and ought not to be performed.

7. 'Of some persons, O Bhikkhus, the protest² raised in the assembly is effectual, of some persons it is ineffectual.

'And which are the persons, O Bhikkhus, whose protest raised in the assembly is ineffectual?

'The protest, O Bhikkhus, raised in the assembly by a Bhikkhunī is ineffectual. The protest, O Bhikkhus, raised in the assembly by a *sikkhamânâ* (&c.³, down to :) by a person against whom the *Samgha* institutes a proceeding, is ineffectual. These are the persons, O Bhikkhus, whose protest raised in the assembly is ineffectual.

8. 'And which are the persons, O Bhikkhus, whose protest raised in the assembly is effectual?

'The protest, O Bhikkhus, of a Bhikkhu who is healthy (in mind), who belongs to the same communion⁴, who stays within the same boundary⁵, even

¹ But has not yet been conferred. An *abbhita* Bhikkhu is considered as fully rehabilitated.

² Against official acts which the *Samgha* is performing.

³ This list of persons who cannot protest against official acts of the *Samgha* differs from that given in § 2 or at II, 36, §§ 1-4, only by three categories being here added after 'a person guilty of an extreme offence' (*antimavatthum agghâpannaka*). These categories are the following: 'a madman,' 'a person whose mind is unhinged,' 'a person who suffers (bodily) pain.' See II, 22, 3, &c.

⁴ That is, the *Samgha* which is going to perform the act in question.

⁵ See the note at § 2.

if he have committed a sin which brings about immediate punishment in hell,—if he give notice of his protest at the meeting,—is effectual. This is the person, O Bhikkhus, whose protest raised in the assembly is effectual.

9. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, two cases of expulsion¹ (pronounced against a person). If expulsion, O Bhikkhus, had not been pronounced (before) against a person, and the Saṃgha pronounces expulsion against him, there are some against whom such expulsion has been pronounced duly, and others against whom it has been pronounced unduly.

'And which is a person, O Bhikkhus, against whom, if expulsion had not been pronounced before, and the Saṃgha pronounces expulsion against him, expulsion has been pronounced unduly? In case, O Bhikkhus, there be a pure, guiltless Bhikkhu,—if the Saṃgha pronounces expulsion against him, expulsion has been pronounced unduly. This, O Bhikkhus, is called a person against whom, if expulsion had not been pronounced before, and the Saṃgha pronounces expulsion against him, expulsion has been pronounced unduly.

'And which is a person, O Bhikkhus, against whom, &c., expulsion has been pronounced duly? In case, O Bhikkhus, there be an ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhu, a constant offender, who is unable to discern what is an offence², who lives in lay society, unduly

¹ Compare the rules regarding the pabbâganiyakamma, *Kullavagga* I, 13 seq., and our note at I, 79, 1.

² Anapadâna. Buddhaghosa: 'Anapadâno'ti apadâna- (read apadâna-) virahito. apadânam vuḍḍhati parikkhedo. âpatti-parikkheda-virahito'ti attho.' Probably the word must not be derived from the root dâ, 'to give,' but from dâ, 'to cut.'

associating himself with lay people,—if the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him, expulsion has been pronounced duly. This, O Bhikkhus, is called a person, &c.

10. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, two cases of restoration (of an expelled Bhikkhu). If restoration, O Bhikkhus, had not been granted before to a person, and the *Samgha* grants restoration to him, there are some to whom such restoration will have been granted duly, and others to whom it will have been unduly granted.

'And which is a person, O Bhikkhus, to whom, &c., restoration has been granted unduly? A eunuch, O Bhikkhus, to whom restoration had not been granted before, and whom the *Samgha* restores, has been restored unduly. A person who has furtively attached himself (to the *Samgha*), &c.¹, to whom restoration had not been granted before, and whom the *Samgha* restores, has been restored unduly.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is called a person to whom, &c., restoration has been granted unduly. These, O Bhikkhus, are called persons to whom, &c., restoration has been granted duly.

11. 'And which is a person, O Bhikkhus, to whom, &c., restoration has been granted duly?' &c.²

End of the first Bhānavāra, called the Vāsabha-
gāma Bhānavāra.

¹ See the list of persons given at II, 36, 3.

² The formality and the repetitions are the same here as in § 10, and need not be repeated. The list of persons whose restoration is stated to be valid is the same as at I, 71, 1.

5.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be no offence which a Bhikkhu should see (or, acknowledge as committed by himself), and if the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single person reprove him (and say): "You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence?"—and he replies: "There is no offence, friends, which I should see," and the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him for his refusal to see that offence,—this is an unlawful act.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be no offence which a Bhikkhu should atone for, &c.¹

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be no false doctrine which a Bhikkhu should renounce, &c.²

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be no offence which a Bhikkhu should see, and there be no offence which he should atone for, and if the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single person reprove him (and say): "You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence? Atone for that offence,"—and he replies: "There is no offence, friends, which I should see; there is no offence,

¹ The *ukkhepaniyakamma āpattiya* *appañissagge* (expulsion for a Bhikkhu's refusal to atone for an offence) is spoken of here exactly in the same terms as those in which the *ukkhepaniyakamma āpattiya* *adassane* (expulsion for a Bhikkhu's refusal to see an offence) is spoken of in the preceding clause. The brethren say to the pretended offender, 'You have committed an offence, friend; atone for that offence'—which he refuses to do.

² As above; the Bhikkhus institute the *ukkhepaniyakamma pāpikāya diṭṭhiya* *appañissagge* (expulsion for a Bhikkhu's refusal to renounce a false doctrine).

friends, which I should atone for," and the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him for his refusal to see that offence, or for his refusal to atone for that offence,—this is an unlawful act.

3-5¹.

6-7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be an offence which a Bhikkhu should see, and if the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single person reprove him (and say): 'You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence?'—and he replies: "Yes, friends, I see it," and the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him for his (pretended) refusal to see that offence,—this is an unlawful act.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be an offence which a Bhikkhu should atone for, &c.²

8-9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be an offence which a Bhikkhu should see, and if the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single person reprove him (and say): "You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence?"—and he replies: "There is no offence, friends, which I should see," and the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him for his refusal to see that offence,—this is a lawful act³.'

¹ As in § 2, the first and second of the three cases given in § 1 are combined, so follow now combinations of the first and third, the second and third, and of the first, second, and third cases respectively.

² Here follow again the cases of the *ukkhepaniyakamma âpat-tiyâ appaṇissagge* and *pâpikâya di//hiyâ appaṇissagge*, and the combinations of the three cases as above.

³ Here follow the two other cases, together with the combinations of the three, exactly as above.

6.

1. And the venerable Upâli¹ went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, if a complete congregation performs an act at which the presence (of the accused Bhikkhu) is required, in his absence—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya?'

'It is performed, Upâli, unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya.'

2. 'Lord, if a complete congregation performs an act at which (the accused Bhikkhu) ought to be called upon for an answer, without calling upon him for an answer—if it performs an act at which the confession (of the culprit) is required, without his confession—if it grants to a Bhikkhu to whom *sativinaya*² ought to be granted, an *amûlha*vinaya³—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu to whom *amûlha*vinaya ought to be granted, with the *tassapâpiyyasikâkamma*⁴—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *tassapâpiyyasikâkamma* ought

¹ That the redactors of this Piṭaka have chosen Upâli here and at X, 6, Kullavagga II, 2, 7, to question the Blessed One about the Vinaya regulations, stands evidently in connection with the tradition ascribing to Upâli an especial authority regarding the rules of the Order and styling him, as is said in the *Dīpavamsa* (IV, 3, 5; V, 7, 9), *agganikkhittaka*, i.e. original depositary, of the Vinaya tradition. See our Introduction, p. xii seq.

² See Kullavagga IV, 4, 10.

³ See Kullavagga IV, 5.

⁴ See Kullavagga IV, 11.

to be instituted, with the *tagganiyakamma*¹—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *tagganiyakamma* ought to be instituted, with the *nissayakamma*—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *nissayakamma* ought to be instituted, with the *pabbâganiyakamma*—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *pabbâganiyakamma* ought to be instituted, with the *paṭisâraṇiyakamma*—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *paṭisâraṇiyakamma* ought to be instituted, with the *ukkhapaniyakamma*—if it sentences a Bhikkhu against whom the *ukkhapaniyakamma* ought to be instituted, to *parivâsa*²—if it sentences a Bhikkhu who ought to be sentenced to *parivâsa*, to *mûlâya paṭikassanâ*—if it sentences a Bhikkhu who ought to be sentenced to *mûlâya paṭikassanâ*, to *mânatta*—if it grants to a Bhikkhu who ought to be sentenced to *mânatta*, the decree of *abbhâna*—if it confers on a Bhikkhu to whom *abbhâna* ought to be granted, the *upasampadâ* ordination,—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya?’

3. ‘It is performed, Upâli, unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya. If a complete congregation, Upâli, performs an act at which the presence (of the accused Bhikkhu) is required, in his absence (&c., down to:) confers on a Bhikkhu to whom *abbhâna* ought to be granted, the *upasampadâ* ordination,—in such case, Upâli, this act is performed unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya, and in such case this *Samgha* trespasses against the law.’

¹ This *Samghakamma* and the following ones are explained in *Kullavagga* I, 1 seq.

² For this term and the next ones, see *Kullavagga* III, 1-7.

4. 'Lord, if a complete congregation performs an act at which the presence (of the accused Bhikkhu) is required, in his presence (&c., down to:) confers on a person, on whom the upasampadâ ordination ought to be conferred, the upasampadâ ordination,—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya?'

'It is performed, Upâli, lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya. If a complete congregation performs an act (&c., down to:) the upasampadâ ordination,—in such case, Upâli, this act is performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya, and in such case this Saṃgha does not trespass against the law.'

5. 'Lord, if a complete congregation grants to a Bhikkhu to whom sativinaya ought to be granted, an amû/havinaya, and to a Bhikkhu to whom amû/havinaya ought to be granted, a sativinaya (&c.¹, down to:) confers on a Bhikkhu to whom abbhâna ought to be granted, the upasampadâ ordination, and grants to a person on whom the upasampadâ ordination ought to be conferred, the decree of abbhâna,—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya?'

6. 'It is performed, Upâli, unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya. If a complete congregation grants to a Bhikkhu, &c.,—in such case, Upâli, this act is performed unlawfully against Dhamma and

¹ The Saṃghakammas enumerated in § 2, beginning with sativinaya, are arranged here in pairs, in direct and reverse order, in this way: sativinaya and amû/havinaya, amû/havinaya and sativinaya; then amû/havinaya and tassapâpiyyasikâkamma, tassapâpiyyasikâkamma and amû/havinaya, &c.

Vinaya, and in such case this *Samgha* trespasses against the law.'

7. 'Lord, if a complete congregation grants *sativinaya* to a *Bhikkhu* to whom *sativinaya* ought to be granted, and *amû/havinaya* to a *Bhikkhu* to whom *amû/havinaya* ought to be granted (&c.¹, down to:) grants *abbhâna* to a *Bhikkhu* to whom *abbhâna* ought to be granted, and confers the *upasampadâ* ordination on a person on whom the *upasampadâ* ordination ought to be conferred,—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*?'

8. 'It is performed, *Upâli*, lawfully according to *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* (&c., down to:) and in such case this *Samgha* does not trespass against the law.'

9. And the Blessed One thus addressed the *Bhikkhus*: 'If a complete congregation, O *Bhikkhus*, grants to a *Bhikkhu* to whom *sativinaya* ought to be granted, an *amû/havinaya*, in such case, O *Bhikkhus*, this act is performed unlawfully against *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, and in such case this *Samgha* trespasses against the law. If a complete congregation, O *Bhikkhus*, institutes against a *Bhikkhu* to whom *sativinaya* ought to be granted, the *tassapâpiyyasikâkamma* (&c.², down to:) grants to a person on whom the

¹ The same dyads as in § 5.

² In this paragraph all possible combinations of two different *Samghakammas* are formed in this way: first, *sativinaya* is combined with *amû/havinaya* and all the rest, down to *upasampadâ*; then *amû/havinaya* with all terms from *tassapâpiyyasikâ* down to *sativinaya*, and so on; the whole series ends thus with the combinations of *upasampadâraha* with all terms from *sativinaya* down to *abbhâna*.

upasampadā ordination ought to be conferred, the decree of abbhāna,—in such case, O Bhikkhus, this act is performed unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya, and in such case this *Samgha* trespasses against the law.’

End of the second Bhānavāra, which contains the questions of Upāli.

7.

1. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious, and constantly raise questions before the *Samgha*. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: “This Bhikkhu, friends, is indeed litigious, contentious, &c.; well, let us proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma*¹.” And they proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma* unlawfully² with an incomplete congregation³, and he then goes from that district to another district. There the Bhikkhus say among each other: “Against this Bhikkhu, friends, the *Samgha* has proceeded with the *tagganiyakamma* unlawfully with an incomplete congregation; well, let us proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma*.” And they proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma* unlawfully with a complete congregation, and he then goes from that district again to another district. And there the Bhikkhus again say among each other (&c.,

¹ See *Kullavagga* I, 1–8.

² See above, chap. 3, § 3 seq.

³ See above, chap. 3, § 5.

down to:) and they proceed against him with the tagganiyakamma lawfully with an incomplete congregation seemingly lawfully¹ with an incomplete congregation seemingly lawfully with a complete congregation².

2-5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be litigious, &c.'³

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be ignorant, unlearned, a constant offender, unable to discern what is an offence⁴, and lives in lay society, unduly associating himself with lay people. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, is indeed ignorant, unlearned, &c.; well, let us proceed against him with the nissaya-kamma⁵," and they proceed against him with the nissaya-kamma unlawfully with an incomplete congregation, &c.'⁶

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu leads a life hurtful to the laity, and devoted to evil⁷. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This

¹ See above, chap. 3, § 7.

² See above, chap. 3, § 8.

³ As in § 1, but with a different arrangement of the five categories on which this exposition is based: unlawfully with an incomplete congregation, unlawfully with a complete congregation, lawfully with an incomplete congregation, seemingly lawfully with an incomplete congregation, seemingly lawfully with a complete congregation. In § 1 these categories are arranged in their natural order; in § 2 the second is placed at the head, then follow the third, fourth, fifth, and finally the first; in § 3 the exposition likewise begins with the third and ends with the second, &c. This arrangement is called 'a wheel' (*akka*).

⁴ See the note at chap. 4, § 9.

⁵ See *Kullavagga* I, 9-12.

⁶ The same five cases and the same *akka* as in §§ 1-5.

⁷ See the 13th *Samghādisesa* Rule.

Bhikkhu, friends, leads a life hurtful to the laity, and devoted to evil; well, let us proceed against him with the *pabbâganiyakamma*¹," &c.²

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu abuses and reviles lay people. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, abuses and reviles lay people; well, let us proceed against him with the *paṭisâraṇiyakamma*³," &c.²

9-11. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, having committed an offence, refuses to see that offence (committed by himself)⁴. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, has committed an offence and refuses to see that offence; well, let us pronounce expulsion against him for his refusal to see that offence⁵," &c.²

12-13. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, against whom the *Samgha* has proceeded with the *tagganiyakamma*, behaves himself properly, lives modestly, aspires to get clear of his penance, and asks for the revocation of the *tagganiyakamma* sentence. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, against whom the *Samgha* has proceeded with the *tagganiyakamma*, in truth behaves himself properly; he lives modestly, &c.; well, let us revoke the *tagganiyakamma* sentence pronounced against him." And they revoke the *tagganiyakamma* sentence

¹ See *Kullavagga* I, 13-17.

² As in §§ 1-5 or in § 6.

³ *Kullavagga* I, 18-24.

⁴ § 10: A Bhikkhu, having committed an offence, refuses to atone for that offence. § 11: A Bhikkhu refuses to renounce a false doctrine.

⁵ § 10: For his refusal to atone for that offence. § 11: For his refusal to renounce that false doctrine.

pronounced against him unlawfully with an incomplete congregation. And he then goes from that district to another district. There the Bhikkhus say among each other: "The *tagganiyakamma* sentence, friends, pronounced against this Bhikkhu has been revoked by the *Samgha* unlawfully with an incomplete congregation," &c.¹

14. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu against whom the *Samgha* has proceeded with the *nissayakamma* . . . with the *pabbâganiyakamma* . . . with the *paṭisâraṇiyakamma* . . . against whom the *Samgha* has pronounced expulsion for his refusal to see an offence . . . for his refusal to atone for an offence . . . for his refusal to renounce a false doctrine, behaves himself properly, &c.²

15. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious, and constantly raise questions before the *Samgha*. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, is indeed litigious, contentious, &c.; well, let us proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma*." And they proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma*, unlawfully with an incomplete congregation. Now among the *Samgha* residing in that district a contention is raised whether this is an act performed unlawfully with an incomplete congregation, or an act performed unlawfully with a complete congregation, or an act performed lawfully with an incomplete

¹ The analogous five cases with the *lakka* development as in §§ 1-5.

² As in §§ 12, 13.

congregation, or an act performed seemingly lawfully with an incomplete congregation, or an act performed seemingly lawfully with a complete congregation, or an act not performed, badly performed, to be performed again. In this case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who say: "It is an act performed unlawfully with an incomplete congregation"—and the Bhikkhus who say: "It is an act not performed, badly performed, to be performed again"—these Bhikkhus are right herein.

16. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be litigious (&c., as in § 15, down to:) and they proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma* unlawfully with a complete congregation lawfully with an incomplete congregation seemingly lawfully with an incomplete congregation seemingly lawfully with a complete congregation. Now among the *Samgha* residing in that district (&c., as in § 15).

17-20. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be ignorant, unlearned,' &c.¹

End of the ninth Khandhaka, which treats of
the events in *Kampā*.

¹ The text treats here in §§ 17, 18 of the *nissayakamma* (see § 6) and of the *Samghakammas* down to the expulsion for a Bhikkhu's refusal to renounce a false doctrine (see §§ 7-11) in the same manner as the *tagganiyakamma* is spoken of in §§ 15, 16. Then follows (§§ 19, 20) an exactly analogous exposition about the revocation of these *Samghakammas*, which stands in the same relation to §§ 15-18 in which §§ 12-14 stand to §§ 1-11.

TENTH KHANDHAKA.

(SCHISMS AMONG THE SAMGHA.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at Kosambī in the Ghositārāma.

At that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed an offence which he considered as an offence, while the other Bhikkhus considered that offence as no offence. Afterwards he began to consider that offence as no offence, and the other Bhikkhus began to consider that offence as an offence.

Now those Bhikkhus said to that Bhikkhu : 'You have committed an offence, friend ; do you see that offence ?'

(He replied) : 'There is no offence, friends, which I should see.'

Then those Bhikkhus, bringing about unanimity (of the fraternity for their sentence) pronounced expulsion against that Bhikkhu for his refusal to see that offence.

2. Now that Bhikkhu was erudite ; he had studied the Āgamas ; he knew the Dhamma, the Vinaya, the Mâtikā¹ ; he was wise, learned, intelligent, modest, conscientious, anxious for training.

And that Bhikkhu went to his companions and friends among the Bhikkhus, and said to them : 'This is no offence, friends ; this is not an offence.

¹ See *Kullavagga* I, 11, 1, with our note.

I am offenceless; I am not guilty of an offence; I am unexpelled and have not been expelled; the sentence by which I have been expelled is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid. May the venerable ones be my partisans according to Dhamma and Vinaya.'

Thus that Bhikkhu got his companions and friends among the Bhikkhus on his side.

And he sent also a messenger to his companions and friends among the Bhikkhus of the whole country (with the following message): 'This is no offence, friends; this is not an offence (&c., down to:). May the venerable ones be my partisans according to Dhamma and Vinaya.'

Thus that Bhikkhu got also his companions and friends among the Bhikkhus of the whole country on his side.

3. Now those Bhikkhus who were partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu, went to the place where those who had expelled him, were. Having approached them, they said to the Bhikkhus who had expelled him: 'This is no offence, friends; this is not an offence. This Bhikkhu is offenceless; this Bhikkhu is not guilty of an offence. This Bhikkhu is unexpelled; this Bhikkhu has not been expelled. The sentence by which he has been expelled is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid.'

When they had spoken thus, the Bhikkhus who had expelled that Bhikkhu, said to the partisans of the expelled one: 'This is an offence, friends; this is not no offence. This Bhikkhu is an offender; this Bhikkhu is not offenceless. This Bhikkhu is expelled; this Bhikkhu is not unexpelled. The sentence by which he has been expelled is lawful,

unobjectionable, and valid. Do not stand, O venerable ones, on the side of this expelled Bhikkhu; do not follow him.'

But the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu, though they were spoken to thus by the Bhikkhus who had expelled him, persevered nevertheless on the side of that expelled Bhikkhu and followed him.

4. And a certain Bhikkhu went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him that Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'A certain Bhikkhu, Lord, had committed an offence which he considered as an offence (&c., as in §§ 1-3, down to:). But the partisans, Lord, of the expelled Bhikkhu, though they were spoken to thus by the Bhikkhus who had expelled him, persevered nevertheless on the side of that expelled Bhikkhu and followed him.'

5. Then the Blessed One (exclaimed): 'The Bhikkhu Samgha is divided! The Bhikkhu Samgha is divided!'—and he rose from his seat and went to the place where the Bhikkhus were who had pronounced that sentence of expulsion. Having approached them, he sat down on the seat they had prepared. Sitting there the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus who had pronounced expulsion against that Bhikkhu: 'Do not think, O Bhikkhus, that you are to pronounce expulsion against a Bhikkhu whatever be the facts of the case, saying, "It occurs to us to do so; it occurs to us to do so."

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has committed an offence which he considers as no offence, while the other Bhikkhus consider it as an offence—if, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus know with regard

to that Bhikkhu: "This venerable brother is erudite; he has studied the Āgamas; he knows the Dhamma, the Vinaya, the Mâtikâ; he is wise, learned, intelligent, modest, conscientious, anxious for training. Should we pronounce expulsion against this Bhikkhu for his refusal to see that offence, and should we not hold Uposatha with that Bhikkhu, but hold Uposatha without that Bhikkhu, this matter will cause among the Samgha altercations, contentions, discord, quarrels, divisions among the Samgha, disunion among the Samgha, separations among the Samgha, schisms among the Samgha,"—in that case, O Bhikkhus, let those Bhikkhus, standing in awe of causing divisions, not pronounce expulsion against that Bhikkhu for his refusal to see his offence.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has committed (&c., as above, down to:). "Should we pronounce expulsion against this Bhikkhu for his refusal to see that offence, and should we not hold Pavâraṇâ with that Bhikkhu, but hold Pavâraṇâ without that Bhikkhu, and not perform official acts with that Bhikkhu, but perform official acts without that Bhikkhu, and not sit down on our seats with that Bhikkhu, but sit down on our seats without that Bhikkhu, and not sit down to drink rice-milk with that Bhikkhu, but sit down to drink rice-milk without that Bhikkhu, and not sit down in the dining-hall with that Bhikkhu, but sit down in the dining-hall without that Bhikkhu, and not dwell under one roof with that Bhikkhu, but dwell under one roof without that Bhikkhu, and not perform with that Bhikkhu, according to seniority, the duties of respectfully saluting each other, rising from our seats, raising the joined hands before each other, and all

proper duties, but perform without that Bhikkhu, according to seniority, the duties, &c.,—this matter will cause among the Samgha (&c., as in § 6, down to the end).’

8. And the Blessed One, having spoken thus to the Bhikkhus who had pronounced that sentence of expulsion, rose from his seat, and went to the place where the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu were. Having approached them, he sat down on the seat they had prepared. Sitting there the Blessed One said to the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu: ‘Do not think, O Bhikkhus, if you have committed an offence, that you need not atone for that offence, (saying to yourselves): “We are without offence.” In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has committed an offence which he considers as no offence, while the other Bhikkhus consider it as an offence—if, O Bhikkhus, that Bhikkhu knows with regard to those Bhikkhus: “These venerable brethren are erudite (&c., down to :) anxious for training. It is impossible that they should, on my account, or on account of anybody else, abandon themselves to walking in longing, in malice, in delusion, in fear. Should these Bhikkhus pronounce expulsion against me for my refusal to see that offence, and should they not hold Uposatha with me, but hold Uposatha without me, and should they not hold Pavâranâ with me, but hold Pavâranâ without me (&c., as in § 7), this matter will cause, &c., schisms among the Samgha,”—in that case, O Bhikkhus, let that Bhikkhu, standing in awe of causing divisions, acknowledge that offence on the authority of his brethren ¹.’ And the

¹ In the text sandhâya must be corrected into saddhâya; see *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 10.

Blessed One, having spoken thus to the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu, rose from his seat and went away.

9. At that time the Bhikkhus who were partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu, held Uposatha and performed official acts at that same place, within the boundary. On the other hand the Bhikkhus who had pronounced expulsion against him, went outside the boundary and there held Uposatha, and performed official acts.

Now a certain Bhikkhu of those who had expelled that Bhikkhu, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him that Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, those Bhikkhus who are partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu, hold Uposatha, and perform official acts, at that same place, within the boundary. On the other hand, we who have pronounced expulsion against him, have gone outside the boundary and there hold Uposatha and perform official acts.'

(Buddha replied): 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhu, who are partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu, will hold Uposatha, and perform official acts, at that same place, within the boundary, according to the rules laid down by me about *ñatti* and *anussâvanâ*, these official acts which they perform will be lawful, unobjectionable, and valid. And if you, O Bhikkhus, who have expelled that Bhikkhu, will hold Uposatha, and perform official acts, at that same place, within the boundary (&c., down to :) and valid.

10. 'And why is this so? These Bhikkhus belong to another communion than that to which you



belong, and you belong to another communion than that to which they belong.

‘There are two cases, O Bhikkhu, in which a Bhikkhu (though he dwell within the same boundary) is considered as belonging to another communion :— either he himself makes himself belong to another communion¹, or the Samgha in a complete congregation pronounces expulsion against him for his refusal to see (an offence committed by himself), or to atone (for such an offence), or to renounce (a false doctrine). These, O Bhikkhu, are the two cases in which a Bhikkhu is considered as belonging to another communion.

‘There are two cases, O Bhikkhu, in which a Bhikkhu (belonging to either of the categories mentioned) reacquires the belonging to the same communion (with his brethren within the same boundary): either he himself makes himself belong (again) to that same communion², or the Samgha, having expelled him for his refusal to see (an offence), or to atone (for an offence), or to renounce (a false doctrine), restores him in a complete congregation. These, O Bhikkhu, are the two cases in which a Bhikkhu reacquires the belonging to the same communion.

2.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus, among whom altercations, contentions, and quarrels had arisen, in the dining-hall and amidst the houses, behaved

¹ By associating with expelled Bhikkhus.

² By giving up his connection with expelled Bhikkhus,

improperly towards each other in gesture and word, and came to blows.

The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can these Sakyaputtiya Samanas, when altercations, contentions, and quarrels have arisen among them, &c., and come to blows?' Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can the Bhikkhus, when altercations, &c.?''

These Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, &c.?''

'It is true, Lord.'

Having rebuked them, and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'When divisions have arisen among the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, and when unlawful conduct and unfriendliness prevail among the Bhikkhus, then you ought to sit down on your seats (separately, saying to yourselves): "At least we will not behave improperly towards each other in gesture or word, and will not come to blows." When divisions have arisen among the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, and when lawful conduct and friendliness prevail among the Bhikkhus, then you may sit down (together), one by one from each side¹.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus, among whom altercations, contentions, and quarrels had arisen, wounded each other with sharp words in the assemblies, and were unable to settle that question.

¹ Āsanantarikāya. Buddhaghosa: 'Ekekaṃ āsanam antaram katvā nisīditabbam.'

Then a certain Bhikkhu went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted him, he stationed himself near him. Standing near him, that Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, the Bhikkhus among whom altercations, contentions, and quarrels have arisen, wound each other with sharp words in the assemblies, and are unable to settle that question. Pray, Lord, may the Blessed One go to those Bhikkhus out of compassion towards them.'

And the Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent.

Then the Blessed One went to the place where those Bhikkhus were; having approached them, he sat down on the seat they had prepared. Sitting there the Blessed One thus addressed those Bhikkhus: 'Enough, O Bhikkhus, no altercations, no contentions, no disunion, no quarrel!'

When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu, an adherer of the party who were wrong, said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One, the king of Truth, be patient! Lord, may the Blessed One quietly enjoy the bliss he has obtained already in this life! The responsibility for these altercations and contentions, for this disunion and quarrel will rest with us alone.'

And for the second time the Blessed One thus addressed those Bhikkhus: 'Enough, O Bhikkhus, &c.' And for the second time that Bhikkhu who adhered to the party who were wrong, said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One, &c.' Then the Blessed One spoke thus to those Bhikkhus:

3. 'In former times, O Bhikkhus, there lived at

Benares a king of Kâsi, Brahmadatta by name, wealthy, rich in treasures, rich in revenues, rich in troops and vehicles, the lord over a great realm, with full treasuries and storehouses. And there was also a king of Kosala, Dighîti by name, not wealthy, poor in treasures, poor in revenues, poor in troops and vehicles, the lord over a small realm, with empty treasuries and storehouses.

‘And king Brahmadatta, O Bhikkhus, of Kâsi, having set the four hosts of his army in array, went out to war with king Dighîti of Kosala.

‘And king Dighîti of Kosala heard, O Bhikkhus : “King Brahmadatta of Kâsi, having set the four hosts of his army in array, has gone out to war with me.” Then king Dighîti of Kosala thought, O Bhikkhus : “King Brahmadatta of Kâsi is wealthy, rich in treasures, &c. ; and I am not wealthy, poor in treasures, &c. I am not able to stand against even one attack of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi. What if I were to flee from the town beforehand.”

‘And king Dighîti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, took his queen-consort with him and fled from the town beforehand.

‘Then king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, conquered the troops and vehicles, the realm, the treasuries and storehouses of king Dighîti of Kosala, and took possession of them.

‘And king Dighîti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, together with his consort, went forth to Benares. Wandering from place to place he came to Benares, and there at Benares, O Bhikkhus, king Dighîti of Kosala dwelt, together with his consort, at a certain place near the town, in a potter’s dwelling, in disguise, in the guise of a wandering ascetic.

4. 'And ere long, O Bhikkhus, the queen-consort of king Dīghṭi of Kosala became pregnant. And there came upon her the longing of pregnant women; and she desired, at sunrise, to see an army, with its four hosts set in array, clad in armour, standing on auspicious ground, and to drink the water in which the swords were washed.

'And the queen-consort, O Bhikkhus, of king Dīghṭi of Kosala said to king Dīghṭi of Kosala: "I am pregnant, Lord, and the longing of pregnancy has come upon me; and I desire, at sunrise, &c."

'(The king replied): "Whence shall come, O queen, to people in distress like us, an army with four hosts set in array, clad in armour, standing on auspicious ground, and the water in which the swords are washed?"

'(The queen said): "If I do not obtain it, Lord, I shall die."

5. 'Now at that time, O Bhikkhus, the Brāhmaṇa who was domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, was a friend of king Dīghṭi of Kosala. And king Dīghṭi of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, went to the place where that Brāhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, was; having approached him he said to that Brāhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kāsi: "Your lady-friend, my beloved, is pregnant, and the longing of pregnant women has come upon her; and she desires (&c., as above)."

'(The Brāhmaṇa replied): "Well, O king, let us see the queen also."

'Then, O Bhikkhus, the queen-consort of king Dīghṭi of Kosala went to the place where that Brāhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brah-

madatta of Kâsi, was. And, O Bhikkhus, that Brâhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, saw the queen-consort of king Dīghṭi of Kosala coming from afar. On seeing her he rose from his seat, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, raised his joined hands to the queen-consort of king Dīghṭi of Kosala, and three times uttered this exclamation: "Verily a Kosala king dwells in thy womb! Verily a Kosala king dwells in thy womb!" (And further he said): "Do not despond, O queen, you will obtain the sight at sunrise of an army with its four hosts set in array, clad in armour, standing on auspicious ground, and you will obtain the drinking of the water in which the swords are washed."

6. 'And, O Bhikkhus, that Brâhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, went to the place where king Brahmadatta of Kâsi was. Having approached him, he said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi: "Lord, the signs that appear are such, that to-morrow at sunrise an army with four hosts, set in array, clad in armour, must station itself on auspicious ground, and the swords must be washed."

'Then, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi gave order to his attendants: "Do, my friends, what the Brâhmaṇa, my domestic chaplain, tells you."

'Thus, O Bhikkhus, the queen-consort of king Dīghṭi of Kosala obtained the sight at sunrise, &c., and the drinking of the water in which the swords were washed.

'And, O Bhikkhus, the queen-consort of king Dīghṭi of Kosala, when the child in her womb had reached maturity, gave birth to a boy. They called

him Dīghāvu ("Longeval"). And ere long, O Bhikkhus, young Dīghāvu came to the years of discretion.

7. 'And king Dīghṭti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, thought: "This king Brahmadatta of Kâsi has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries and storehouses. Should he find us out here, he will have us all three killed. What if I were to cause young Dīghāvu to dwell outside the town."

'Then king Dīghṭti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, caused young Dīghāvu to dwell outside the town. And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, dwelling outside the town, ere long learnt all arts.

8. 'At that time, O Bhikkhus, the barber of king Dīghṭti of Kosala dwelt at the court of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi. Now, O Bhikkhus, this barber of king Dīghṭti of Kosala saw king Dīghṭti of Kosala dwelling, together with his consort, at Benares, at a certain place near the town, in a potter's dwelling, in disguise, in the guise of a wandering ascetic. When he had seen him, he went to the place where king Brahmadatta of Kâsi was, and having approached him, he said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi: "King Dīghṭti of Kosala, Your Majesty, dwells, together with his consort, at Benares, at a certain place near the town, in a potter's dwelling, in disguise, in the guise of a wandering ascetic."

9. 'Then, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi gave order to his attendants: "Well, my friends, bring king Dīghṭti of Kosala and his consort before me."

'And those people, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying),

"Yes, Your Majesty," and brought king Dīghāti of Kosala and his consort before him.

'Then, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kāsi gave order to his attendants: "Well, my friends, bind king Dīghāti of Kosala and his consort firmly with strong ropes, tie their arms to their backs, have them close shaven, lead them around with loud beatings of drums from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way, then lead them out of the town by the southern gate, hew them in four pieces to the south of the town, and throw the pieces away to the four quarters."

'And those people, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kāsi (by saying), "Yes, Your Majesty," bound king Dīghāti of Kosala and his consort firmly with strong ropes, tied their arms to their backs, had them close shaven, and led them around with loud beatings of drums from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way.

10. 'Now, O Bhikkhus, young Dīghāvu thought: "For a long time I have not seen my father and mother. What if I were to go and see my father and mother." And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, entered Benares, and saw his father and mother, bound firmly with strong ropes, their arms tied to their backs, close shaven, and being led around with loud beating of drums from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way. When he saw that, he went up to his father and mother.

'And king Dīghāti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, saw young Dīghāvu coming from afar; seeing young Dīghāvu he said to him: "Do not look long, my dear Dīghāvu, and do not look short¹. For not by

¹ This enigmatic phrase will be found explained below, § 19.

hatred, my dear Dīghāvu, is hatred appeased; by not-hatred, my dear Dīghāvu, hatred is appeased."

11. 'When he had spoken thus, O Bhikkhus, the people said to king Dīghṭi of Kosala: "This king Dīghṭi of Kosala is mad and raves. What has this Dīghāvu to do with him? Who is he to whom he says: 'Do not look long, &c.?''" (Dīghṭi replied): "I am not mad, my friends, nor do I rave. He who is clever will understand it."

'And for the second time, &c. And for the third time, O Bhikkhus, king Dīghṭi of Kosala said to young Dīghāvu, &c. And for the third time said the people (&c., down to:) "He who is clever will understand it."

'Then those people, O Bhikkhus, having led king Dīghṭi of Kosala and his consort around from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way, led them out of the town by the southern gate, hewed them in four pieces to the south of the town, threw the pieces away to the four quarters, stationed there a troop of soldiers, and went away.

12. 'Then young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, went to Benares, got strong drink there, and made those soldiers drink it. When they were drunk and had fallen down, he gathered the pieces (of the two bodies), made a funeral pile, put his father's and his mother's bodies on that pile, set it on fire, and raising his clasped hands he three times circumambulated the funeral pile. •

'Now at that time, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kāsi had gone up on to the terrace of his splendid palace. And king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, saw young Dīghāvu, who, raising his clasped hands, three times circumambulated the

funeral pile. When he saw that, he thought: "Doubtless this man is a relation or kinsman of king Dīghīti of Kosala. Alas for my misfortune, that nobody will tell me (what this means)!"

13. 'And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, went to the forest. There he cried and wept to his heart's content. Then he wiped his tears, entered the town of Benares, went to the elephant stables near the royal palace, and said to the elephant trainer: "I wish to learn your art, master."

"Well, my good young man, learn it."

'And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, arose in the night, at dawn's time, and sung in the elephant stables in a beautiful voice, and played upon the lute. And king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, having risen in the night, at dawn, heard that singing in a beautiful voice and that playing upon the lute in the elephant stables. On hearing that he asked his attendants: "Who is it, my friends, who has risen in the night, at dawn's time, and has sung in the elephant stables in so beautiful a voice, and has played upon the lute?"

14. '(The attendants replied): "A young pupil, Your Majesty, of such and such an elephant trainer, has risen in the night, at dawn, and has sung in the elephant stables in so beautiful a voice, and has played upon the lute."

'(The king said): "Well, my friends, bring that young man to me."

'Those people accepted, O Bhikkhus, that order of king Brahmadatta of Kāsi (by saying), "Yes, Your Majesty," and brought young Dīghāvu to him.

"Is it you, my good young man, who has risen in the night, &c.?"

“ Yes, Your Majesty.”

“ Well, my good young man, sing and play upon the lute (also before me).”

‘ Young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “ Yes, Your Majesty,” and in order to win (the king’s) favour he sung in a beautiful voice and played upon the lute.

‘ And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, said to young Dīghāvu : “ Be my attendant, my good young man.”

‘ Young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “ Yes, Your Majesty.” And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, became (a servant) of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, rising before him, lying down after him, willingly obeying all his commands, agreeable in his conduct, pleasing in his words. And ere long, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi gave to young Dīghāvu an intimate position of trust.

15. ‘ And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, said to young Dīghāvu : “ Well, my young friend, put the horses to the chariot ; we will go a-hunting.” And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “ Yes, Your Majesty,” put the horses to the chariot, and said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi : “ The horses have been put to your chariot, Your Majesty ; you may do now as you think fit.”

‘ And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, ascended the chariot, and young Dīghāvu drove the chariot : and he drove the chariot in such a way that the hosts (of the royal retinue) went one way, and the chariot went another way.

‘And after a long drive, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi said to young Dîghâvu: “Well, my young friend, stop now the chariot. I am tired; I would lie down.”

‘Young Dîghâvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “Yes, Your Majesty,” stopped the chariot, and sat down on the ground cross-legged. And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, lay down, laying his head in the lap of young Dîghâvu; and as he was tired, he fell asleep in a moment.

16. ‘And young Dîghâvu thought, O Bhikkhus: “This king Brahmadatta of Kâsi has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries and storehouses. And he has killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred,”—(thinking thus) he unsheathed his sword. Then, O Bhikkhus, young Dîghâvu thought: “My father said to me in the hour of his death: ‘Do not look long, my dear Dîghâvu, and do not look short. For not by hatred, my dear Dîghâvu, is hatred appeased; by not-hatred, my dear Dîghâvu, hatred is appeased.’ It would not become me to transgress my father’s word,”—(thinking thus) he put up his sword.

‘And for the second time . . . and for the third time young Dîghâvu thought, O Bhikkhus: “This king Brahmadatta of Kâsi has done much harm to us” (&c., down to:)—(thinking thus) he put up his sword.

‘At that moment, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, frightened, terrified, full of anguish, and alarmed, suddenly arose.

‘And young Dîghâvu, O Bhikkhus, said to king

Brahmadatta of Kâsi : " Why do you arise so suddenly, O king, frightened, terrified, full of anguish, and alarmed ?"

' (The king replied) : " I dreamt, my young friend, that young Dîghâvu, the son of king Dîghîti of Kosala, came upon me with his sword ; therefore have I arisen so suddenly, frightened, terrified, full of anguish, and alarmed."

17. ' Then, O Bhikkhus, young Dîghâvu, stroking with his left hand the head of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, and with his right hand unsheathing his sword, said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi : " I am that young Dîghâvu, O king, the son of king Dîghîti of Kosala. You have done much harm to us. By you we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasures and storehouses. And you have killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred."

' Then, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi fell down before young Dîghâvu, inclining his head to his feet, and said to young Dîghâvu : " Grant me my life, my dear Dîghâvu ! Grant me my life, my dear Dîghâvu !"

" How can I grant you your life, O king ? It is you, O king, who should grant me my life !"

" Well, my dear Dîghâvu, then grant me my life, and I will grant you your life."

' Thus, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi and young Dîghâvu granted each other their lives and took each other's hands and swore an oath not to do any harm to each other.

' And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, said to young Dîghâvu : " Well, my dear Dîghâvu, put now the horses to the chariot ; we will go."

‘And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “Yes, Your Majesty,” put the horses to the chariot, and said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi : “The horses have been put to your chariot, Your Majesty ; you may do now as you think fit.”

‘And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, ascended the chariot, and young Dīghāvu drove the chariot ; and he drove the chariot in such a way that they soon reached again the hosts (of the royal retinue).

18. ‘And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors and said to them : “If you should see, my good Sirs, young Dīghāvu, the son of king Dīghiti of Kosala, what would you do to him ?”

‘Some (of the ministers) replied : “We would cut off his hands, Your Majesty ;” (others said) : “We would cut off his feet”—“We would cut off his hands and feet”—“We would cut off his ears”—“We would cut off his nose”—“We would cut off his ears and his nose”—“We would cut off his head.”

“This is young Dīghāvu, Sirs, the son of king Dīghiti of Kosala. It is not permitted to do anything to him ; he has granted me my life, and I have granted him his life.”

19. ‘And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, said to young Dīghāvu : “Why did your father say to you in the hour of his death : ‘Do not look long, &c.’—what did your father mean by that ?”

“What my father said, O king, in the hour of his death : ‘Not long’—(means) : ‘Let not your hatred last long ;’ this did my father mean when he said in the hour of his death : ‘Not long.’ And

what my father said, O king, in the hour of his death : ' Not short '—(means) : ' Do not be hasty to fall out with your friends ;' this did my father mean when he said in the hour of his death : ' Not short.' And what my father said, O king, in the hour of his death : ' For not by hatred, my dear Dīghāvu, is hatred appeased ; by not-hatred, my dear Dīghāvu, is hatred appeased '—(means this) : ' You have killed my father and mother, O king. If I should deprive you therefore of life, O king, then your partisans, O king, would deprive me of life ; my partisans again would deprive those of life. Thus by hatred that hatred would not be appeased. But now, O king, you have granted me my life, and I, O king, have granted you your life ; thus by not-hatred hatred has been appeased.' This did my father mean when he said in the hour of his death : ' For not by hatred, &c.'"

20. ' Then king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, thought : " O wonderful ! O marvellous ! How clever is this young Dīghāvu, that he understands in its full extent the meaning of what his father spoke so concisely,"—and he gave him back his father's troops and vehicles, his realm, his treasures and store-houses, and he gave him his daughter.

' Now, O Bhikkhus, if such is the forbearance and mildness of kings who wield the sceptre and bear the sword, so much more, O Bhikkhus, must you so let your light shine before the world that you, having embraced the religious life according to so well-taught a doctrine and a discipline, are seen to be forbearing and mild.'

And for the third time¹ the Blessed One thus

¹ See § 2.

addressed those Bhikkhus: 'Enough, O Bhikkhus, no altercations, no contentions, no disunion, no quarrels!'

And for the third time that Bhikkhu who adhered to the party who were wrong, said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One, the king of Truth, be patient! Lord, may the Blessed One quietly enjoy the bliss he has obtained already in this life! The responsibility for these altercations and contentions, for this disunion and quarrel will rest with us alone.' And the Blessed One thought: 'Truly these fools are infatuate; it is no easy task to administer instruction to them,'—and he rose from his seat and went away.

End of the first Bhāṇavāra, which contains
the story of Dīghāvu.

3.

And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took up his alms-bowl and his *āvara*, and entered the town of Kosambī for alms. Having collected alms in Kosambī, after his meal, when he had returned from his alms-pilgrimage, he put his resting-place in order, took up his alms-bowl and his *āvara*, and standing in the midst of the assembly he pronounced the following stanzas:

'Loud is the noise that ordinary men make. Nobody thinks himself a fool, when divisions arise in the *Samgha*, nor do they ever value another person higher (than themselves).

‘Bewildered¹ are (even) the clever words of him who is versed in the resources of eloquence. As wide as they like they open their mouth. By whom they are lead they do not see.

“He² has reviled me, he has beaten me, he has oppressed me, he has robbed me,”—in those who nurse such thoughts, hatred will never be appeased.

“He has reviled me, he has beaten me, he has oppressed me, he has robbed me,”—in those who do not nurse such thoughts, hatred is appeased.

‘For not by hatred is hatred ever appeased; by not-hatred it is appeased; this is an eternal law.

‘The others³ do not know that we must keep ourselves under restraint here; but those who know it, their quarrels are appeased.

‘They whose bones are broken (by their foes), who destroy lives, who rob cows, horses, and treasures, who plunder realms,—even these may find conciliation. How should you not find it?

‘If⁴ a man find a wise friend, a companion who

¹ Parimu//hâ. Buddhaghosa: ‘Parimu//hâ ’ti mu//hassatino.’ Mu//hassati cannot be connected with mû//ha, as Childers supposes, but it is evidently mushitasmṛiti (Kathâsarits. 56, 289; compare satisammosa, Mil. Pañha, p. 266). Thus it appears that parimu//ha must be derived also from the root mush.

² These verses are inserted in the Dhammapada, vv. 3–6.

³ That is to say, those who do not follow the Buddha’s teaching. On this meaning of pare compare parappavâdâ at Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 62. Professor Max Müller, who in the first edition of his translation of the Dhammapada (Buddhaghosa’s Parables, p. lvi) has ‘Some do not know that we must all come to an end here,’ in the revised edition (Sacred Books of the East, vol. x) renders the phrase, ‘The world does not know that we must all come to an end here.’

⁴ The following three verses have also been inserted in the Dhammapada, vv. 328–330. The two first recur in the Khagga-visâna-sutta of the Sutta Nipâta, vv. 11, 12.

lives righteously, a constant one, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy and mindful ¹.

‘If he find no wise friend, no companion who lives righteously, no constant one, let him walk alone, like a king who leaves his conquered realm behind ², like an elephant in the elephant forest ³.

‘It is better to walk alone; with a fool there is no companionship. Let a man walk alone; let him do no evil, free from cares, like an elephant in the elephant forest ³.’

4.

1. And the Blessed One, having pronounced these stanzas standing in the midst of the assembly, went forth to Bālakalṇakāra-gāma (or, to Bālaka, the salt-maker's village).

At that time the venerable Bhagu dwelt at Bālakalṇakāra-gāma. And the venerable Bhagu saw the Blessed One coming from afar; seeing him he prepared a seat, brought water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel, went forth to meet him, and took his bowl and his robe. The Blessed One sat down on the seat he had prepared; and

¹ On the juxtaposition of happiness with mindfulness, see the constantly repeated phrase occurring, for instance, in the *Tevigga Sutta* I, 49 (at the end). It would perhaps be better to read *sa-tīmā* in the text, as Fausböll has done, *metri causā*.

² That is, who abdicates, and devotes himself in the forest to a hermit's life. This is given as the crucial instance of a happy life in the *Gātaka Story*, No. 10.

³ Professor Fausböll reads in both verses *mātaṅgarañño* instead of *mātaṅgaraññe*.

when he was seated, the Blessed One washed his feet. And also the venerable Bhagu, having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, sat down near him. When he was sitting near him, the Blessed One said to the venerable Bhagu: 'Is it all well with you, O Bhikkhu? Do you find your living? Do you get food without too much trouble?'

'It is all well with me, Lord; I find my living, Lord; I get food, Lord, without too much trouble.'

And the Blessed One, having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the venerable Bhagu by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went forth to the Eastern Bambû Park (*Pâkîna-vamsa-dâya*).

2. At that time the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Nandiya and the venerable Kimbila dwelt at *Pâkîna-vamsa-dâya*. And the park-keeper saw the Blessed One coming from afar; seeing him he said to the Blessed One: 'Do not enter this park, O *Samana*; here dwell three noble youths accustomed to comfort and ease; you must not annoy them.' And the venerable Anuruddha heard what the park-keeper was saying to the Blessed One; hearing that he said to the park-keeper: 'Do not keep off the Blessed One, my good park-keeper; our teacher, the Blessed One, has arrived.' And the venerable Anuruddha went to the place where the venerable Nandiya and the venerable Kimbila were; having approached them, he said to the venerable Nandiya and to the venerable Kimbila: 'Come here, my venerable friends! Come here, my venerable friends! Our teacher, the Blessed One, has arrived.'

3. And the venerable Anuruddha, the venerable Nandiya, and the venerable Kimbila went forth to meet the Blessed One; one took the bowl and the

robe of the Blessed One, the other one prepared a seat, the third one brought water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel. Then the Blessed One sat down on the seat they had prepared; and when he was seated, the Blessed One washed his feet. And also those venerable persons, having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, sat down near him. When the venerable Anuruddha was sitting near him, the Blessed One said to him: 'Is it all well with you, O Anuruddhas'? Do you find your living? Do you get food without too much trouble?'

'It is all well with us, Lord; we find our living, Lord; we get food, Lord, without too much trouble.'

'And do you live, O Anuruddhas, in unity and concord, without quarrels, like milk and water (mixed together)², and looking at each other with friendly eyes?'

'Certainly, Lord, do we live in unity and concord (&c., down to:) and looking at each other with friendly eyes.'

'And in what way, O Anuruddhas, do you live in unity and concord, &c.?'

4. 'I think, Lord: "It is all gain to me indeed, it is high bliss for me indeed, that I live in the companionship of brethren like these." Thus, Lord, do I exercise towards these venerable brethren friendliness in my actions, both openly and in secret; I

¹ We have here the plural Anuruddhā, meaning Anuruddha and his friends. So in *Kullavagga* I, 13, 6 Sāriputtā means Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

² Khīrodakibhūtā can scarcely contain an allusion to the Milk Ocean (see Childers, s.v. khīrodaka). Milk and water is frequently chosen by the Indian poets as a type of the most perfect union.

exercise (towards them) friendliness in my words, and friendliness in my thoughts, both openly and in secret. And I think thus, Lord: "What if I were to give up my own will and to live only according to the will of these venerable brethren." Thus, Lord, I give up my own will and live only according to the will of these venerable brethren. Our bodies, Lord, are different, but our minds, I think, have become one¹.

And also the venerable Nandiya . . . and also the venerable Kimbila . . . said to the Blessed One: 'I think also, Lord: "It is all gain to me" (&c., down to:) have become one.

'In this way, Lord, do we live in unity and concord, without quarrels, like milk and water (mixed together), and looking at each other with friendly eyes.'

5. 'And do you live, O Anuruddhas, in earnestness, zeal, and resolvedness?'

'Certainly, Lord, do we live in earnestness, zeal, and resolvedness.'

'And in what way, O Anuruddhas, do you live in earnestness, zeal, and resolvedness?'

'He² who first of us comes back, Lord, from the village, from his alms-pilgrimage, prepares seats, gets water for washing feet, a foot-stool, and a towel, cleans the slop-basin, and gets it ready, and puts there (water to) drink and food. He who comes back last from the village, from his alms-pilgrimage, eats, if there is any food left (from the dinner of the others) and if he desires to do so; and if he does

¹ Compare the last poem in the Sutta Nipâta, and especially v. 1143.

² Compare IV, 1.

not desire (to eat), he throws it away at a place free from grass, or pours it away into water in which no living things are; takes away the seat, puts away the water for washing the feet, the foot-stool, and the towel, cleans the slop-basin and puts it away, puts the water and the food away, and sweeps the dining-room. He who sees a water-pot, or a bowl for food, or an easing-chair, empty and void, puts it (into its proper place), and if he is not able to do so single-handed, he calls some one else, and thus we put it (into its place) with our united effort, but we do not utter a word, Lord, on that account. And every five days, Lord, we spend a whole night, sitting together, in religious discourse. In this way, Lord, do we live in earnestness, zeal, and resolvedness.'

6. And the Blessed One, having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Nandiya and the venerable Kimbila by religious discourse, rose from his seat, and went forth to Pârileyaka. Wandering from place to place he came to Pârileyaka. There the Blessed One dwelt at Pârileyaka, in the Rakkhita grove, at the foot of the Bhaddasâla tree. Then in the mind of the Blessed One, who was alone, and had retired into solitude, the following thought arose: 'Formerly I did not live at ease, being troubled by those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambî, the constant raisers of questions before the *Samgha*. But now, being alone and without a companion, I live pleasantly and at ease, remote from those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambî, the constant raisers of questions before the *Samgha*.' And there

dwelt also a noble elephant, who was surrounded by a crowd of elephants, she-elephants, elephant-calves, and young elephants; the grass blades he ate had their tips broken; the branches he broke down (the other elephants) ate; the water he drank was turbid; and when he waded into the river and plunged down, the she-elephants came and rubbed up their bodies against him. Now that noble elephant thought: 'I am surrounded by a crowd of elephants (&c., down to:) and rub up their bodies against me. What if I were to live alone, far away from those crowds.'

7. And that noble elephant left the herd behind, and went to Pârileyaka, to the Rakkhita grove, to the foot of the Bhaddasâla tree, to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him, he administered with his trunk to the Blessed One (water to) drink and food, and removed the grass from that place. And that noble elephant thought: 'Formerly I did not live at ease, surrounded by that crowd of elephants (&c., down to:) and rubbed up their bodies against me. But now, being alone and without a companion, I live pleasantly and at ease, remote from those elephants, she-elephants, elephant-calves, and young elephants.'

Then the Blessed One, both regarding his own retirement, and understanding by the power of his mind the thoughts which had arisen in the mind of that noble elephant, on this occasion pronounced this solemn utterance:

'Thus the noble one and the noble, the elephant tusked with tusks like cart poles¹ (and the noble

¹ *Īsādanta*; see Böhlingk-Roth, sub voce *īshā*.

One among men)—the mind of the one and the mind of the other harmonise in this, that they take delight in dwelling alone in the forest.'

5.

1. And the Blessed One, having dwelt at Pāri-leyyaka as long as he thought fit, went forth to Sāvatti. Wandering from place to place he came to Sāvatti. There the Blessed One dwelt at Sāvatti, in the Getavana, the garden of Anāthapindika. And the lay-devotees of Kosambī thought: 'These venerable Bhikkhus of Kosambī have brought much misfortune to us; worried¹ by them the Blessed One is gone. Well, let us neither salute the venerable Bhikkhus of Kosambī, nor rise from our seats before them, nor raise our hands before them, nor perform the proper duties towards them, nor honour and esteem and revere and support them, nor give them food when they come on their walks for alms; thus, when they are not honoured, esteemed, revered, supported, and hospitably received by us, they will go away, or return to the world, or propitiate the Blessed One.'

2. Thus the lay-devotees of Kosambī did not salute any more the Bhikkhus of Kosambī, nor did they rise from their seats before them (&c., down to:) nor gave them food when they came on their walks for alms.

Then the Bhikkhus of Kosambī, when they were no more honoured (&c., down to:) and hospitably

¹ Ubbāḷha; see *Gāṭaka* I, 300, and *Mahāvagga* III, 9, 1.

received by the lay-devotees of Kosambī, said to each other: 'Well, friends, let us go to Sāvatti and let us settle there that question before the Blessed One.' And the Bhikkhus of Kosambī put their resting-places in order, took up their alms-bowls and their robes, and went forth to Sāvatti.

3. And the venerable Sāriputta heard: 'Those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambī, the constant raisers of questions before the Samgha, are coming to Sāvatti.' And the venerable Sāriputta went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Sāriputta said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, those litigious, contentious (&c., down to:) are coming to Sāvatti. How am I to behave, Lord, towards those Bhikkhus?'

'Well, Sāriputta, you must side with those who are right according to the Dhamma.'

'But how shall I discern, Lord, what is right and what is wrong?'

4. 'There are eighteen things, Sāriputta, by which you may conclude that a Bhikkhu is wrong according to the Dhamma. In case, Sāriputta, a Bhikkhu declares what is not Dhamma to be Dhamma, or declares what is Dhamma not to be Dhamma, or declares what is not Vinaya to be Vinaya, or declares what is Vinaya not to be Vinaya, or declares what has not been taught and spoken by the Tathāgata to have been taught and spoken by the Tathāgata, or declares something taught and spoken by the Tathāgata not to have been taught and spoken by the Tathāgata, or declares what has not been

practised by the Tathâgata to have been practised by the Tathâgata, or declares something practised by the Tathâgata not to have been practised by the Tathâgata, or declares what has not been ordained by the Tathâgata to have been ordained by the Tathâgata, or declares something ordained by the Tathâgata not to have been ordained by the Tathâgata, or declares what is no offence to be an offence, or declares an offence to be no offence, or declares a slight offence to be a grievous offence, or declares a grievous offence to be a slight offence, or declares (a rule regarding) an offence to which there is an exception to be without an exception, or declares (a rule regarding) an offence to which there is no exception to admit of exceptions¹, or declares a grave offence² to be a not grave offence, or declares an offence that is not grave to be a grave offence, —these are the eighteen things, Sâriputta, by which you may conclude that a Bhikkhu is wrong according to the Dhamma.

5. 'And there are eighteen things, Sâriputta, by which you may conclude that a Bhikkhu is right according to the Dhamma. In case, Sâriputta, a Bhikkhu declares what is not Dhamma to be not

¹ Our translation of *sâvasesa* and *anavasesa* is entirely conjectural. By the exceptions alluded to here we believe that such clauses must be understood as, for instance, in the sixth Nissaggiya Rule the words: 'Except at the right season;—here the right season means when the Bhikkhu has been robbed of his robe, or when his robe has been destroyed. This is the right season in this connection.'

² The term '*Du//hullâ âpatti*' is used also in the ninth Pâkittiya Rule, and the Old Commentary there states that by 'grave offences' those belonging to the *Pârâgika* and *Samghâdisesa* classes are understood.

Dhamma, or declares what is Dhamma to be Dhamma (&c., down to :), or declares a grave offence to be a grave offence, or declares an offence that is not grave to be not grave,—these are the eighteen things, Sâriputta, by which you may conclude that a Bhikkhu is right according to the Dhamma.’

6. And the venerable Mahâmogallâna heard (&c., as in §§ 3-5)—and the venerable Mahâkassapa heard, &c.—and the venerable Mahâkakkhâna heard, &c.—and the venerable Mahâkott’hita¹ heard, &c.—and the venerable Mahâkappina heard, &c.—and the venerable Mahâkunda heard, &c.—and the venerable Anuruddha heard, &c.—and the venerable Revata heard, &c.—and the venerable Upâli heard, &c.—and the venerable Ânanda heard, &c.—and the venerable Râhula heard (&c., as above).

7. And Mahâpagâpati Gotamî heard: ‘Those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambî, the constant raisers of questions before the Samgha, are coming to Sâvatthi.’ And Mahâpagâpati Gotamî went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, she stationed herself near him. Standing near him Mahâpagâpati Gotamî said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, those litigious, contentious (&c., down to :) are coming to Sâvatthi. How am I to behave, Lord, towards those Bhikkhus?’

‘Well, Gotamî, hear the Dhamma on both sides. When you have heard the Dhamma on both sides,

¹ The name of this Thera is spelt in the MSS. Mahâkott’hita and Mahâkott’hika. In the Northern Buddhist works he is called Mahâkaushthilya. In the Lalita Vistara (p. 1, ed. Calc.) Kaundilya is a misprint.

then accept the opinion and the belief and the doctrine and the cause of those Bhikkhus who are right according to the Dhamma ; and whatever the Bhikkhusamgha has to apply for to the Bhikkhusamgha¹, for all that you must apply to the party of those who are right.'

8. And Anātha-piṇḍika the householder heard (&c., as in § 3, down to:). 'How am I to behave, Lord, towards those Bhikkhus?'

'Well, householder, bestow gifts on both sides ; having bestowed gifts on both sides, hear the Dhamma on both sides. When you have heard the Dhamma on both sides, then accept the opinion and the belief and the doctrine and the cause of those Bhikkhus who are right according to the Dhamma.'

9. And Visākhā Migāramâtā heard, &c.²

10. And the Bhikkhus of Kosambī in due course came to Sāvatti. And the venerable Sāriputta went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Sāriputta said to the Blessed One : 'Lord, those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambī, the constant raisers of questions before the Samgha, have arrived at Sāvatti. How are we, Lord, to arrange the dwelling-places of those Bhikkhus?'

'Well, Sāriputta, assign separate dwelling-places to them.'

¹ See Kullavagga X, 1, 4, and the 59th Pāṭittiya Rule in the Bhikkhuni-pātimokkha.

² As in § 8. Instead of 'Well, householder,' read 'Well, Visākhā.'

‘And if there be no separate dwelling-places, what are we to do then, Lord?’

‘Then, Sâriputta, you must separate (some dwelling-places from the rest) and then assign them (to those Bhikkhus). But in no wise, Sâriputta, do I say that the dwelling-place of a senior Bhikkhu must be taken from him. He who does that, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

‘And how are we to act, Lord, regarding (the distribution of) material gifts¹?’

‘Material gifts, Sâriputta, must be distributed among all in equal parts.’

11. And that Bhikkhu against whom expulsion had been pronounced, pondering over both Dhamma and Vinaya, came to the following conclusion: ‘This is an offence; this is not no offence. I am an offender; I am not offenceless. I am expelled; I am not unexpelled. The sentence by which I have been expelled is lawful, unobjectionable, and valid.’ Then that expelled Bhikkhu went to the expelled Bhikkhu’s partisans; having approached them, he said to the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu: ‘This is an offence, friends; this is not no offence, &c. Come now, my venerable brethren, and restore me.’

12. Then the partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu took with them the expelled Bhikkhu, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him. Sitting near him those Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, this Bhikkhu, against whom expulsion has been pronounced, says, “This is an offence, friends (&c.,

¹ Such as food, robes, &c.

down to :) and restore me." What are we to do here, Lord ?'

'This is an offence, O Bhikkhus ; this is not no offence. This Bhikkhu is an offender ; this Bhikkhu is not offenceless. This Bhikkhu is expelled ; he is not unexpelled ; the sentence by which he has been expelled is lawful, unobjectionable, and valid. But since this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, having committed an offence, and having been sentenced to expulsion, sees (his offence), restore now that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus.'

13. And the partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu, having restored that expelled Bhikkhu, went to the Bhikkhus who had sentenced him to expulsion ; having approached them, they said to the Bhikkhus who had pronounced that sentence : 'As regards that matter, friends, which gave origin to altercations among the *Samgha*, to contentions, discord, quarrels, divisions among the *Samgha*, to disunion among the *Samgha*, to separations among the *Samgha*, to schisms among the *Samgha*,—that Bhikkhu (who was concerned in that matter), having committed an offence, and having been sentenced to expulsion, has seen (his offence) and has been restored. Come, friends, let us declare now the re-establishment of concord among the *Samgha* in order to bring that matter to an end.'

Then the Bhikkhus who had pronounced that sentence of expulsion, went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him ; sitting near him those Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One : 'Lord, those partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu have said to us : "As regards

that matter (&c., down to:) in order to bring that matter to an end." What are we to do here, Lord?'

14. 'Since this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, having committed an offence, and having been sentenced to expulsion, has seen (his offence) and has been restored, let the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, declare the re-establishment of concord in order to bring that matter to an end. And this declaration is to be performed in this way: Let all brethren assemble together, both the sick and the healthy; no one is allowed to send his declaration of *khandā*¹ (and to stay away). When you have assembled, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the Samgha: "Let the Samgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. As regards that matter which gave origin to altercations among the Samgha, to contentions, discord, quarrels, divisions among the Samgha, to disunion among the Samgha, to separations among the Samgha, to schisms among the Samgha,—that Bhikkhu (concerned in that matter), having committed an offence, and having been sentenced to expulsion, has seen (his offence) and has been restored. If the Samgha is ready, let the Samgha declare the re-establishment of concord in order to bring that matter to an end. This is the *ñatti*. Let the Samgha, reverend Sirs, hear me (&c.², down to:) the re-establishment of concord, in order to bring that matter to an end, has been declared by the Samgha; the division that existed among the Samgha has been settled; the disunion that existed

¹ See II, 23.

² Here follows the repetition of the *ñatti* and the other solemn formulas belonging to a *ñattidutiya kamma* in the usual way.

among the *Samgha* has been settled. The *Samgha* is in favour (of this declaration); therefore you are silent; thus I understand." Then let the *Samgha* hold *Uposatha* and proclaim the *Pâtimokkha*.'

6.

1. And the venerable *Upâli*¹ went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable *Upâli* said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, if the *Samgha*, regarding a matter which has given origin to altercations (&c., down to :) to schisms among the *Samgha*, declares the re-establishment of concord, without having inquired into that matter and without having got to the bottom of it, is this declaration, Lord, lawful?'

'If the *Samgha*, *Upâli*, regarding a matter (&c., down to :) declares the re-establishment of concord, without having inquired into that matter and without having got to the bottom of it,—this declaration, *Upâli*, is unlawful.'

'But if the *Samgha*, Lord, regarding a matter (&c., down to :) declares the re-establishment of concord, after having inquired into that matter and after having got to the bottom of it,—is this declaration, Lord, lawful?'

'If the *Samgha*, *Upâli*, (&c., down to :) declares the re-establishment of concord, after having inquired

¹ See the note at IX, 6, 1.

into that matter and after having got to the bottom of it,—this declaration, Upâli, is lawful.’

2. ‘How many kinds are there, Lord, of the re-establishment of concord among a *Sâmg*ha?’

‘There are the following two kinds, Upâli, of re-establishment of concord among a *Samg*ha: Concord may be re-established, Upâli, in the letter, but not in the spirit, and concord may be re-established both in the spirit and in the letter.

‘And in what case, Upâli, is concord re-established in the letter, but not in the spirit? If the *Samg*ha, Upâli, (&c., as above) declares the re-establishment of concord, without having inquired into that matter and without having got to the bottom of it,—in this case, Upâli, concord is said to have been re-established in the letter, but not in the spirit.

‘And in what case, Upâli, is concord re-established both in the spirit and in the letter? If the *Samg*ha, Upâli, (&c., as above) declares the re-establishment of concord, after having inquired into that matter and after having got to the bottom of it,—in this case, Upâli, concord is said to have been re-established both in the spirit and in the letter. These, Upâli, are the two kinds of re-establishment of concord among a *Samg*ha.’

3. And the venerable Upâli rose from his seat, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, bent his clasped hands towards the Blessed One, and addressed the Blessed One in the following stanzas:

‘In the affairs of the *Samg*ha and in its consultations, in the business that arises and in trials, what sort of man is then most wanted? what Bhikkhu is then most worthy of the leadership?’

‘Above all he who is blameless in his moral conduct, who watches over his behaviour, whose senses are well controlled, whom his rivals do not reprove according to the law,—for there is nothing for which they could censure him,—

‘Such a man, who abides in blameless conduct, is well versed (in the doctrine), and mighty are his words. He is not perplexed, nor does he tremble, when he enters an assembly¹. He does not disparage his cause by vain talk.

‘So also when he is asked questions in the assemblies, he does not hesitate, and is not troubled. By his timely words, that solve the questions, the clever man gladdens the assembly of the wise.

‘Full of reverence for elder Bhikkhus, well versed in what his teacher has taught him, able to find out (the right), a master of speech, and skilled in making his rivals fail,—

‘By whom his rivals are annihilated, by whom many people receive instruction,—he does not forsake the cause he has taken up, (nor does he become tired) of answering questions and putting questions without hurting others;—

‘If he is charged with a mission, he takes it upon himself properly, and in the business of the *Samgha* (he does) what they tell him²;—when a number of Bhikkhus despatches him (somewhere), he obeys

¹ The same idea is put into the Buddha’s mouth in the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* I, 23, 24.

² We propose to read *âhu nam yathâ*. This seems more satisfactory than the reading and the explanation found in Buddhaghosa’s *Aṅgikathâ*: ‘*yathâ nâma âhunam âhutipindam samuggazhanti* (sic) *evam* api so *scmanassagâten*’ *eva ketasâ samghassa kiṅkesu samuggaho*.’

their command, but he does not think therefrom, "It is I who do this;"—

'In what cases a Bhikkhu commits an offence, what an offence is, and how it is atoned for; both these expositions are well known to him¹; he is versed in the rules about offence and atonement;—

'By what deeds a Bhikkhu brings expulsion upon himself, in what cases one has been expelled, and the rehabilitation of a person who has undergone that penance,—all this he also knows, well versed in the Vibhaṅgas;—

'Full of reverence for elder Bhikkhus, for the young, for the Theras, for the middle-aged, bringing welfare to many people, a clever one:—such a Bhikkhu is the one who is then worthy of the leadership.'

End of the tenth Khandhaka, which contains the story of the Bhikkhus of Kosambi.

End of the Mahāvagga.

¹ For 'Exposition' the text has vibhaṅga, about the technical meaning of which see our Introduction, pp. xv seq. 'Both' refers to the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga and Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. In the text, ubhayassa must be corrected into ubhay' assa, i. e. ubhaye assa.

KULLAVAGGA.

KULLAVAGGA.

FIRST KHANDHAKA.

THE MINOR DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS.

I. THE TAGGANIYA KAMMA (ACT OF REBUKE).

1.

1. At that time the Blessed One was staying at Getavana, in the grove of Anâtha-piṇḍika.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were followers of Paṇḍuka and of Lohitaka¹,—who themselves were makers of strife, quarrelsome², makers of disputes³, given to idle talk, and raisers of legal questions in the Saṃgha⁴,—used to go up to such other Bhikkhus as were the same, and say, 'Do not allow such a one, venerable Sirs, to turn you back. Discuss loud and long. You are indeed cleverer, more wise, more well informed, more able at that (than

¹ These were two out of the six notorious *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, who are so frequently mentioned elsewhere. Buddhaghosa says, *tesam nissitakā pi Paṇḍukalohitakā tv' eva paññāyanti*.

² In addition to the passages referred to in the two following notes, compare the closing words of the Pātimokkha, and the 2nd, 3rd, 12th, 13th, 17th, 54th, 74th, and 75th Pāṭiṭṭiyas.

³ Such persons were formerly dealt with according to the 10th, 11th, and 12th Saṃghādisesas.

⁴ Such persons were formerly dealt with according to the 8th and 9th Saṃghādisesas and the 76th Pāṭiṭṭiya. Compare also below, IV, 14, and the 63rd and 79th Pāṭiṭṭiyas.

your adversaries are) and do not you be afraid of them. We too will be on your side.' Thereby both disputes arose which had not arisen before; and disputes which had arisen grew hotter.

2. Those Bhikkhus who were modest were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and of *Lohitaka* act thus.' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened an assembly of the Order of Bhikkhus, and inquired of the Bhikkhus: 'Is it true, as they say, Bhikkhus, that those Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*,—who themselves (&c., as in § 1, down to the end)?'

'It is true, Lord!'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'This is improper, O Bhikkhus, for those foolish persons, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a *Samana*, unbecoming, and ought not to be done. How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, who themselves (&c., as in § 1, down to the end). This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted being not converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.'

3. And when the Blessed One had rebuked those Bhikkhus in various ways,—speaking of the evils of being hard to satisfy in the matter of support or nourishment, of wishing for much, of discontent, of love of society, and of sloth; and speaking in praise of being easy to satisfy in the matter of support and nourishment, of wishing for little, of the

contented man who has eradicated (evils from his mind), has quelled his passions¹, and is full of faith, of reverence, and of the exercise of zeal,—when he had thus held a religious discourse to the Bhikkhus as to what was fit and suitable in that respect, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ‘ Let the *Samgha*, therefore, O Bhikkhus, carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma* (Act of Rebuke) against those Bhikkhus.

4. ‘ Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* ought to be warned ; when they have been warned, they ought to be reminded (of the Rule in the *Pâtimokkha* against which they have offended) ; when they have been reminded, they ought to be charged with the (particular) offence ; when they have been charged with the offence, some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*, who themselves (&c., as in § 1, down to the end). If the time is fit for the *Samgha* (to do so) let the *Samgha* carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma* against the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*.

“ Such is the motion (*ñatti*).

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*,

¹ We have here the substance of that ‘religious discourse’ (*dhammim katham*) which the Buddha is so frequently stated to have held before he laid down the rule for the guidance of the Bhikkhus in the particular matter which had been brought before him. It recurs in the *Mahâvagga* (I, 25, 6), and is constantly to be supplied both there and below.

who themselves (&c., as in § 1, down to the end). The *Samgha* hereby carries out the *Tagganiya-kamma* against them. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the carrying out of the *Tagganiya-kamma* against the *Bhikkhus* who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*, let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before¹). A third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before¹).

“The *Tagganiya-kamma* against the *Bhikkhus* who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* has been carried by the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* approves (the motion). Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

2².

1. ‘There are three things, O *Bhikkhus*, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* is characterised, it is against the *Dhamma*, and against the *Vinaya*, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has not been carried out in a full assembly of properly qualified persons, according to law and justice, and in the presence of the litigant parties³—when it has been carried out without the accused person having been heard—when it has been carried out without the accused person having confessed himself guilty. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O *Bhikkhus*, charac-

¹ The motion just proposed is repeated down to the end.

² Repeated below, chapters 10, 14, and 19.

³ All these details are involved in the meaning of the technical term *asammukhatâ*, which is fully explained in *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 16, and following.

terised by these three things is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* has been characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been carried out though no fault has been committed—when it has been carried out for a *Pârâgika* or a *Samghâdisesa* offence¹—when it has been carried out though the fault has been confessed. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised (&c., as before, down to) settled.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* has been characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been carried out without the accused person having been warned—when it has been carried out without the accused person having been called upon to remember (whether he has or has not committed the offence)—when it has been carried out without the accused person having been convicted. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised (&c., as before, down to) settled.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* has been characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has not been carried out in a properly constituted meeting properly conducted²—when it has

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *Adesanâgâminiyâ ti Pârâgikâpattiyâ vâ Samghâdisesâpattiyâ vâ*.

² As in the first paragraph of this section more fully described. The word here used is the same.

been carried out without justice¹—when it has been carried out without the presence and approval of all the Bhikkhus belonging to the particular circuit². A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised by these three things is (&c., as before, down to) settled.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* has been characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been carried out without the accused person having been heard—when it has been carried out without justice—when it has been carried out without the presence and approval of all the Bhikkhus belonging to the circuit. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised by these three things is (&c., as before, down to) settled.

‘There are other three things (&c., as before, down to) that is to say, when it has been carried out without the accused person having been convicted—when it has been carried out without justice—when it has been carried out without the presence and approval of all the Bhikkhus belonging to the circuit.’

[And in a similar way each of the three things in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this section are united with the two things just repeated in each of paragraphs 4, 5, and 6, to make six further cases in which a *Tagganiya-kamma* is declared to be against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be revoked.]

Here end the twelve cases of a proceeding (*Kamma*) which is against the law.

¹ *Adhammena*; perhaps ‘contrary to the Rules.’

² *Vaggena* for *vi + aggena*, the opposite of *samaggena*. See our note on the 21st *Pāṭṭiya*, and *Mahāvagga IX*, 3, 5.

3.

1. 'There are three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* is characterised, it is a proceeding in accordance with the Dhamma, a proceeding in accordance with the Vinaya, and is easy to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been carried out in a full assembly of qualified persons, according to law, and in the presence of the litigant parties—when it has been carried out after the accused person has been heard—when it has been carried out after the accused person has confessed himself guilty. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised by these three things is in accordance with the Dhamma, and in accordance with the Vinaya, and is easy to be settled.'

[And in a similar way the opposite of each of the twelve propositions in the last section is here laid down.]

Here end the twelve cases of a proceeding (*Kamma*) which is according to law.

4.

1. 'There are three things, O Bhikkhus, which, when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma* against him; (that is to say), when he is a maker of strife, quarrelsome, a maker of disputes, given to idle talk, and a raiser of legal questions in the *Samgha*¹—when he is dull, stupid, full of faults, and devoid of merit—when he is living in lay society, in unlawful

¹ This refers to the Introductory Story, I, 1, 1.

association with the world. There are three things, O Bhikkhus, which, when the *Samgha* suspects (&c., as before, down to) against him.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) against him; (that is to say), when he has failed in morality as regards moral things—when he has failed in conduct as regards transgression—when he has failed in opinion as regards the principal matters of opinion¹. There are three things, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) against him.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) against him; (that is to say), when he speaks in dispraise of the Buddha—when he speaks in dispraise of the Dhamma—when he speaks in dispraise of the *Samgha*. These are three things, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) against him.

2. ‘There are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom, if the *Samgha* likes, it should carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma*; (that is to say), one who is a maker of strife (&c., as in § 1, down to) a raiser of legal questions in the *Samgha*—one who is dull, stupid, full of faults, and devoid of merit—and one who is living in lay society, in unlawful association with the world. These are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) the *Tagganiya-kamma*.

‘There are other three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom, if the *Samgha* likes, it should carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma*; (that is to say), one who has failed in morality in regard to moral matters—one who has failed in conduct

¹ Compare Mahāvagga I, 36, 8, and our note there.

as regards transgression—one who has failed in opinion as regards the principal matters of opinion. These are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) the Tagganiya-kamma.

‘There are other three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom, if the Saṃgha likes, it should carry out the Tagganiya-kamma; (that is to say), one who speaks in dispraise of the Buddha—one who speaks in dispraise of the Dhamma—one who speaks in dispraise of the Saṃgha. These are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) the Tagganiya-kamma.’

Here end the six permissive cases of Tagganiya-kamma.

51.

1. ‘A Bhikkhu against whom the Tagganiya-kamma has been carried out ought to conduct himself aright. And herein this is the right conduct²: he ought not to confer the upasampadâ—he ought not to give a nissaya³—he ought not to provide

¹ This chapter is repeated below for the Nissaya-, Pabbâga-niya-, and Paṭisâraṇiya-kammās (chapters 10, 15, and 21). The corresponding rule for the first two Ukkhepaniya-kammās is different, and much more stringent (chapter 27, repeated in chapter 31); but that for the third (chapter 33) is again the same as the rule laid down in this chapter. In the second Khandhaka (1, 2) the list of restrictions is again longer.

² Sammāvattanâ. See Mahāvagga I, 26, 1; 27, 1; 33, 1; 34, 1.

³ Buddhaghosa says, āgantukānam nissayo na dātabbo. The relation of a junior Bhikkhu either to his upagghâya or to his âkariya is alike called nissaya (Mahāvagga I, 36, 1); but the term is more especially applied to the latter (Mahāvagga I, 32, 2, whereas in the corresponding formula for the upagghâya, Mahâ-

himself with a *sāmaṇera*¹—he ought not to accept the office of giving exhortation to the nuns²—and if he has accepted the office, he ought not to exhort the nuns²—he ought not to commit the offence for which the *Tagganiya-kamma* has been carried out by the *Samgha* against him—nor any offence of a similar kind—nor any worse offence—he ought not to find fault with the proceeding (that has been carried out against him)—nor with (the *Bhikkhus*) who have carried it out—he ought not to raise objection against a regular³ *Bhikkhu*'s taking part in the *Uposatha* ceremony⁴—or in the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony⁵—he ought not to issue commands (to a junior inhibiting him from going beyond the bounds⁶, or summoning him to come before the elders)—he ought not to set on foot a censure against any other *Bhikkhu*⁷—he ought not to ask another *Bhikkhu* to give him leave (to rebuke that *Bhikkhu*⁸)—he ought not to warn (another *Bhikkhu*⁹ whom he supposes to be offending)—he ought

vagga I, 25, 7, the word *nissaya* does not occur). In other words, *nissaya* means all that is included in the phrase '*nissāya te vatthabbam*' (*Kullavagga* I, 9, 2).

¹ Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 36, 37.

² See below, *Kullavagga* X, 9, 4, and also the 21st *Pāṭittiya*.

³ Compare *Minayeff*, *Pāṭimokkha*, p. 63.

⁴ Compare *Pāṭimokkham* *thapetum* at *Kullavagga* IX, 2.

⁵ Compare *Mahāvagga* IV, 16, 2.

⁶ As, for example, under the rule at *Mahāvagga* I, 27, 2. *Budhaghosa* says, *Na savaṇaniyam kâtabban ti aham âyasmantam asmim vatthusmim vaṇaniyam karomi imamhâ âvâsâ param pi mâ pakkâmi yâva na tam adhikarânam vûpasantam hotîti*. He also gives a longer note, partly to the same effect, on the corresponding passage in II, 1, 2, which will be found in our note there, and from which we have taken the second clause in the parentheses.

⁷ See the note on this word in the next chapter.

⁸ Compare *Mahāvagga* II, 16, 1. ⁹ Compare *Kullavagga* IX, 5.

not to call upon another Bhikkhu to remember (whether he has or has not committed an offence)—and he ought not to associate with the Bhikkhus.’

Here end the eighteen duties which follow on a Tagganiya-kamma.

6¹.

1. So the *Samgha* carried out the Tagganiya-kamma against the Bhikkhus who were followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*. And when they had been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Tagganiya-kamma and were conducting themselves aright in accordance thereto, they became subdued², and they sought for release³; and going up to the Bhikkhus they spake as follows: ‘We, Sirs, have been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Tagganiya-kamma (&c., down to) release. What now should we do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* revoke the Tagganiya-kamma carried out against the followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*.

2. ‘There are five things, O Bhikkhus, by which,

¹ Compare below, chapters 11, 16, 23, 28, 34.

² *Lomam pântenti*. See the commentary as given by H. Oldenberg at p. 309 of his edition of the text. That our translation is correct is evident from the use of *panna-lomo* (at *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 6), that being simply the opposite of *ha//ha-lomo*, which signifies ‘having the hair of the body erect in consequence of the excitement produced by fear, joy, or amazement;’ and hence simply ‘troubled, excited.’ The opposite of this is ‘pacified, subdued.’

³ *Netthâram vattanti*. See the commentary in the edition of the text *loco citato*.

when a Bhikkhu is characterised, a *Tagganiya-kamma* ought not to be revoked for him; (that is to say), when he confers the *upasampadâ*—when he gives a *nissaya*—when he provides himself with a *sâmañera*—when he accepts the office of giving exhortation to the nuns—and when, having accepted that office, he exhorts the nuns. These are the five things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) revoked for him.

‘There are other five things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a Bhikkhu is characterised, a *Tagganiya-kamma* ought not to be revoked for him; (that is to say), when he commits the offence for which the *Tagganiya-kamma* has been carried out by the *Samgha* against him—or any other offence of a similar kind—or any worse offence—when he finds fault with the proceeding that has been carried out against him—or with the Bhikkhus who have carried it out. These are five things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) revoked for him.

‘There are eight things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a Bhikkhu is characterised, a *Tagganiya-kamma* ought not to be revoked for him; (that is to say), when he raises objections against a regular¹ Bhikkhu’s taking part in the *Upasatha* ceremony—or in the *Pavâraṇâ* ceremony—when he inhibits a junior from going beyond the bounds—when he sets on foot a censure against any other Bhikkhu—when he asks another Bhikkhu to give

¹ *Pakatattassa*, that is a Bhikkhu who has not made himself liable to any disciplinary proceeding, has committed no irregularity. It is one of the expressions unknown to the *Pâtimokkha*, but occurs in the much later *Introduction* to that work (Dickson, p. 11). See below, III, 1, 1.

him leave to rebuke that Bhikkhu—when he warns another Bhikkhu whom he supposes to be offending—when he reminds another Bhikkhu of a rule against which he supposes that Bhikkhu to be offending—when he associates with the Bhikkhus. These are the eight things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) revoked for him.’

Here end the eighteen cases in which there ought to be no revocation (of the Tagganiya-kamma).

7.

[This chapter is exactly the converse of the last.]

Here end the eighteen cases in which there ought to be a revocation (of the Tagganiya-kamma).

8¹.

1. ‘Now, thus, O Bhikkhus, should the revocation be carried out. Those Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* should go before the *Samgha*, with their upper robe arranged over one shoulder, and should bow down at the feet of the elder Bhikkhus, and squatting down, and raising their hands with the palms joined together, should speak as follows: “We, Sirs, have been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Tagganiya-kamma, and are conducting ourselves aright in accordance thereto; and we have become subdued, and we seek for release, and beg for a revocation of the Tagganiya-

¹ Compare below, chapters 12 and 17.

kamma." And a second time they should beg [in the same words]. And a third time they should beg [in the same words]. Then a discreet and able Bhikkhu should lay the matter before the *Samgha* :

2. "“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* have been subjected (&c., as before), and they are conducting themselves (&c., as before), and they beg (&c., as before).

““ This is the motion (*ñatti*).

““ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) and they beg for a revocation of the *Tagganiya-kamma*. The *Samgha* revokes the *Tagganiya-kamma* for the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the revocation of the *Tagganiya-kamma* for the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*, let him hold his peace. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

““ And a second time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before, down to) let him speak.

““ And a third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before, down to) let him speak.

““ The revocation of the *Tagganiya-kamma* for the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* has been carried by the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* approves ; therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

Here ends the first (*Kamma*), the
Tagganiya-kamma.

II. THE NISSAYA-KAMMA (ACT OF SUBORDINATION).

9.

1. Now at that time the venerable Seyyasaka was stupid, and indiscreet, and full of faults, and devoid of merit, and was living in lay society in unlawful association with the world¹. So much so that the Bhikkhus were worn out² with placing him on probation³, and with throwing him back to the beginning (of his probationary term)⁴, and with subjecting him to the *mānatta* discipline⁵, and with rehabilitating him⁶. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, and murmured, and became indignant

¹ There is no rule in the *Pātimokkha* in which any of these things are declared to be an offence. The 31st and 85th *Pāṭittiya*s only refer to a Bhikkhu's staying an unreasonable time in a public rest-house, and to his frequenting a village beyond the ordinary occasions. Stupidity, and keeping low company, are not mentioned. Why then should Seyyasaka have been placed upon probation? We think the answer will appear from our note 1 on II, 1, 1.

² *Pakatā*, 'done up,' explained by *vāvaṭṭā*. See Oldenberg's quotation from Buddhaghosa at p. 310 of his edition of the text.

³ Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 38, 1; *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* V, 64, 65; and *Kullavagga* III, 3. On the distinction between these kinds of probation, see also our note below on II, 1, 1.

⁴ See below, II, 2, 1. Compare also *Subhūti*'s explanation in Childers, and the passages quoted in the index to Oldenberg's edition of the text, p. 348, sub voce, especially *Kullavagga* III, 7.

⁵ See below, *Kullavagga* III, 1; III, 4.

⁶ See below, *Kullavagga* III, 2; III, 5.

(saying), 'How can the venerable Seyyasaka be so stupid (&c., as before), that the Bhikkhus are worn out (&c., as before)?'

Then those Bhikkhus told that matter to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-samgha, and asked the Bhikkhus, 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that the venerable Seyyasaka is stupid (&c., as before, down to) with rehabilitating him?'

'It is true, Lord!'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him (saying), 'This is improper' (&c., as usual, compare I, 2, 3, down to), and addressed the Bhikkhus, and said, 'Let the Samgha therefore, O Bhikkhus, carry out the Nissaya-kamma (Act of Subordination) against the venerable Seyyasaka: "Thou must remain under the superintendence of others¹."

2. 'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhu Seyyasaka ought to be warned; when he has been warned, he ought to be reminded²; when he has been reminded, he ought to be charged with the offence²; when he has been charged with the offence, some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the Samgha (saying),

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me (&c., as usual; see above, chapters I. 4 and 8. 2)."

¹ These are the distinctive and technical words of the Nissaya-kamma, just as the corresponding clause in chap. 13, § 7 contains the technical words of the Pabbâganiya-kamma.

² As explained above, chap. I. 4.

10.

[Chapters 2-5 are here repeated at length, Nissaya-kamma being substituted throughout for Tagganiya-kamma.]

11¹.

1. So the *Samgha* carried out the Nissaya-kamma against the Bhikkhu Seyyasaka (saying), 'Thou must remain under the superintendence of others.'

And he, when subjected by the *Samgha* to the Nissaya-kamma, by resorting to and cultivating the acquaintance of good companions², associating with them, getting them to declare to him (the Dhamma), and asking them questions, became wise in the traditions; a man to whom the Nikâyas had been handed down; a reciter of the Dhamma, of the Vinaya, and of the Mâtikas; clever, discreet, wise, modest, full of remorse, and docile; he conducted himself aright, he became subdued, he sought for release, and going up to the Bhikkhus, he spake as follows:

'I, Sirs, after having been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Nissaya-kamma, am conducting myself aright, and have become subdued, and I seek for release. What now should I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* revoke the Nissaya-kamma for the Bhikkhu Seyyasaka.'

¹ Compare above, chapter 6.

² Compare Dhammapada, ver. 357.

2. 'There are five things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as in chap. 6. 2, down to the end of chap. 7, reading throughout Nissaya-kamma for Tagganiya-kamma).'

12.

[This chapter sets out the mode of revocation by a kamma-vâkâ precisely as above in chapter 8.]

Here ends the second (Kamma), the Nissaya-kamma.

III. THE PABBĀGANIYA-KAMMA (ACT OF BANISHMENT).

13¹.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were followers of Assagi and Punabbasu were dwelling on the Kiā Hill, wicked Bhikkhus, and shameless. Such as these were the evil practices they followed: they used to plant cuttings of flowers, and have them planted; they used to water flowers, and have them watered; they used to gather them, and have them gathered; they used to make them up into nosegays, and have them so made up; they used to make them up, and to have them made up, into wreaths, of the kind with the stalks together, and of the kind with the stalks separate², of the kind called *mañgarikā*³, of the kind called *vidhutikā*⁴, of the kind called *vaṭamsaka*⁵, of the kind

¹ The whole of this chapter recurs in the Sutta Vibhaṅga on the 13th *Samghâdisesa*. The proceeding here laid down is really only a later method of acting under the circumstances similar to those for which that rule had previously been the authorised dealing.

² The Samanta Pāsādikā says, *Ekatovanṭikan ti pupphānaṃ vanṭe ekato katvā kata-mālaṃ*. *Ubhatovanṭikan ti ubhohi passehi puppha-vanṭe katvā kata-mālaṃ*.

³ Perhaps 'like an anklet.' The Sam. Pās. says, *Mañgarī viya katā puppha-vikati mañgarikā ti*.

⁴ Perhaps 'like a fan.' The Sam. Pās. says, *Vidhutikā ti sūṭhiyā vā salākāya vā sinduvāra-pupphādīni viggḥitvā katā (mālā)*.

⁵ Perhaps 'like a crest.' The Sam. Pās. says, *vaṭamsako ti*

called *āveḷa*¹, of the kind called *uraḷḷhada*²;—and they then used to take or send wreaths of each of these various kinds to the wives and daughters and young women and sisters-in-law and female slaves in respectable families;—and they used to eat out of one dish, to drink out of one vessel, to sit on one seat, to lie on one bed, one mat, one coverlet, with the wives and daughters and young women and sisters-in-law and female slaves in respectable families;—and they used to eat food at the wrong time, and to drink strong drink, and to make use of garlands, and scents, and unguents;—and they used to dance, and sing, and play music, and wanton, and all these together in every combination.

2. And they used to amuse themselves at games³ with eight pieces and ten pieces, and with tossing up, hopping over diagrams formed on the ground, and removing substances from a heap without shaking the remainder; and with games at dice, and trap-ball; and with sketching rude figures, tossing balls, blowing trumpets, having matches at ploughing with mimic ploughs, tumbling, forming mimic wind-mills, guessing at measures, having

avatamsako. Compare the close of Rh. D.'s note on *vegha* for *avegha*, 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 37.

¹ Perhaps 'like an earring.' The Sam. Pās. says, *aḷelo* (sic) *ti kanṇikā*. Compare Sanskrit *āpīḍa*, and *Gâtaka*, vol. i, pp. 12, 95, 269.

² The Sam. Pās. says, *Uraḷḷhaddo ti hāra-sadisam ure-thapanakapuppā dāmaṃ*. 'Like mail-armour.'

³ All these games are forbidden *seriatim* in paragraph 4 of the *Magghima Sīla*, and the whole list of offences recurs in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Samghādisesa* XIII, 1, 2. See Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 193. We adhere to the translations there given and based on the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*.

chariot races, and archery matches, shooting marbles with the fingers, guessing other people's thoughts, and mimicking other people's acts;—and they used to practise elephant riding, and horse riding, and carriage driving, and archery, and swordsmanship;—and they used to run to and fro in front of elephants, and in front of horses, and in front of carriages;—and they used to exhibit signs of anger¹, and to wring their hands², and to wrestle³, and to box with their fists;—and spreading their robes out as a stage they used to invite dancing girls, saying, 'Here you may dance, sister!' and greet her with applause⁴. Thus manifold were the evil lives which they practised.

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu who had spent the rainy season in the country of Kâsi, and was on his way to visit the Blessed One, arrived at the Kiâ Hill. And that Bhikkhu in the early morning put on his under garment, and went, duly bowled and robed, to the Kiâ Hill for alms. And he was perfect in dignity, with his eyes cast down, and pleasing in appearance, whether in going in or

¹ *Usse/henti*. We are quite uncertain how to render this word. One might be tempted to think that a denominative verb from *usso/hi* may have acquired a technical sense appropriate to this passage. But we do not favour any such conjectural alteration of the clear reading of the MSS., at all events at present.

² *Appo/henti*. See Buddhaghosa's note quoted by Rh. D. in his note on the Book of the Great Decease, II, 19:

³ *Nibbugghanti*, which Buddhaghosa explains by *malla-yuddham karonti*. Compare *ubbugghati* at *Kullavagga* VIII, 10, and *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, 10, 26.

⁴ The Sam. Pâs. says, *Nalâ/ikam pi denti sâdhu sâdhu bhaginñti attano nalâ/e aṅgulim thapetvâ tassâ nalâ/e thapenti*.

in coming out, in looking or in watching, in bending in his arm or in stretching it forth¹.

Then the people on beholding that Bhikkhu, said, 'Who is this fellow like a fool of fools, or like an idiot of idiots, or like a simpleton of simpletons²? Who would give an alms when this fellow comes near! Now our own masters, the followers of Assagi and Punabbasu, are gentle, friendly, pleasant in speech, radiant with smiles, by no means fools, but open in countenance, and the first to speak. To such now it is fit to give an alms!'

And a certain lay-disciple saw that Bhikkhu as he was going along the Kiṇṇa Hill for alms. And on seeing him, he went up to the place where he was; and on coming there he said to that Bhikkhu:

'Has your reverence received an alms?'

'No, my friend, I have received no alms!'

'Come, your reverence! Let us go to my house!'

4. So the lay-disciple took the Bhikkhu to his house, and gave him to eat, and asked him:

'Whither then is your reverence going?'

'I am on my way to Sâvatthi, my friend, to visit the Blessed One.'

'Then let your reverence bow down at the feet of the Blessed One in my name, and say, "The residence on the Kiṇṇa Hill, Lord, has been spoiled. The Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu are dwelling on the Kiṇṇa Hill, wicked Bhikkhus, and shameless. Such as these are the

¹ Compare Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta II, 15.

² The Sam. Pâs. says, *Samkuṭṭa-mukhatâya bhâkuṭṭa-bhâkuṭṭa viya.*

evil practices they follow (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to the end). And people, Lord, who were formerly believers and full of faith, are now become non-believers and void of faith; the opportunities of alms that were formerly open to the *Samgha* are now destroyed; worthy *Bhikkhus* forsake, and wicked *Bhikkhus* dwell in the place. Let, Lord, the Blessed One be pleased to send (other) *Bhikkhus* to the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill in order that the residence there may be re-established.”

5. ‘Very well, my friend,’ said the *Bhikkhu*, in assent, to that lay-disciple. And rising from his seat, he set out for *Sāvattthi*, and went straight on to *Anātha-pindika*’s grove, to the *Getavana* in *Sāvattthi*, to the place where the Blessed One was staying. And on arriving there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side.

Now it is the custom for the Blessed Buddhas to exchange words of greeting with in-coming *Bhikkhus*. And the Blessed One said to that *Bhikkhu*, ‘Do things go well with you, O *Bhikkhu*? Have you enough for your support? Have you accomplished your journey without too much fatigue? And whence, O *Bhikkhu*, have you come?’

‘Things go well with me, Lord. I have enough for my support. And I have accomplished my journey without too much fatigue. I have spent the rainy season, Lord, in the land of *Kāśi*; and on my way to *Sāvattthi* to visit the Blessed One I arrived at the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill. And after having dressed early in the morning, I went, Lord, duly bowled and robed, on to the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill for alms. And a certain lay-disciple saw me (&c., as above, down to the end of § 4, with the alterations necessary to

the narrative form of speech). Thence, Lord, am I come.'

6. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-Saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus:

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu, and are dwelling on the Kiṭṭa Hill, are wicked Bhikkhus, and shameless; and that such are the evil practices they follow (&c., as in § 4, down to the end)?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'How can they, O Bhikkhus, foolish persons that they are, follow such practices as these (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to the end)? This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, to the conversion of the unconverted (&c., as usual. Compare chap. 1, § 2, down to the end).'

And when the Blessed Buddha had rebuked them, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the venerable Sāriputta and Moggallāna, and said, 'Go now, Sāriputta and Moggallāna¹, to the Kiṭṭa Hill. And on arriving there carry out the Pabbāganiya-kamma (Act of Banishment²) against those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu, to the effect that they may become your Saddhi-vihārikas³.'

¹ On this meaning of Sāriputtā, see the note on Mahāvagga X, 4, 3.

² That is, out of the particular place where they have caused the scandal, not of the Order. When they in anger left the Order, their conduct in doing so is blamed. See chap. 16, § 1.

³ See Mahāvagga I, 25, 6, and following, and Kullavagga VIII, 11, 12, and compare above, 9. 1.

‘How, Lord, can we carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma against those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu; for they are passionate men and violent?’

‘Then do you go, Sâriputta and Moggallâna, together with a number of Bhikkhus.’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said Sâriputta and Moggallâna, in assent, to the Blessed One.

7¹. ‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu ought to be warned: when they have been warned, they ought to be reminded (of the Rule in the Pâtimokkha against which they have offended); when they have been reminded they ought to be charged with the offence; when they have been charged some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the Saṃgha, saying,

“Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. These Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu are wicked Bhikkhus and shameless. Their evil practices are both seen and heard, and also that respectable families have been led astray by them is seen, too, and heard². If the time is fit for the Saṃgha to do so, let the Saṃgha carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma against those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu, to the effect that the Bhikkhus who are followers

¹ On this section compare chap. 1, § 4, chap. 9, § 2.

² Buddhaghosa points out that whereas the Tagganiya-kamma is directed against quarrelsomeness, and the nissaya-kamma against foolishness, it is scandal to the community against which the Pabbâganiya-kamma is directed.

of Assagi and Punabbasu are not to dwell on the Kiā Hill¹.

“ This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu are wicked Bhikkhus and shameless. Their evil practices (&c., as before, down to) is seen, too, and heard. The *Samgha* hereby carries out the Pabbāganiya-kamma against them, to the effect that the Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu are not to dwell on the Kiā Hill¹. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the carrying out of the Pabbāganiya-kamma against the followers (&c., as before) to the effect (&c., as before¹) let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“ A second time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before). A third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before).

“ The Pabbāganiya-kamma has been carried out by the *Samgha* against those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu to the effect that those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu are not to dwell on the Kiā Hill¹. The *Samgha* approves of it. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

14.

1. [Here follow the twelve cases in which a Pabbāganiya-kamma is declared to be against

¹ The corresponding clause to the words ‘to the effect,’ &c., is wanting in chap. 1, § 4, but occurs in chap. 9, § 2.

the law, and according to law respectively, in the precise wording of chapters 2 and 3, reading Pabbâganiya for Tagganiya. Then follow the six cases of permissive suspension in the precise wording of chapter 4, but in addition to the cases there given for the Tagganiya-kamma, §§ 1 and 2 of this chapter are respectively added at the end of §§ 1 and 2 of that chapter.]

1. 'There are three things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma against him; (that is to say), when he is characterised by frivolity¹ of action—when he is characterised by frivolity of speech—when he is characterised by frivolity both of action and of speech. These are the three things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) against him.

'There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma against him; (that is to say), when he is characterised by absence of right-doing in action—when he is characterised by absence of right-doing in speech—when he is characterised by absence of right-doing both in action and in speech. These are the other three things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) against him.

'There are other three things (&c., as in each of the last paragraphs; the three things here being injury² done by him to others in action, in speech, and both in action and in speech, owing to his own

¹ The Sam. Pâs. says, *Kâyiko davo nâma kâya-kîlâ vuḍḍati*.

² The Sam. Pâs. says, *Kâyikaṃ upaghâtitaṃ nâma kâya-dvâre paññatti-sikkhâpadassa asikkhana-bhâvena upahananam vuḍḍati*.

want of training in the precepts and practices of the order).

‘There are other three things (&c., as in each of the last paragraphs, the three things here being evilness of life in action, in speech, and both in action and in speech).

2. ‘There are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom, when the *Samgha* likes (to do so), it should carry out the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*; (that is to say), one who is frivolous in action—one who is frivolous in speech—one who is frivolous both in action and in speech. These are the three kinds of Bhikkhus (&c., as above, down to) the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*.

‘There are other three kinds of Bhikkhus (&c., as in the last paragraph, substituting first, absence of right-doing—secondly, injury to others—and thirdly, evilness of life respectively in action, in speech, and both in action and in speech).’

15.

[This chapter is identical with chapter 5, reading *Pabbâganiya* for *Tagganiya*.]

16¹.

1. So the Bhikkhu-*Samgha*, with *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna* at their head, proceeded to the *Kiâ* Hill, and there carried out the *Pabbâganiya-kamma* against those Bhikkhus who were followers

¹ Corresponding to chapters 6 and 11 above.

of Assagi and Punabbasu, to the intent that those Bhikkhus should no longer dwell on the Kizā Hill. And they, when subjected by the *Samgha* to the Pabbāganiya-kamma, did not conduct themselves aright, they did not become subdued, they did not seek for release, they did not ask the Bhikkhus for forgiveness, they reviled them, they found fault with them¹, saying that they were offending by acting in partiality, in ill-feeling, in folly, and in fear²; and they not only departed from the place, but also left the Order³.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were offended, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu, after having been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Pabbāganiya-kamma, refuse to conduct themselves aright (&c., as before, down to) leave the Order?' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-samgha, and asked the Bhikkhus:

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu, after having been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Pabbāganiya-kamma, refuse (&c., as before, down to) leave the Order?'

'It is true, Lord!'

¹ Compare *Samghādisesa* 13.

² These are the four so-called Agatis, usually occurring as the faults of a judge (Rh. D., 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. xxii, and Dasaratha Gâtaka, p. 1), but compare Sigālovāda Sutta, ed. Grimbolt, p. 299.

³ Compare Gâtaka I, 117, and Mahāvagga I, 39, 5.

‘How can those Bhikkhus who (&c., as before, down to) leave the Order? This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to the unconverted being not converted, and to the turning back of those which have been converted.’ And when the Blessed One had rebuked those Bhikkhus in various ways, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘Then, O Bhikkhus, let not the *Samgha* revoke the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*. There are five things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, from chapter 6, § 2, down to the end of chapter 7, reading *Pabbâganiya* for *Tagganiya*).’

Here end the eighteen cases in which there
ought to be a revocation (of the
Pabbâganiya-kamma).

17¹.

1. ‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should the revocation be carried out. The Bhikkhu, who has been subjected to the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*, should go before the *Samgha* (&c., as before in chapter 8, §§ 1, 2, down to the end).’

Here ends the third (*Kamma*), the
Pabbâganiya-kamma.

¹ Compare chapters 8 and 12.

IV.

THE PATISÂRANIYA-KAMMA (ACT OF RECONCILIATION).

18¹.

1. Now at that time the venerable Sudhamma was residing at *Makkhikāsanda* in dependence upon *Kitta* the householder, superintending² the new buildings he erected³, and being constantly supplied by him with food. And whenever *Kitta* the householder wished to give an invitation to the *Samgha*, or to four or five *Bhikkhus*⁴, or to a single one, he used not to invite them without making special mention of the venerable Sudhamma.

Now at that time a number of the Thera *Bhikkhus*, including the venerable *Sâriputta*, and the venerable *Mahâ Moggallâna*, and the venerable *Mahâ Kakkâna*, and the venerable *Mahâ Kottthita*, and the venerable *Mahâ Kappina*, and the venerable *Mahâ Kunda*, and

¹ The whole of this story of *Kitta* and Sudhamma recurs in the *Dhammapada* commentary, pp. 262–264. There is no Rule in the *Pâtimokkha* by which giving offence to a layman, the cause of the proceeding described in the following chapters, is considered worthy of censure.

² *Navakammiko*, not 'newly appointed to an office,' as Dr. Rudolf Hoernle translates in the *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 29, in dealing with one of the *Bharhut* Inscriptions. See *Gâtaka* I, 92, and below, V, 13, 3, VI, 5, 2, VI, 17, 1, X, 24. This duty of superintending a new building was even filled by *Bhikkhunis*; see the *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, where the details of the duty are incidentally mentioned.

³ Compare below, *Kullavagga* VI, 5, 2, and *Gâtaka* I, 92, 22.

⁴ This clause, both here and below, is omitted in the Sinhalese MS.

the venerable Anuruddha, and the venerable Revata, and the venerable Upâli, and the venerable Ânanda, and the venerable Râhula, as they were journeying through the country of Kâsi, arrived at *Makkhikâsanda*. And *Kitta* the householder heard the news that the Thera Bhikkhus had arrived at *Makkhikâsanda*.

Then *Kitta* the householder went up to the place where the Thera Bhikkhus were, and on arriving there, he saluted the Thera Bhikkhus, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable Sâriputta taught *Kitta* the householder, and incited him, and roused him, and gladdened him with religious discourse. And *Kitta* the householder, having been thus taught, and incited, and roused, and gladdened with religious discourse, said to the Thera Bhikkhus, 'May the venerable Theras consent to take their to-morrow's meal, as incoming Bhikkhus, at my house.' And the Thera Bhikkhus signified, by silence, their consent.

2. Then perceiving that the Thera Bhikkhus had given their consent, *Kitta* the householder rose from his seat, and bowed down before the Thera Bhikkhus, and keeping them on his right hand as he passed them, went on to the place where the venerable Sudhamma was. And on arriving there, he saluted the venerable Sudhamma, and stood by on one side. And so standing, *Kitta* the householder said to the venerable Sudhamma : 'May the venerable Sudhamma consent to take his to-morrow's meal at my house with the Theras.'

But the venerable Sudhamma, thinking, 'Formerly indeed this *Kitta* the householder, whenever he wished to give an invitation to the *Samgha*, or to

four or five Bhikkhus, or to a single one, used not to invite them without making special mention of me; but now he has invited the Thera Bhikkhus without regarding me. This *Kitta* the householder is now incensed against me, unfavourable to me, takes pleasure in me no longer.' And so thinking he refused, saying, 'It is enough, O householder.'

And a second time *Kitta* the householder said to the venerable Sudhamma (&c., as before, with the same result). And a third time (&c., as before, with the same result).

Then *Kitta* the householder, thinking, 'What can the venerable Sudhamma do against me, whether he consents, or whether he does not consent,' saluted the venerable Sudhamma, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

3. And at the end of the night *Kitta* the householder made ready sweet food, both hard and soft, for the Thera Bhikkhus. And the venerable Sudhamma, thinking, 'I may as well go and see what *Kitta* the householder has made ready for the Thera Bhikkhus,' robed himself early in the morning, and went, duly bowled and robed, to the place where *Kitta* the householder dwelt; and, on arriving there, he took his seat on a mat spread out for him.

Then *Kitta* the householder went up to the place where the venerable Sudhamma was; and after he had come there, he saluted the venerable Sudhamma, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable Sudhamma addressed *Kitta* the householder, and said: 'Though this great store of sweet food, both hard and soft, has been made ready by you, O householder, there is one thing yet wanting, that is to say, tila seed cake.'

‘Though then, Sir, there is so much treasure in the ward of the Buddhas, yet there is but one thing of which the venerable Sudhamma makes mention, and that is tila seed cake. Long ago, Sir, certain merchants of Dakkhiṇāpatha went, for the sake of their traffic, to the country of the East, and thence they brought back a hen. Now, Sir, that hen made acquaintance with a crow, and gave birth to a chicken. And, Sir, whenever that chicken tried to utter the cry of a cock it gave vent to a “caw,” and whenever it tried to utter the cry of a crow, it gave vent to a “cock-a-doodle-do¹.” Just even so, Sir, though there is much treasure in the ward of the Buddhas, whenever the venerable Sudhamma speaks, the sound is “tila seed cake.”’

4. ‘You are abusing me, householder. You are finding fault with me, householder. This place, householder, is yours. I must go away from it,’ said the venerable Sudhamma.

‘I do not intend, Sir, to abuse the venerable Sudhamma, nor to find fault with him. Let, Sir, the venerable Sudhamma still dwell at *Makkhikā-sanda*. Pleasant is this grove of plum trees, and I shall take good care to provide the venerable Sudhamma with those things a recluse requires—to wit, with robes and food and lodging and medicine when he is sick.’

And a second time the venerable Sudhamma said: ‘You are abusing me (&c., as before, with the same reply). And a third time the venerable Sudhamma said: ‘You are abusing me (&c., as before, down to) I must go away from it.’

¹ Compare *Gâtaka* I, 432; II, 307.

‘Whither then, Sir, will the venerable Sudhamma go?’

‘I shall go to Sâvatthi, O householder, to visit the Blessed One.’

‘Then, Sir, let the Blessed One know all, both what you yourself have said, and what I have said. And I should not, Sir, be surprised if the venerable Sudhamma were to return again even to *Makkhikâ-sanda*.’

5. So the venerable Sudhamma gathered together his sleeping mat, and set out, with his bowl and his robe, for Sâvatthi. And he journeyed straight on to Sâvatthi, to the *Getavana*, Anâthapindika’s Grove, to the place where the Blessed One was; and on arriving there he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated the venerable Sudhamma informed the Blessed One of all, both that he himself had said, and that *Kitta* the householder had said.

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, ‘This was improper, O foolish one, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a *Samana*, and ought not to have been done. How is it that you, O foolish one, could put down¹ and could lower by your censure² *Kitta* the householder, he being a man of faith, a believing disciple, and a donor, a provider, and a supporter of the *Samgha*?’ This will not conduce, O foolish one, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to the unconverted not being converted, and to the turning back of those who have been

¹ Compare *Dhammapada*, p. 263, and *Gâtaka* I, 191.

² Compare *Gâtaka* I, 191, 356, 359, and *Sutta Nipâta*, verse 905.

converted.' And after he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ' Let therefore the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, carry out the *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma* (Act of Reconciliation)¹ against the Bhikkhu Sudhamma, saying, "You are to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder."' "

6. ' Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhu Sudhamma ought to be warned : when he has been warned, he ought to be reminded (of the Rule in the *Pāti-mokkha* against which he has offended); when he has been reminded, he ought to be charged with the offence ; when he has been charged with the offence, some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

" " Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This Bhikkhu Sudhamma has put down, and has lowered by censure *Kitta* the householder, a man of faith, a believing disciple, a donor, provider and supporter of the *Samgha*. If the time is fit for the *Samgha* to do so, let the *Samgha* carry out the *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma* against the Bhikkhu Sudhamma.

" " This is the motion (*ñatti*).

¹ Childers proposes doubtingly to derive the word *Paṭisāraṇiya* from the root *smar*; but that that is impossible is probably sufficiently evident from the meaning of the word, which is quite clear from the context of this, and from the following chapters. Now at p. 530 of the *Lalita Vistara* the common Pāli phrase *sammodanīyam katham sārāṇīyam vītisāretvā* is represented by the Sanskrit *sammodanīḥ samraṅgaṇīḥ kathāḥ kṛtvā*. It is by no means impossible that this parallel may offer the true solution of the etymology of the Pāli words in question ; (compare *Sārāga* as equal to *saṃrāga*, *sāratta* to *saṃrakta*, &c. &c.) *Paṭisāraṇiya* would then be equal to *pratisamraṅgaṇiya*. See Senart, *Mahāvagga*, p. 599.

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) supporter of the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* hereby carries out the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* against the Bhikkhu Sudhamma with the words, ‘You are to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.’ Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the carrying out of the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* against Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before). A third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before).

“The *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* has been carried out against the Bhikkhu Sudhamma with the words, ‘You are to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.’ The *Samgha* approves the motion. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

19.

[Here the twelve cases of a proceeding against, and the twelve cases of a proceeding according to law are repeated of the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* in the words of chapters 2 and 3 of the *Tagganiya-kamma*.]

20¹.

1. ‘There are five things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* against him; (that is to say), when he goes about to bring

¹ See above, chapter 4.

loss on the laity—when he goes about to do harm to the laity—when he goes about to deprive the laity of their dwellings—when he reviles and finds fault with the laity—when he brings about division between the laity. These are the five things, O Bhikkhus, which (&c., as above, down to) against him.

‘There are other five things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* against him; (that is to say), when he speaks to the laity in dispraise of the Buddha—when he speaks to the laity in dispraise of the Dhamma—when he speaks to the laity in dispraise of the *Samgha*—when he puts laymen down, and lowers them by censure—when he does not fulfil a promise made in accordance with the Rules to the laity. These are the other five things, O Bhikkhus, which (&c., as before, down to) against him.

‘There are five kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma*; (that is to say), one who goes about to bring loss on the laity (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to the end).’

- Here end the four times five cases of suspicion.

21.

[Chapter 5, as to the right conduct of a Bhikkhu subjected to the *Tagganiya-kamma*, is repeated, reading *Paṭisâraṇiya* for *Tagganiya*.]

Here end the eighteen duties which follow on a
Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma.

22.

1. So the *Samgha* carried out the *Patissāraṇiya-kamma* against Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, saying, 'You are to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder. And after he had been subjected by the *Samgha* to the *Patissāraṇiya-kamma*, though he went to *Makkhikāsanda*, he was unable, being greatly troubled in his mind, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder, but returned again even to *Sāvatti*.

Then the Bhikkhus asked him, 'Has *Kitta* the householder been induced by you to give you his pardon?'

'Indeed, though I went to *Makkhikāsanda*, I was unable, being greatly troubled in my mind, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'Let, then, the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, appoint a companion messenger to Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.

'Now thus, O Bhikkhu, should the companion messenger be appointed. In the first place the Bhikkhu (who is to be sent) is to be asked (whether he is willing to go). After he has been asked, let some discreet and able Bhikkhu lay the matter before the *Samgha*, as follows:

"Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If the time seems meet to the venerable *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* appoint such and such a Bhikkhu as a companion messenger to Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.

"This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The *Samgha* hereby appoints such and such a Bhikkhu as a companion messenger to Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of such and such a Bhikkhu being appointed as a companion messenger to Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“Such and such a Bhikkhu has been appointed by the *Samgha* (&c., as before). The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

3. ‘Then, O Bhikkhus, let Sudhamma the Bhikkhu go, together with the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger, to *Makkhikâsanda*, and ask pardon of *Kitta* the householder, saying, “Pardon me, O householder; I desire to gain once more thy good pleasure.” If, when he thus speaks, he pardons him, it is well. If he pardon him not, the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger should say, “Pardon him, O householder; he desires to gain once more thy good pleasure.” If, when he thus speaks, he pardon him, it is well. If he pardon him not, the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger should say, “Pardon him, O householder; I desire to gain thy good pleasure.” If, when he thus speaks, he pardon him, it is well. If he pardon him not, the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger should say, “Grant pardon, O householder, to this Bhikkhu, in the name of the *Samgha* (I ask it).” If (&c., as before, down to). If he pardon him not, the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger—without going out of sight, and without going out of hearing,

of *Kitta* the householder—should make *Sudhamma* the *Bhikkhu* arrange his robe on one shoulder, and squat down on his heels, and stretch forth his two hands with the palms together, and so confess his fault.’

23.

1. So the venerable *Sudhamma* went, with another *Bhikkhu* as companion messenger, to *Makkhikâsanda*, and obtained pardon of *Kitta* the householder. And he conducted himself aright, and he became subdued, and he sought for release (&c., as above, in chapters 6, 7, down to the end).

Here end the eighteen cases in which there ought to be a revocation of the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma*.

24.

[In this chapter the *Kammavâṭṭa* of the revocation of the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* is given in words precisely similar to those of chapters 8 and 12.]

Here ends the fourth (*Kamma*), the
Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma.

V. THE UKKHEPANIYA-KAMMAS (ACTS OF SUSPENSION)
for not acknowledging, and for not atoning for,
an offence¹.

25.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was dwelling at Kosambī, in the Ghosita Ārāma. And at that time the venerable *Khanna*², when he had committed a fault, was not willing to acknowledge the fault. Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the venerable *Khanna* act so?' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, after he had convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, asked the Bhikkhus:

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that *Khanna*

¹ There is no mention in the Pātimokkha of any such proceeding. At the close of each of the four Pāṭidesaniya Rules there is a form of confession to be observed. It would seem from the following chapters, which are nowhere expressly confined to these four cases, that a similar confession was expected after the commission of an offence against any of the Pātimokkha Rules. In the closing words of the Saṃghādisesa Rules, an older proceeding is mentioned, under which an offending Bhikkhu who has not confessed any breach of either of those thirteen Rules is to remain on probation for as many days as he has allowed to go by without confessing.

² On *Khanna*'s character, see also below, IV, 14, 1, XI, 1, 12-14, and Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta VI, 4.

when he has committed a fault, is not willing to acknowledge the fault?’

‘It is true, Lord!’

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, ‘How, O Bhikkhus, can that foolish one act so? This will not conduce either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted being not converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.’

And when the Blessed One had so rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus and said: ‘Let therefore the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, carry out against *Khanna* the Bhikkhu the *âpattiyâ adassane Ukkhepaniya-kamma* (the Act of Suspension which follows on not acknowledging a fault) to the intent that he shall not eat or dwell together with the *Samgha*¹.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out.’ [Here follow the formal words of the *Kammavâkâ* as in chapter 1. 4, with the necessary alterations owing to the difference of the fault and of the *Kamma* following on it. And at the end of the *Kammavâkâ* (after the words ‘Thus I understand’) the following sentence is added.]

‘And send a proclamation, O Bhikkhus, from residence to residence²; saying, “*Khanna* the Bhikkhu has been subjected by the *Samgha* to the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not acknowledging a fault.”’

¹ Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 79 generally, and § 2 of that chapter on the last clause (*asambhogam samghena*).

² On this phrase the *Samanta Pāsādikā* says, *Âvāsa-paramparañ ka bhikkhave samsathā ti sabbāvāsesu ārokettha*.

26.

[Here follow the twelve cases in which a Kamma is against the law, and the twelve in which it is according to law; and also the six permissive cases in which it may be carried out, if the *Samgha* likes, precisely as in chapters 2, 3, and 4.]

27¹.

1. 'A Bhikkhu against whom the Ukkhepaniya-kamma that follows on not acknowledging a fault has been carried out ought to conduct himself aright. And herein this is the right conduct: he ought not to confer the upasampadâ—he ought not to give a nissaya²—he ought not to provide himself with a *sâmañera*²—he ought not to accept the office of giving exhortation to the nuns²—if he have accepted that office, he ought not to exhort the nuns²—he ought not to commit the offence for which the Ukkhepaniya-kamma that follows on not acknowledging a fault has been carried out against him—nor any offence of a similar kind—nor any worse offence—he ought not to find fault with the proceeding (that has been carried out against him)—nor with (the Bhikkhus) who have carried it out—³he ought not to accept from a regular Bhikkhu reverence, or

¹ As this chapter, containing the sammâ-vattanâ or right conduct, differs from the corresponding chapters of the preceding Kammās (chapters 5, 10, 15, and 21), it is here set out in full.

² See the passages quoted above (chapter 5).

³ The passage between these two figures recurs at II, 1, 1.

service, or salutation, or respect, nor allow him to provide a seat, or a sleeping-place, or water for the feet, or a foot-stool⁴, or a foot-towel⁵ for him, nor to carry his bowl or his robe, nor to shampoo him³—he ought not to harass a regular Bhikkhu with a complaint that he has failed in morality, or in conduct, or in doctrine, or in the mode of obtaining a livelihood—he ought not to cause division between a Bhikkhu and the Bhikkhus—he ought not to wear the outward signs of being a layman, or of being a follower of some other doctrine⁶—he ought not to follow the professors of other doctrines—he ought to follow the Bhikkhus—he ought to train himself in the training of the Bhikkhus—he ought not to dwell under one and the same roof with a regular Bhikkhu, whether in a place formally declared to be a residence, or to be not a residence, or in a place which is neither the one nor the other,—on seeing a regular Bhikkhu he ought to rise from his seat—he ought not to touch⁷ a regular Bhikkhu, either inside or outside (of the residence)—he ought not to raise objections against a regular Bhikkhu's taking part in the Uposatha ceremony⁸—or in the Pavâraṇâ

⁴ At II, 1, 1. Buddhaghosa explains this word as confined to a stool on which to place feet that have been washed (*dhota-pâda-~~th~~apanakam*).

⁵ Buddhaghosa says on the same expression in II, 1, 1, *pâda-kathaliyan* (sic) *ti adhota-pâda-~~th~~apanakam pâda-ghamsanam vâ*.

⁶ The Samanta Pâsâdikâ says, *Na titthiya-dhago ti kusaṭṭi-râdim na dhâretabbam*. Compare the use of *arahad-dhagam* at *Gâtaka* I, 65.

⁷ The Samanta Pâsâdikâ says, *Na âsâdetabbo ti na pâsâdetabbo* (compare the use of *âsâdesi*, *Gâtaka* I, 481). *Anto vâ bhi vâ ti vihâressa anto vâ bhi vâ*.

⁸ On this and the following sentences compare the passages quoted above, chapter 5.

ceremony—he ought not to issue command (to a junior, inhibiting him from going beyond the bounds, or summoning him to appear before the elders)—he ought not to set on foot a censure against any other Bhikkhu—he ought not to ask another Bhikkhu to give him leave (to rebuke that Bhikkhu)—he ought not to warn (another Bhikkhu whom he supposes to be offending)—he ought not to remind (another Bhikkhu of a law against which he supposes that Bhikkhu to be offending)—and he ought not to associate with the Bhikkhus.’

Here end the forty-three duties which follow on an Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not acknowledging a fault.

28.

1. So the *Samgha* carried out against *K'hanna* the Bhikkhu the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not acknowledging a fault to the effect that he should not eat or dwell together with the *Samgha*. And after he had been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not acknowledging his fault he went from that residence to another residence. And the Bhikkhus there did no reverence to him, rose not from their seats to welcome him, rendered him not service, offered him not salutation, paid not respect to him, offered him not hospitality, nor esteemed him, nor honoured him, nor supported him. And when he received from the Bhikkhus neither hospitality, nor welcome, nor esteem, nor honour, nor

support, he went from that residence to another residence. And the Bhikkhus there did no reverence to him, rose not from their seats to welcome him, rendered him not service (&c., as before, down to :) he went from that residence to another residence. And when he received no hospitality he returned back again even to Kosambi. Then he conducted himself aright, and he became subdued, and he sought for release, and going up to the Bhikkhus he spake as follows: 'I, Sirs, having been subjected by the *Samgha* to the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* am conducting myself aright in accordance thereto, and I am become subdued, and I seek for release. What now should I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* revoke the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not acknowledging his fault carried out against *Khanna* the Bhikkhu.

2. 'There are five things, O Bhikkhus, [&c., the rest of this section bearing the same relation to the last, which chapter 6, § 2, does to chapter 5.]'

Here end the forty-three cases [in which an *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not acknowledging a fault is not to be revoked].

29.

'There are five things, O Bhikkhus, [&c., as in chapter 7. This chapter being the exact opposite of chapter 28.]

Here end the forty-three cases [in which an *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not acknowledging a fault ought to be revoked].

30.

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, should the revocation be carried out [&c., as before, in chapters 8, 12, &c.]’

Here ends the fifth Kamma, namely, the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not acknowledging a fault.

31.

Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was dwelling at Kosambī, in the Ghosita Ārāma. And at that time the venerable Kāṇva, when he had committed a fault, was not willing to atone for that fault [&c., the proceeding in this case being the same, and laid down in the same words as the proceeding in the last case, chapters 25–30].

Here ends the sixth Kamma; namely, the Ukkhepaniya-kamma on not atoning for a fault¹.

¹ It will be seen from the above chapters, and especially from chapter 27, that the Ukkhepaniya-kamma is an Act, not of expulsion, but only of suspension. The ten cases in which a member of the Order could be expelled are those given above in Mahāvagga I, 60; and the technical word for ‘expel’ is *nāseti*.

VI. THE UKKHEPANIYA-KAMMA for not renouncing a sinful doctrine.

32.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying at Sāvattthi, in the *Getavana*, the grove of *Anāthapindika*. And at that time a certain Bhikkhu by name *Arittha*, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor¹, had fallen into a sinful belief of this kind; (that is to say), 'In this wise do I understand the Dhamma preached by the Blessed One, that to him who practises those things which have been declared by the Blessed One to be impediments²,

¹ In his commentary on the *Pāṭittiya*, quoted by Oldenberg in his note on this passage, Buddhaghosa explains this expression to mean 'born in a family of vulture slayers.' This does not help us much, vulture slaying as a regular occupation being somewhat incomprehensible, and not referred to elsewhere. Whatever its meaning, the occupation referred to is perhaps the origin of, or should at least be compared with, the statement of Ktesias (circa B. C. 400) in his 'Indika' (ed. C. Müller, Fragment xiii), that the Indians used not dogs but vultures, which they trained for that purpose, in hunting hares and foxes. Lassen in his 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' II, 638, 639, thinks this statement not incredible, very fairly comparing the use of falcons in Europe in the Middle Ages. It is not impossible that the correct rendering here should be 'vulture-catcher,' or 'vulture-trainer;' but we prefer to be literal.

² The only one of such things (*Dhammā*) known to us elsewhere in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* itself is deliberate falsehood. This is stated in *Mahāvagga* II, 3, 3 to be an impediment, which is explained by the Old Commentator, at *Mahāvagga* II, 3, 7, to mean an impediment to the attainment of the *Ghānas*, and other things of similar nature.

there will arise no impediment sufficient (to prevent his acquiring spiritual gifts)¹.

Now many Bhikkhus heard that *Arittha*, who had formerly (&c., as before, down to :) to be impediments. And those Bhikkhus went up to the place where *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, was; and on arriving there they asked *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, 'Is it true, friend *Arittha*, as they say, that you have fallen into a sinful belief (&c., as above, down to) spiritual gifts?'

'Certainly²! I do so understand the Dhamma preached by the Blessed One (&c., as before).'

2. 'Say not so, friend *Arittha*. Bear not false-witness against the Blessed One. For neither is it seemly to bring a false accusation against the Blessed One, nor could the Blessed One have spoken so. By many a figure, friend *Arittha*, have the things which are impediments been declared to be impediments by the Blessed One, and also to be sufficient to prevent him who cultivates them (from attaining to spiritual gifts)³. Lusts have been declared by the Blessed One to be of short taste⁴, full of pain, and full of despair, things wherein the danger is great. Lusts have been declared by the Blessed One to be like the bones of a skeleton, full of pain, and full of despair, things wherein the danger is

¹ This is word for word the same speech as that which is condemned in the 68th and 70th *Pâkittiyas*.

² Byâ is only known to us as an intensive particle occurring in passages like the present one.

³ So far this section is word for word the same as the 68th and the 70th *Pâkittiyas*.

⁴ Quoted at *Dhammapada*, ver. 186.

great. Lusts have been declared by the Blessed One to be like lumps of raw meat, full (&c., as before, down to :) is great. Lusts have been declared by the Blessed One to be like torches made of a wisp of hay . . . , like a pit full of live coals¹ . . . , like the visions of a dream . . . , like a beggar's portion . . . , like the fruits of trees . . . , like the sword and the slaughter-house . . . , like darts and clubs . . . , like snakes and creeping things, full of pain, and full of despair, things wherein the danger is great.'

Yet notwithstanding that Bhikkhu *Arittha*, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, when thus being addressed by the Bhikkhus, remained steadfastly adhering, in the very same way, and with violence, to that sinful doctrine, declaring, 'Verily I do so understand the Dhamma preached by the Blessed One (&c., as before, in § 1).'

3. Then since those Bhikkhus were unable to move *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, from that sinful doctrine, they went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when they had come there, they told this thing to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-samgha, and asked *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, 'Is it true, as they say, *Arittha*, that you have fallen into a sinful doctrine of such a kind (&c., as before, in § 1)?'

'Certainly, Lord! I do so understand (&c., as before, in § 1).'

¹ Compare *Gâtaka* I, 231, 232.

‘How can you, O foolish one, so understand the Dhamma preached by me? Have I not, by many a figure, O foolish one, declared the things which are impediments to be impediments, and sufficient to prevent him who cultivates them (from attaining to spiritual gifts)? Have not lusts been by me declared to be of short taste (&c., as above, down to :) like snakes and creeping things, full of danger, full of despair, things wherein the danger is great? Yet now you, O foolish one, by your having grasped that doctrine wrongly¹, are not only bearing false-witness against us, but you are also rooting yourself up, and are giving rise to much demerit, the which will be to you for a long time for an evil and a woe. This will not conduce, O foolish one, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who are unconverted not being converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted².’

When he had thus rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: ‘Let therefore the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, carry out against *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who was formerly a vulture tormentor, the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not renouncing a sinful doctrine, to the intent that he shall not eat or dwell together with the *Samgha*.’

4. ‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhu *Arittha* ought

¹ Compare Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta IV, 8-11.

² Up to this point the whole chapter recurs as the Introductory Story in the Sutta-vibhaṅga on the 68th Pâṭṭiya.

to be warned [&c., as in chapter 25, down to the end of the Kammavāṭṭa, including the supplementary sentence as to the proclamation].’

33.

[Here follow the twelve cases in which the Kamma is against the law, the twelve cases in which it is according to law, the six permissive cases in which it can be carried out if the Saṃgha likes, and the eighteen divisions of the right conduct for the convicted Bhikkhu to pursue, precisely as in chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5, reading ‘Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine,’ instead of ‘Tagganiya-kamma.’]

34.

1. So the Saṃgha carried out against Aritṭha the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine, to the intent that he should not eat nor dwell with the Saṃgha. And when he had been thus subjected by the Saṃgha to the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine, he left the Order.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can Aritṭha the Bhikkhu, having been subjected by the Saṃgha to the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not

renouncing a sinful doctrine, leave the Order?' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus, 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, having been subjected (&c., as before, down to) left the Order?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, 'How can *Arittha* the Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) leave the Order? This will not conduce either to the conversion of the unconverted, nor to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted not being converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.'

And when he had rebuked him, and delivered a religious discourse, the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Let then the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, revoke the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine, which has been carried out against *Arittha* the Bhikkhu.

'There are five things, O Bhikkhus, [&c., as before, in chapters 6 and 7, down to the end.]'

Here end the eighteen cases in which a revocation of the Ukkhepaniya-kamma on not renouncing a sinful doctrine should be carried out.

35.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out,’
&c. [Here follows the Kammavâkâ for the re-
vocation of a Kamma precisely as in chapter 8,
with the necessary alterations.]

Here ends the seventh(Kamma), the Ukkhepaniya-
kamma on not renouncing a sinful doctrine.

Here ends the First Khandhaka, the Khandhaka
on the Kammas.

SECOND KHANDHAKA.

PROBATION AND PENANCE.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying at Sâvatthi, in the *Getavana*, *Anâthapindîka*'s Grove. And at that time Bhikkhus who had been placed on probation¹ used to accept reverence and service and salutation and respect from regular Bhikkhus; and to allow them to provide a seat, or a sleeping-place, or water for the feet, or a foot-stool, or a foot-towel for them; and to carry their bowl or their robe, and to shampoo them².

¹ There are four principal kinds of probation; the first of which was required when the follower of another of the reforming sects was received into the Buddhist Order, and is described in *Mahāvagga* I, 38. The other three, which follow on the commission of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, are more particularly described below in the third Khandhaka. The Pâli names of these four are respectively *apaikkhanna-parivâsa*, *paikkhanna-parivâsa*, *suddhanta-parivâsa*, and *samodhâna-parivâsa*.

No conclusion should be drawn against this statement from the passage above at I, 9, 1; though *Seyyasaka*'s conduct, as there described, would not have rendered him liable to any one of these four principal probationary proceedings. For he is said to have been guilty of many offences (*âpatti-bahulo*). The accompanying enumeration must be taken, not as a description of those offences, but as additional to them. And the probation imposed upon him must have been for concealing one or more of the many offences not particularly specified.

² All these expressions recur above, I, 27, 1.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation accept reverence (&c., as above, down to) shampoo them?'

And those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus: 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation accept reverence (&c., as before, down to) shampoo them?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'How can those Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) shampoo them? This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus (&c., as usual, down to)¹ turning back of those who have been converted.'

And when he had rebuked them, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, saying, 'A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not to accept reverence (&c., as before, down to) shampoo them. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, to those Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation to do [all the courtesies, duties, and services mentioned above²] for one another, according to their seniority. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, five things (as permissible) to Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation,

¹ See I, I, 2, down to the end.

² That is, in the lists recurring in the previous paragraphs, and given in full at I, 27, 1.

according to their seniority; (that is to say), the Uposatha ceremony, the Pavâraṇâ ceremony, the share in robes for the rainy season, in things dedicated to the Saṃgha¹, and in food.

2. 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I make known to you a rule of conduct for Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation, according to which they ought to conduct themselves aright. And herein this is the right conduct. He ought not to confer the Upasampadâ (&c., as above, in I, 1, 5, down to the end)².

'A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to walk in front of, or to sit down in front of, a regular Bhikkhu. Whichever belonging to that company of Bhikkhus shall be the worst seat³, or the worst sleeping-place, or the worst room⁴, that shall be given to that Bhikkhu, and there-

¹ Onoganam, which the Samanta Pâsâdikâ explains by 'visaganam.' Compare the use of onogesi at Dîpavamsa XIII, 29. The etymology of the word is unknown to us.

² The Samanta Pâsâdikâ has here the following note on savaṇaniyam, which should be compared with the shorter note on the same word given above, I, 1, 5: Na savaṇaniyam kâtabban ti palibodhatthâya pakkosanatthâya vâ savaṇaniyam na kâtabbam. Palibodhatthâya hi karonto, aham âyasmantam imasmim vatthusmim savaṇaniyam karomi, imamhâ âvâsâ ekapadam pi mâ pakkami yâva na tam adhikaranam vûpasantam hotîti; evam karoti. Pakkosanatthâya karonto, aham te savaṇaniyam karomi, ehi mayâ saddhim vinaya-dharânam sammukhibhâvam gaṇkkhâmâ ti: evam karoti.

³ Buddhaghosa says here, Âsanapariyanto bhattaggâḍḍisu saṃgha-navak-âsanam vuṭṭati, svassa dâtabbo. Pariyanta is used here in the same sense as in the 22nd Nissaggiya.

⁴ Vihâra. In later times this word is no doubt always, or almost always, used to designate the whole of a building in which several or many Bhikkhus resided. In the older literature it always,

with shall he content himself. A Bhikkhu who has been placed under probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to visit the families who support a regular Bhikkhu (by officiating, in order to do so, as the companion who precedes or follows that regular Bhikkhu)—he ought not to devote himself to a forest life—he ought not to devote himself to living on alms personally received¹—he ought not to cause an alms to be brought out to him with the object of escaping an extension of his probationary term², thinking, “Let them not recognise me” (as one who has been placed under probation)³.

‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought, O Bhikkhus, to announce the fact of his having been so placed when he arrives at a residence as an incoming Bhikkhu—he ought to announce the fact to an incoming Bhikkhu—he ought to announce the fact at an Uposatha meeting—he ought to announce the fact at a Paṇḍita meeting—and, if he be sick, he ought to announce the fact at such meetings by means of a messenger⁴.

or almost always, denotes the dwelling-place, the private apartment, of a single Bhikkhu.

¹ That is, to refrain from *salāka-bhatta*, &c.

² The Samanta Pāsādikā says, *Tappaḥkayā 'ti niha/abhatto hutvā vihāren' eva nisīditvā bhuñganto vattiyo ganyayissāmi gaḥḥato me bhikkhū disvā anāroketassa rattikkhedo* (cap. 2) *siyā 'ti iminā kāraṇena pindapāto na niharāpetabbo*.

³ *Mā mā gānimsū 'ti mā mā ekabhikkhu pi gānātū 'ti ka iminā agghāsayaṇa vihāre sāmānerehi paṭṭapetvā bhuñgitum labbhati. Gāmaṃ pindāya pavisitabbam eva. Gilānassa pana navakammaṃ ātariyupagghāyakkāpāpasu* (sic) *tassa vā vihāre yeva akkhitum vaṭṭati. Sake pi gāme anekasatā bhikkhū viharanti na sakkā hoti āroketum gāmakāvāsam gantvā sabhāga//hāne vasitum vaṭṭati*.

⁴ This paragraph, it will be seen, is omitted in three out of the four following cases, which are otherwise similar in every respect,

3. 'A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go away from a residence in which Bhikkhus are living to a residence in which no Bhikkhus are living, unless with a regular Bhikkhu, or in time of danger. A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go away from a residence in which Bhikkhus are living to a place which is not a residence¹ and where no Bhikkhus are living, unless with a regular Bhikkhu, or in time of danger. A Bhikkhu (&c., as before) ought not to go away from a residence in which Bhikkhus are living, either to a residence or to a place which is not a residence, and where Bhikkhus are not living, unless (&c., as before)². . . . from a place which is not a residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place which is a residence, but where Bhikkhus are not living from a place which is not a residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place which is not a residence and where Bhikkhus are not living from a place which is no residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, either to a place which is not a residence or to a residence where no Bhikkhus are living from a place which is either a residence or not a residence, to a place which is a residence, but where no Bhikkhus are living from a place which is either a residence or no residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place

as regards the right conduct which is laid down for them, to the present case of the Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation.

¹ The Samanta Pāsādikā says, (Abhikkhuko āvāso) na hi tattha vuttharattiyo gāṇanupikā honti. pakatattena pana saddhim vaṭṭati. Anāvāso nāma kētiyagharam bodhigharam sammaṅgani-a/ako dārua/ako pāṇiyamā'o vaṭṭaku' dvārako//hako 'ti evamādi.

² In the text read āvāso vā anāvāso vā.

which is not a residence and where no Bhikkhus are living from a place which is either a residence or not a residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place which is either a residence or not a residence, but where no Bhikkhus are living, unless with a regular Bhikkhu or in time of danger.

‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go away from a residence where Bhikkhus are living to a residence where Bhikkhus are living, but where there may be Bhikkhus of different communities from his own (unless, &c., as before). [The same changes as in the last series are here rung upon this inhibition, down to] from a place which is either a residence or not a residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place which is either a residence or not a residence, and where Bhikkhus are living, but where there may be Bhikkhus of different communities from his own (unless, &c., as before).

‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought to go, O Bhikkhus, from a residence where Bhikkhus are living to a residence where Bhikkhus are living, and where there are Bhikkhus of the same community (with himself), if he knows, “This very day I can go there.” [Here follow the same permutations and combinations as in the last two series.]

4. ‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to dwell with a regular Bhikkhu in a residence under one and the same roof—nor in a place which is not a residence under one and the same roof—nor in a place which is either a residence or not a residence under one and the same roof. On seeing a regular Bhikkhu he

ought to rise from his seat¹; and he ought to offer his seat to a regular Bhikkhu. He ought not to sit down on one and the same seat with a regular Bhikkhu; when a regular Bhikkhu is seated on a low seat he ought not to sit down on a high seat²; when a regular Bhikkhu is seated on the ground he ought not to sit down on a seat³; he ought not to walk up and down on the same *kaṅkama*⁴ with a regular Bhikkhu; when a regular Bhikkhu is walking up and down on a low *kaṅkama* he ought not to walk up and down on a higher *kaṅkama*; when a regular Bhikkhu is walking up and down on the ground he ought not to walk up and down on a (properly prepared) *kaṅkama*.

‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to dwell (&c., all the other acts mentioned in the last paragraph being here repeated down to the end) with a Bhikkhu senior to himself who has been placed on probation . . . with a Bhikkhu who has been thrown back to the commencement of his term of probation . . . with a Bhikkhu who has rendered himself liable to the *Mānatta* discipline⁵ . . . with a Bhikkhu undergoing the *Mānatta* discipline . . . with a Bhikkhu who is in a position to receive rehabilitation⁶.

‘If a meeting of four Bhikkhus, of whom one is

¹ This recurs in Khandhaka I, chapter 27.

² Compare the 69th Sekhiya.

³ Compare the 68th Sekhiya.

⁴ A narrow space of open ground, levelled and cleared of jungle, for the purpose of being used to walk up and down upon when meditating. See our note on Mahāvagga V, 1, 14.

⁵ On these disciplines and on rehabilitation, see the following Khandhaka.

a probationer, should place a Bhikkhu on probation, or throw him back to the beginning of his probationary course, or subject him to the Mānatta discipline—or if a meeting of twenty Bhikkhus, of whom one is a probationer, should rehabilitate a Bhikkhu, that, O Bhikkhus, is an invalid act, and need not be obeyed¹.

Here end the ninety-four duties incumbent on
a probationer.

2.

1. Now the venerable Upāli went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and on arriving there, he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable Upāli said to the Blessed One: 'Now in what case, Lord, can there be an interruption of the probationary period of a Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation²?'

'There are three ways of interruption of the probationary period, O Upāli, of a Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation; (that is to say), by

¹ Compare Mahavāgga IX, 4, 1.

² Literally, 'breaking of the nights.' The time of probation was reckoned, not by days, but by nights; and in either of the three cases which follow the reckoning was interrupted, and had to begin afresh.

dwelling together¹, by dwelling alone², and by not announcing³.

‘These are the three ways of interruption to the probationary period, O Upâli, of a Bhikkhu who has been placed under probation.’

3⁴.

1. Now at that time, since there was a great company of the Bhikkhus gathered together at Sâvatthi, those Bhikkhus who had been placed on probation did not know how to carry out their probation correctly.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe to you, O Bhikkhus, to carry out your probation correctly. Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought you to postpone⁵ the probation. The Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation is to go up to a single Bhikkhu, and arranging his robe on one shoulder, and squatting down on his heels, and stretching forth his hands with the palms together, he is to say: “I postpone my probation.” Then the probation is postponed. Or he is to say: “I postpone

¹ Buddhaghosa explains this to mean when the probationer has done any of the things forbidden in II, 1, 4.

² That is, when the probationer has done any of the things forbidden in II, 1, 3.

³ That is, when the probationer has omitted to make any of the announcements prescribed at the end of II, 1, 2.

⁴ This chapter is repeated below, chap. 8, in reference to Bhikkhus undergoing the Mânatta discipline.

⁵ That is, if it should be impossible during the time immediately succeeding the imposition of probation to fulfil all the thereto necessary duties, then a Bhikkhu might postpone the fulfilment to some more convenient season.

the duties (i. e. of a probationer).” Then also the probation is postponed.’

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were at Sāvattthi went away hither and thither, and the Bhikkhus who had been placed on probation were not able to carry out their probation correctly¹.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe to you, O Bhikkhus, to take upon yourselves again the probation (which had been postponed). Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought you to take it upon yourselves again. The Bhikkhu who has been placed under probation is to go up to a single Bhikkhu, and arranging his robe on one shoulder, and squatting down on his heels, and stretching forth his hands with the palms together, he is to say: “I take my probation again upon myself.” Then the probation is resumed. Or he is to say: “I take the duties (i. e. of a probationer) upon myself again.” Then also is the probation resumed.’

Here end the duties incumbent on a probationer.

4.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhus, who had rendered themselves liable to be thrown back to the commencement (of their probationary course)², used to

¹ The Samanta Pāsādikā here says, *Evam vattam samādiyivā parivutta-parivāsassa mānattam ganhato puna vatta-samādāna-kikkam n’atthi samādinna-vatto yeva hi esa. Tasmāssa khārattam mānattam dātābham, kinna-mānatto abbhetaḍḍo, evam anāpattiḍo hutvā sudhante patiḍḍito tisso sikkhā pūretvā dukkhass’ antam karissatīti.*

² This is fully explained in the next Khandhaka.

accept reverence [&c., as before in chapter I, reading throughout 'Bhikkhus liable to be thrown back to the beginning of their probationary course' for 'Bhikkhus who had been placed on probation¹;' and omitting in chapter 2 the announcements referred to there in our note].

5.

[In this chapter the same rules are laid down, word for word, as in the last, reading throughout for 'Bhikkhus liable to be thrown back to the beginning of their probationary course,' 'Bhikkhus liable to be subjected to the Mânatta discipline'.²]

6.

[In this chapter the same rules for the Mânatta, or Penance, are laid down word for word as those in chapter I, §§ 1, 2, 3, and 4, for the probation, reading throughout 'Bhikkhus who are going through the Mânatta discipline' for 'Bhikkhus who have been placed under probation.' There are, however, one or two minor points of difference, which are as follows:

1. At the end of the announcements (chapter I,

¹ In the text alter the words 'Instead of samghena parivâso dinno hoti read samghena mûlâya paṭikassanâraho kato hoti' into 'Instead of parivâsikâ bhikkhû read mûlâya paṭikassanârahâ bhikkhû.'

² This is fully explained in the next Khandhaka.

§ 2) there is inserted the injunction, 'He ought to announce the fact every day.'

2. In the passages about going from one residence to another (chapter 1, § 3) read 'unless with the *Samgha*' instead of 'unless with a regular *Bhikkhu*.'¹

7.

1. Now the venerable Upâli went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and on arriving there, he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One: 'Now in what case, Lord, can there be an interruption of the *Mânatta* discipline² of a *Bhikkhu* who is undergoing that discipline?'

'There are four ways of interruption of the *Mânatta* discipline, O Upâli, of a *Bhikkhu* who is undergoing that discipline; (that is to say), by dwelling together³, by dwelling alone³, by not announcing³, and by living with less than four other *Bhikkhus*⁴. These are the four ways (&c., as before, down to) undergoing that discipline.'

¹ It will be seen, therefore, that there is very little, one might almost say no practical, difference between the *Parivâsa*, which we have rendered 'probation,' and the *Mânatta*, which we have usually left untranslated, and sometimes rendered 'penance.' Neither the one nor the other are at present enforced anywhere among the Buddhists.

² See chapter 2, note 1.

³ See the notes above on chapter 2.

⁴ The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says, *ûne gane ti ñattâro vâ atirekâ vâ*.

8.

[In this chapter the means of postponing and resuming the Mânatta penance are laid down, word for word, as in chapter 3, reading 'Bhikkhus who are undergoing the Mânatta discipline' for 'Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation.']

9.

[This chapter is word for word the same as chapter 1, reading 'Bhikkhus who have rendered themselves capable of receiving rehabilitation' for 'Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation.']

Here ends the Second Khandhaka, called the
Khandhaka on Probationers, &c.

THIRD KHANDHAKA.

PROBATION AND PENANCE (CONTINUED).

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying at Sāvatti, in the *Getavana*, Anāthapīṇḍika's Grove. And at that time the venerable Udāyi committed an offence, to wit, the first *Samghādisesa* offence, and did not conceal it. He told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I have committed an offence—the first *Samghādisesa* offence—and do not conceal it. What now shall I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* lay the *Mānatta* penalty on Udāyi the Bhikkhu for the space of six days on account of that offence—the first *Samghādisesa*—which he has not concealed.

2. 'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought it to be laid upon him. Udāyi the Bhikkhu ought to go up, O Bhikkhus, before the *Samgha*; and, arranging his robe on one shoulder, he ought to bow down at the feet of the elder Bhikkhus, and squatting down on his heels, and stretching forth his hands with the palms together, he ought to say as follows:

"I, venerable Sirs, have committed an offence—the first *Samghādisesa*—which I have not concealed. I ask the *Samgha* (to impose upon me) the *Mānatta* penalty for six days on account of this offence—the

first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which I have not concealed.”’

[This speech is repeated three times.]

3. ‘Some discreet and able Bhikkhu should then lay the matter before the *Samgha*, as follows :

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. Udâyi the Bhikkhu has committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he has not concealed. And he asks the *Samgha* for the *Mânatta* penalty for six days on account of that offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he has not concealed.

“If the time seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* impose a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration on Udâyi the Bhikkhu for that one offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he has not concealed.

“This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“The *Samgha* hereby imposes a *Mânatta* of six days on Udâyi the Bhikkhu for that one offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he has not concealed.

“Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the imposition of a *Mânatta* (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) not concealed, let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing (&c., as before in the last two paragraphs). A third time I say the same thing (&c., as before).

“The *Samgha* has imposed a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration (&c., as before, in the words of the motion, down to) not concealed. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”’

2.

1. When he had done the Mânatta he told the Bhikkhus, saying, ' Friends, I committed an offence—the first Samghâdisesa offence—which I had not concealed. And I asked the Samgha for a Mânatta of six days' duration for that offence—the first Samghâdisesa offence—which I had not concealed. The Samgha imposed upon me a Mânatta (&c., as before, down to) not concealed. Now I have accomplished that Mânatta. What now shall I do ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Then, O Bhikkhus, let the Samgha rehabilitate Udâyi the Bhikkhu.

2. ' Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought he to be rehabilitated.

' Udâyi the Bhikkhu ought to go up (&c., as in chapter 1, § 2, down to) he ought to say as follows :

" I committed, venerable Sirs, an offence—the first Samghâdisesa offence—which I did not conceal. I asked the Samgha (to impose upon me) a Mânatta of six days' duration for that offence—the first Samghâdisesa offence—which I had not concealed. The Samgha imposed upon me a Mânatta of for not concealed. I, having accomplished that Mânatta, ask the Samgha for rehabilitation."

[This speech is repeated three times.]

3. ' Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu [&c., as before in chapter 1, § 2, the rest of the kamma-vâkâ bearing the same relation to the petition as it does there].'

3.

1. Now at that time the venerable Udâyi had committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he had for one day concealed.

He told the Bhikkhus (&c., as before).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* impose a probation of one day on Udâyi the Bhikkhu for an offence (&c., as in the first paragraph of this section down to) concealed.

2. ‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought it to be imposed—’

[Here follows the *kammavâkâ* precisely as in chapter 1, §§ 2 and 3, with the necessary changes in the wording, a. of the offence, b. of the penalty.]

4.

1. When he had passed through the probation he told the Bhikkhus, saying, ‘I committed, friends, an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which for one day I concealed. I asked the *Samgha* to impose upon me a probation of one day for the offence concealed. The *Samgha* imposed concealed. I have passed through that probation. What now should I do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha* impose upon Udâyi the Bhikkhu a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration.’

2, 3. [Here follows the *kammavâkâ* as in chapter 1, §§ 2, 3, to the end.]

5.

1. When he had accomplished the Mânatta he told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I committed (&c., as 4. 1, down to) for one day concealed. I asked, &c. . . . The Samgha imposed a probation, &c. . . . When I passed through that probation the Samgha imposed a Mânatta of &c. . . . for &c. . . . I have accomplished that Mânatta. What now shall I do?'

They told that matter to the Blessed One.

'Let then the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, rehabilitate Udâyi the Bhikkhu.'

2, 3. [Here follows the kammavâkâ as in chapter 2, §§ 2, 3, to the end.]

6.

[This chapter is the same as chapter 3, reading 'for two—three—four—five days concealed,' and 'probation of two—three—four—five days.']

7.

1. Whilst he was undergoing that probation, he committed an offence—the first, &c.—which he did not conceal.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I committed, &c. . . . I asked the Samgha, &c. . . . The Samgha imposed upon me a probation of two—three—four—five days. Whilst I was undergoing that probation, I committed, &c. . . .'

They told that matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, throw back Udâyi the Bhikkhu to the commencement (of his probationary course).’

2, 3. [Here follows the *kammavâkâ* as in chapter I, with the necessary alterations.]

8.

1. When he had undergone that probation, and was liable to the *Mânatta*, he committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he did not conceal.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, &c. . . .

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, throw back Udâyi the Bhikkhu to the commencement (of his probationary course).’

2, 3. [Here follows the *kammavâkâ* in the same form as is given in chapter I.]

9.

1. When he had undergone that probation he told, &c. . . .

They told, &c. . . .

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon Udâyi the Bhikkhu a *Mânatta* of six days’ probation for these offences.’

2, 3. [The *kammavâkâ* as before.]

10.

1. While he was undergoing that *Mânatta* he

committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he did not conceal.

He told the *Bhikkhus*, saying, ‘I committed, &c. . . . I asked the *Samgha*. . . . The *Samgha* imposed [&c., going through all that had happened, down to the end of the first paragraph in this chapter].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O *Bhikkhus*, impose upon *Udâyi* the *Bhikkhu* a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration, throwing him back to the commencement (of his *Mânatta*).

[The *kammavâkâ* as before.]

11.

1. When he had accomplished that *Mânatta*, and while he was worthy to be rehabilitated, he committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he did not conceal.

He told the *Bhikkhus* [all that had happened from chapter 6 onwards down to this last offence].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O *Bhikkhus*, impose upon *Udâyi* the *Bhikkhu* a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration, for that he when he had (&c., as in first paragraph down to) not conceal, throwing him back to the commencement (of his *Mânatta*).

‘Now thus, O *Bhikkhus*, [here follows the *kammavâkâ* as before.]

12.

1. When he had accomplished that Mânatta he told the Bhikkhus [all that had happened].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, rehabilitate Udâyi the Bhikkhu.

‘Now thus [here follows the kammavâkâ as before].

13.

1. Now at that time the venerable Udâyi committed an offence—the first Saṃghâdisesa—and for half a month he concealed it.

[The rest of this chapter is precisely the same as chapter 3, reading ‘for half a month’ instead of ‘for one day.’]

14.

1. Whilst he was undergoing that probation he committed an offence—the first Saṃghâdisesa—which for five days he concealed.

He told, &c. . . . ‘I committed, &c. . . . I asked, &c. . . . The Saṃgha imposed a probation of half a month, &c. . . . Whilst I was undergoing, &c. . . . What now shall I do?’

They told, &c.

‘Let then the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, for that whilst (&c., as in the first paragraph) throw Udâyi the Bhikkhu back to the beginning of his probationary

term, and impose upon him an inclusive probation (to include his new offence together) with the former offence¹.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follow two kammavâkās, one for the throwing back, and one for the additional probation, each of them as in chapter 1.]’

15.

1. When he had undergone that probation, and while he was liable to the Mânatta, he committed an offence—the first Samghâdisesa—which for five days he concealed.

He told, &c. . . . [all that happened, from chapter 13 downwards].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, for that he when he had (&c., as in the first paragraph) throw Udâyi the Bhikkhu back to the commencement of

¹ Samodhâna-parivâsa. It is clear from the next chapter that this probation did not affect the Mânatta to which he was liable for that first offence. The Mânatta always lasted six days, and was preceded by a probation equal in length to the time during which the offence had been concealed. If now, during that probation, another offence was committed and concealed, the penalties for this new offence and for the old one were not accumulative but concurrent. The offender lost the advantage of the probation he had already undergone, he was thrown back to the commencement of his term of probation, and had to begin again. But the new term of probation—equal in length to whichever was the longest of the two periods during which he had concealed the two offences—satisfied both the concealments, and the Mânatta which still, as it would have done before, followed at the end of the probation, satisfied both the offences. See our note below on chapter 20.

his probationary term, and impose upon him an inclusive probation (for this and) for the former offence.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follow two kam-mavâkâs, as in the last chapter.]’

16.

1. When he had undergone that probation he told the Bhikkhus, &c. [all that had happened since chapter 13].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon Udâyi the Bhikkhu a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration for these offences¹.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follows one kam-mavâkâ in the form given in chapter 1.]’

17.

1. While he was undergoing that *Mânatta* he committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he for four days concealed.

He told, &c. . . . [all that had happened, from chapter 13 downwards].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, for that while (&c., as in the first paragraph) throw Udâyi the Bhikkhu back to the commencement (of the probationary term he had already undergone), and impose

¹ As in chapter 9.

upon him an inclusive probation (for this and) for the first offence, and also a Mânatta of six days' duration.

'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follow three kammavâkâs, one for the throwing back, one for the inclusive probation, and one for the new Mânatta, each of them on the same form as that given in chapter 1.]'

18.

1. When he had accomplished that Mânatta, and while he was worthy to be rehabilitated, he committed an offence—the first Samghâdisesa—which for five days he concealed.

He told, &c. [all that happened, from chapter 13 downwards].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Let then the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, for that when he had (&c., as in the first paragraph) throw Udâyi the Bhikkhu back to the commencement (of the probationary term he had already undergone) and impose upon him an inclusive probation for this and for the first offence, and a Mânatta of six days' duration.

'Now thus, &c. . . . [Here follow three kammavâkâs as in chapter 17.]'

19.

1. When he had accomplished the Mânatta he told the Bhikkhus [all that happened, from chapter 13 downwards].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha* rehabilitate Udāyi the Bhikkhu.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follows the *kammavāḱā* as in chapter 5.]’

Here end the proceedings on the breach of the
first *Samghādisesa*.

20.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, one of which he had concealed for one day, one for two days, one for three days, [and so on down to] and one for ten days.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I have committed, (&c., as before, down to) and one for ten days. What now shall I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon that Bhikkhu an inclusive probation according to one of those offences which has been concealed for ten days¹.'

'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought it to be imposed.'

¹ From this and what follows it is clear that however many are the offences, and however various the periods of concealment, the probation is only to last for the same period as the longest of the concealments has lasted. Thus the *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says here : *agghasamodhâno nâma sambahulâsu âpattisu yâ ekâ vâ dve vâ tisso vâ sambahulâ vâ âpattiyo sabba~~kirapa~~ti~~kk~~hannâyo tâsam agghena samodhâya tâsam rattipari~~kk~~hedavasena avasesânam ânatarapati~~kk~~hannânam âpattinam parivâso diyyati. Yassa pana satam âpattiyo dasâhapati~~kk~~hannâ, aparam pi satam âpattiyo dasâhapati~~kk~~hannâ ti, evam dasakkhattum katvâ âpattisahassam divasasatapati~~kk~~hannam hoti, tena kim kâtabban ti? Sabbam samodhâpetvâ dasa divase parivasitabbam, evam eken' eva dasâhena divasasatam pi parivasitam eva hoti. Vuttam pi k' etam :*

*dasasatam rattisatam âpattiyo kkhâdayitvâna
dasarattiyo vasitvâna mukkeyya parivâsiko.*

[Here follows the *kammavâkâ* in the form given at chapter I, §§ 2, 3, to the end.]

21.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, one of which he had concealed for one day, two for two days, three for three days, [and so on down to] and ten for ten days.

He told, &c.

They told, &c.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon that Bhikkhu an inclusive probation equal in duration to the longest time during which he has concealed any one or more of those offences¹.’

[Then follows the *kammavâkâ* as before.]

22.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences which he had concealed for two months. And it occurred to him, ‘Lo! I have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences which I have concealed for two months. Let me now ask the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for one offence concealed for two months.’ And he asked the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for

¹ Literally, ‘according to the value of whichever offences among those offences have been the longest concealed.’

one offence concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposed upon him a probation (&c., as before, down to) for two months. Whilst he was undergoing that probation, shame overcame him in that he thought, 'I have committed, &c. . . . And it occurred to me, &c. . . . And I asked, &c. . . . And the *Samgha* imposed And whilst I was undergoing (&c., as before, down to) for two months.'

'Let me now ask the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for the other offence concealed for two months.'

2. He told the Bhikkhus [all that had happened]. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. 'Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon that Bhikkhu a probation of two months for that other offence concealed for two months.'

[Here follows the *kammavâkâ* as before.]

'Then that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should undergo probation for two months from that date¹.'

23.

1. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences [&c., as before, in the first paragraph of the last chapter down to the end]. And he asks the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for that other offence concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposes upon him a probation of two months for that other offence

¹ *Tadupâdâya*; see chapters 23. 1 and 2, 24. 3.

concealed for two months¹. That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, ought to continue on probation for two months from that date.

2. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he has concealed for two months. And he is aware of one offence, but of the other offence he is not aware. And he asks the *Samgha* for a two months' probation for that offence of which he is aware, concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* gives him a probation of two months for an offence concealed for two months. And whilst he is undergoing that probation he becomes aware of the other offence. Then it occurs to him,

"Lo! I have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) I became aware of the other offence. Let me now ask the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for that other offence concealed for two months."

'And he asks the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for that other offence concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposes upon him a probation of &c. . . . for &c. . . . That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, ought to continue on probation for two months from that date.

3. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu commit two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he conceals for two months; and one offence he recollects, but the other offence he does not recollect. And he asks the *Samgha* (&c., as in the last section, down to the end, reading "recollect" for "be aware of").

¹ This is merely repeated to lay a basis for the following variations. See below, chapter 25.

4. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu commit two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he conceals for two months; and of one offence he is not doubtful¹, but of the other offence he is doubtful. And he asks the *Samgha* (&c., as in the last section, reading "is doubtful" for "does not recollect").

5. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu commit two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he conceals for two months; and one offence he conceals wittingly, but the other offence he conceals unwittingly. And he asks the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for those two offences concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposes upon him a probation of two months for those two offences concealed for two months. And whilst he is undergoing that probation there arrives a Bhikkhu who is versed in the traditions, acquainted with the tradition, a custodian of the Dhamma, of the Vinaya, and of the *Mâtikâs*², clever, discreet, wise, modest, sensitive, willing to learn. And he speaks thus:

"What has this Bhikkhu, O friends, been guilty of, and why is he on probation?"

'And they reply: "This Bhikkhu, O friend, has committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he concealed for two months; and one offence he concealed wittingly, and one offence he concealed unwittingly. He asked the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for those two offences concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposed upon him a probation of two months for those two offences con-

¹ In chapter 34, § 1, *di//hî*, instead of *nibbematiko*, is put in opposition to *vematiko*.

² See our note above, on *Mahāvagga* II, 21, 2, and compare VII, 1, 7; VIII, 32, 1; X, 1, 2; *Kullavagga* I, 11, 1.

cealed for two months. Therein, O friend, is this Bhikkhu guilty, and therefore is he on probation."

'And he rejoins: "The offence which he wittingly concealed, O friends, for that the imposition of a probation is valid, and by reason of its validity it takes effect¹. But the offence which he unwittingly concealed, O friends, for that the imposition of a probation is invalid, and by reason of its invalidity it does not take effect. For this offence, O friends, the Bhikkhu is liable to a Mânatta."

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu commit two Samghâdisesa offences, which he conceals for two months. And one offence he conceals recollecting it, but the other offence he conceals without recollecting it.'

[Here follow the same remarks as in the last section, down to the end, reading 'recollecting it' for 'wittingly.']

24.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu committed two Samghâdisesa offences which he concealed for two months. And it occurred to him, 'Lo! I have committed, &c. . . . for two months. Let me now ask the Samgha for a probation of one month for &c. . . .' He asked the Samgha for a probation of one month for &c. . . . The Samgha imposed upon him a probation of one month for &c. . . . Whilst he was undergoing that probation, shame (for the way

¹ This expression recurs below, chaps. 25, 27, &c. Compare the use of rūhati at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 5.

in which he had acted) overcame him. 'Let me now ask the *Samgha* for a (further) probation of one month for the two *Samghâdisesa* offences concealed for two months.'

2. He told the *Bhikkhus* [all that had happened, in the words of § 1, and asked them], 'What now shall I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. 'Let then the *Samgha*, O *Bhikkhus*, impose upon that *Bhikkhu* a probation for a further month for those two *Samghâdisesa* offences concealed for two months.'

[Here follows the *kammavâkâ* in the form given in chapter 1, §§ 2, 3.]

'Thus that *Bhikkhu*, O *Bhikkhus*, should undergo probation for two months from that date¹.'

25.

1. 'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* commit two *Samghâdisesa* offences which he conceals for two months. And it occurs to him (&c., as in last chapter). . . . And he asks And the *Samgha* imposes And whilst he is undergoing that probation, shame (&c.) overcomes him, &c. . . . And he asks the *Samgha* for a probation of a further month for those two *Samghâdisesa* offences concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposes upon him a further probation, &c. . . . Then, O *Bhikkhus*, that *Bhikkhu* should from that date undergo that further

¹ See above, chap. 22. 3.

probation of one month for those two *Samghâdisesa* offences concealed for two months¹.

2, 3. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he conceals for two months. And of one month he is aware, but of the other month he is not aware . . . one month he recollects, but the other month he does not recollect . . . one month he wittingly conceals, but the other month he unwittingly conceals.'

[This chapter is word for word the same as chapter 23, reading 'month' for 'offence.']

26.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences; but he was not aware of the degree of the offences², and was not aware of the duration of the times²; or he did not recollect the degree of the offences, and did not recollect the duration of the times; or he was uncertain as to the degree of the offences, and was uncertain as to the duration of the times.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I have committed, &c. . . but I am not aware, &c. . . I do not recollect, &c. . . I am uncertain, &c. . . What now shall I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Then let the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon that Bhikkhu a probation of complete purifi-

¹ This repetition of the last chapter is again only to afford a basis for the succeeding variations, as above, in chap. 23.

² That these are plurals, and not singulars, is clear from § 3, below.

cation (that is to say, a probation for as many days as have elapsed since the date of his upasampadâ)¹.

2. 'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be imposed.'...

[Here follows the *kammavâḥā* in the same form as is given in chapter 1.]

3. 'In the following cases, O Bhikkhus, is the probation of complete purification to be imposed; and in the following cases is the (ordinary) probation to be imposed. Now in what cases is the probation of complete purification to be imposed? When he is not aware of the degree of the offences, nor of the duration of the times; when he does not recollect the degree of the offences, nor the duration of the times; and when he is not certain as to the degree of the offences, nor as to the duration of the times—then is the probation of complete purification to be imposed.

'When he is aware of the degree of the offences, but not of the duration of the times; when he does recollect the degree of the offences, but not the duration of the times; when he is certain as to the degree of the offences, but not as to the duration of the times—then is the probation of complete purification to be imposed.

'When he is aware recollects is certain of the degree of some, but not of others of the offences, and is not aware of does not recollect is not certain of the duration of the times²—then &c.

'When he is not aware does not recollect

¹ *Suddhanta-parivâso*. The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says, *Tam gahetvâ gahita-divasato yâva upasampadâ-divaso tâva rattiyo gahetvâ parivasitabbam*.

² This and the following sentences are given in the text in full, as in the last paragraph.

is not certain of the degree of the offences, and is aware recollects is certain of the times of some, but not of the times of the others—then, &c.

‘When he is aware recollects is certain of the degree of the offences, and is aware recollects is certain of the times of some, but not of the times of others—then, &c.

‘When he is aware recollects is certain of the degrees of some of the offences, but not of others ; and is aware recollects is certain of the times of some, but not of the times of others—then, &c.

‘In these cases, O Bhikkhus, is the probation of complete purification to be imposed.

4. ‘And in what cases, O Bhikkhus, is the (ordinary) probation to be imposed? When he is aware recollects is certain of the degree of the offences, but is not aware does not recollect is not certain of the duration of the times—then is the (ordinary) probation to be imposed.

‘When he is not aware does not recollect is not certain of the degree of the offences, but is aware recollects is certain of the duration of the times—then &c. . . .

‘When he is aware recollects is certain of the degree of some of the offences, but not of others ; and is aware recollects is certain of the duration of the times—then &c. . . .

‘In these cases, O Bhikkhus, is the (ordinary) probation to be imposed¹.’

Here ends the probation.

¹ That is to say, shortly ; if the guilty Bhikkhu can determine the time during which the offence has been concealed (on which the length of the probation depends), then he is to undergo the

27.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, whilst he was under probation, threw off the robes. Afterwards he came back again, and asked the Bhikkhus for upasampadâ. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu throws off the robes whilst he is under probation, there can follow no probation to him, O Bhikkhus, so long as he is out of the Order. If he afterwards receive the upasampadâ, the original probation (previously imposed upon him, still remains obligatory) upon him. A probation once imposed, is imposed for good; a probation once undergone, is undergone for good; if any (portion of the time) remain over, the probation must be again undergone (from the beginning).

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, whilst he is undergoing probation, becomes a Sâmanera. There can happen no probation to him, O Bhikkhus, so long as he is a Sâmanera. If he afterwards receives the upasampadâ (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to the end).

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, whilst he is undergoing probation, goes out of his mind . . . becomes weak in his mind . . . diseased in his sensations . . . is suspended for not acknowledging an

corresponding probation. If not, he is to undergo the so-called ‘probation of complete purification,’ which, as it is computed from the date of his ordination, is quite certain to be as long as the time of the longest concealment of any offence.

offence for not atoning for an offence for not recanting a sinful doctrine¹—there can happen no probation to him, O Bhikkhus, so long as he is out of his mind weak in his mind suspended, &c. If he afterwards becomes not out of his mind becomes not weak in his mind is restored from the suspension, the original probation is still obligatory upon him. A probation once imposed (&c., as in the first paragraph, down to the end).

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, whilst he is liable to be thrown back to the commencement of his probation, throws off the robes (&c., as in all the paragraphs of section 1, reading "liable to be thrown back," for "undergoing probation").'

3. [The same for a Bhikkhu who throws off the robes, or becomes any of the seven things specified, whilst he is liable to be subjected to the Mānatta discipline;

4. Or is undergoing the Mānatta discipline;

5. Or is fit to be rehabilitated.]

Here end the forty² cases (of interruption to a major disciplinary proceeding from a change of state in the person undergoing that discipline).

28.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, whilst a Bhikkhu is undergoing probation, he commit numerous *Samghâ-*

¹ The text has a separate paragraph for each of these cases.

² That is, on any of the above eight events occurring in any of the above five cases.

disesa offences, definite¹, but not concealed, that Bhikkhu is to be thrown back to the commencement of his probation.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, whilst a Bhikkhu is undergoing probation, he commit numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, definite, and concealed, that Bhikkhu is to be thrown back to the commencement of his probation, and an inclusive probation is to be imposed upon him according to the duration of time since the first of the offences which he has thus concealed.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, whilst a Bhikkhu is undergoing probation, he commit numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, grievous, and some of them concealed, some of them not concealed, that Bhikkhu must (as in the last paragraph to the end).

'In case, O Bhikkhus, whilst a Bhikkhu is undergoing probation, he commit numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, not definite, and not concealed . . . not definite, and concealed² . . . not grievous, and some of them concealed, others not concealed . . . some definite, and some not definite and not concealed . . . some definite, and some not definite and (all) concealed . . . some definite, and some not definite, some concealed, some not concealed—then that Bhikkhu is to be thrown back, and an inclusive probation is to be imposed upon him, according to the duration of

¹ *Parimâṇâ*, the meaning of which is open to much doubt. The *Samanta Pāsādikā* merely says, *Antarâ sambâhulâ âpattiyo âpaggati parimâṇâ paṭikkhannâyo ti âdisu âpatti-parikkheda-vase parimâṇâyo k'eva appaṭikkhannâyo kâ'ti attho*. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that the word is acc. fem. plur., and not an adverb. Compare chap. 33, below.

² The text has a full paragraph for each of these cases.

the time since the first of the offences which he had concealed.'

[The same if the offences are committed whilst he is liable to the Mânatta discipline, or undergoing the Mânatta discipline, or pending his rehabilitation.]

Here end the thirty-six cases (of fresh offences being committed whilst under probation)¹.

29.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, but has not concealed them, throw off the robes, and he, having afterwards again received the *upasampadâ*, does not conceal them. A Mânatta, O Bhikkhus, is to be imposed upon that Bhikkhu.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) throw off the robes, and he, having afterwards again received the *upasampadâ*, does conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, a probation is to be imposed according to the duration of the time during which he has concealed any offence in the batch of offences thus afterwards concealed²; and after that a Mânatta is to be imposed.

¹ This chapter is repeated below, chap. 33, for the cases in which a new ordination has followed after the offences have been committed.

² The Samanta Pâsâdikâ says, *Pakkhimasmim âpattikkhandhe ti eko 'va so âpattikkhandho, paññâditattâ pana pakkhimasmim âpattikkhandhe ti vuttam. Purimasmin ti etthâpi es'eva nayo.*

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, and has concealed them, throw off the robes, and he, after having again received the *upasampadâ*, does not conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, a probation is to be imposed according to the duration of the time during which he has concealed any offence in the batch of offences thus previously concealed¹; and after that a *Mânatta* is to be imposed upon him.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, and has concealed them, throw off the robes, and, after again receiving the *upasampadâ*, he does conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, a probation is to be imposed corresponding to the duration of the time during which he has concealed any offence either in the first or in the batch of offences thus afterwards concealed; and after that a *Mânatta* is to be imposed upon him.

²2. ‘[In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have com-

¹ See the close of the last note.

² This section should correspond to chap. 31, section 2, but as noted by H. O. in his edition of the text, p. 312, there is very great confusion in the MSS. We ought to have four cases of which the distinctions are as under. Those offences

1	{ concealed before	are afterwards not concealed	}	+	—
	{ not concealed before	„ not „	}	—	—
2	{ concealed before	„ not „	}	+	—
	{ not concealed before	„ concealed	}	—	+
3	{ concealed before	„ concealed	}	+	+
	{ not concealed before	„ not concealed	}	—	—
4	{ concealed before	„ concealed	}	+	+
	{ not concealed before	„ concealed	}	—	+

All these four cases are required to make up the one hundred

mitted numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, and some of his offences have been concealed, and some not concealed; and he, having thrown off the robes, and again received the *upasampadâ*, does not afterwards conceal those offences which he had previously concealed, and does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is to be the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].]

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu [&c., as in last paragraph, down to] does not afterwards conceal those offences which he had previously concealed, and does conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is to be the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in last paragraph, down to) does afterwards conceal those offences which he had previously concealed, and does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is to be the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in last paragraph, down to) does afterwards conceal those offences which he had previously concealed, and does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is to be the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, and of some

cases mentioned in the title at the close of chap. 30; but the first is altogether omitted in the text, and the others are not properly discriminated. We have supplied the first in brackets, and corrected the others accordingly.

of them he is aware, but of some of them he is not aware; and he conceals those offences of which he is aware, but does not conceal those offences of which he is not aware; after having thrown off the robes, and again received the upasampadâ, those offences of which he had previously been aware, and which he did then conceal, of them, afterwards, he is still aware, and he does not conceal them; and those offences of which previously he had not been aware and did not then conceal, of them, afterwards, he becomes aware, and does not conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 3].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) and again received the upasampadâ, those offences of which he had previously been aware, and which he did then conceal, of them, afterwards, he is still aware, and he does not conceal them; and those offences of which previously he had not been aware, and did not then conceal, of them, afterwards, he becomes aware, and does conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) which he did then conceal, of them, afterwards, he is still aware, and does conceal them; and of those offences of which previously he had not been aware, and did not then conceal, of them, afterwards, he becomes aware, and does not conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) which he did then conceal, of them, afterwards, he is still aware, and does conceal

them; and of those offences of which previously he had not been aware, and did not then conceal, of them, afterwards, he becomes aware, and does conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].'

4. [This section is the same as the last, reading 'he recollects' for 'he is aware,' and 'he does not recollect' for 'he is not aware.']

5. [This section is again the same as section 3, reading 'he is certain' for 'he is aware,' and 'he is not certain' for 'he is not aware.']

30.

1. [The whole of the last chapter is repeated in the case of a Bhikkhu who, having committed offences, becomes a Sāmañera, goes out of his mind, or becomes weak in his mind¹, and the text then goes on] 'He becomes diseased in his sensations. His offences are some of them concealed, some not concealed. Of some offences he is aware, of some he is not aware. Some offences he recollects, some he does not recollect. Of some offences he is certain, of some he is not certain. Those offences of which he was not certain, those he conceals; those offences of which he was certain, those he does not conceal. Then he becomes diseased in his sensations. When he has recovered power over his sensations, those offences of which he previously had been certain and had concealed, of those he is afterwards still certain, but does not conceal them; and those offences of which he previously had been

¹ See above, chap. 27, and Mahāvagga II, 22, 3; IX, 4, 7.

uncertain and had not concealed, of those he became certain but did not conceal them. Those offences of which he previously had been certain and had concealed, of those he was afterwards still certain and did not conceal; while those offences of which he previously had been uncertain, and had not concealed, of those offences he afterwards became certain and did conceal them. Those offences of which previously he had been certain, and had concealed, of those offences he was afterwards still certain and did conceal them; while those offences of which he previously had been uncertain and had not concealed, of those offences he afterwards became certain, and did not conceal them. Those offences of which he previously had been certain, and had concealed them, of those offences he was afterwards still certain and did conceal them; whilst those offences of which he previously had been uncertain and did not conceal them, of those offences he afterwards became certain and did conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, [the same penalty is to be imposed as in chapter 29, section 1, paragraph 4.]'

Here end the hundred cases¹ in which a Mānatta
(is to be imposed after a change of state
in the guilty Bhikkhu).

¹ The hundred cases are made up thus: Chap. 29, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 contain each of them four cases (after our correction of 29. 2); so that chap. 29 gives altogether twenty cases. Then in chap. 30, each of these twenty cases is repeated in the four other cases there given; so that chap. 30 gives altogether eighty cases. Of these eighty cases, as usual, at the end of a répétition, the last (four cases) are set out in full.

31.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, and without concealing them then throws off the robes, and he, when he has again received the *upasampadâ*, does not conceal those offences—that Bhikkhu ought to be thrown back to the commencement (of his term of probation).

'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) and he, when he has again received the *upasampadâ*, does conceal those offences—that Bhikkhu ought to be thrown back to the commencement (of his term of probation), and an inclusive probation ought to be imposed upon him (corresponding to the time which has elapsed since) the first offence among those offences which he has concealed.

'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, and, concealing them, throws off the robes; and he, when he has again received the *upasampadâ*, does not conceal those offences—that Bhikkhu ought to be thrown back to the commencement of his term of probation, and an inclusive probation ought to be imposed upon him (corresponding to the period which has elapsed since) the first offence among those offences which he has concealed.'

[The same judgment if he has concealed the offences before he throws off the robes, and also after he has again received the *upasampadâ*.]¹

¹ This section corresponds to chap. 29, section 1.

2. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, and some of them he has concealed and some of them he has not concealed; and after he has thrown off the robes and again received the *upasampadâ*, he does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had concealed, and he does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed—[the judgment is the same as in the last paragraph of § 1].'

[In the same case down to] he does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had concealed, and he does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed [the judgment is the same].

[In the same case, down to] he does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had concealed, and he does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed [the judgment is the same].

[In the same case, down to] he does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had concealed, and he does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed [the judgment is the same]¹.

3. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, and he is aware of some of those offences, and not aware of others; and he conceals those offences of which he is aware, but does not conceal those offences of which he is

¹ This section corresponds to chap. 29, section 2.

not aware. After having thrown off the robes and again received the upasampadâ, those offences of which he had previously [&c., as in chapter 29, section 3, down to] on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in the last section, chapter 31, § 2].'

[The rest of this chapter corresponds exactly to chapter 29, §§ 4, 5, and chapter 30; the penalty being always the same.]

32.

1. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has rendered himself liable to the Mânatta discipline, or is undergoing the Mânatta discipline, or is fit to be rehabilitated, is guilty meanwhile of a number of Samghâdisesa offences which he does not conceal; and he then throws off the robes, and again receives the upasampadâ,—then with regard to the Bhikkhu so liable to the Mânatta discipline, or undergoing the Mânatta discipline, or fit to be rehabilitated, the same rules are to apply as in the case of a Bhikkhu so acting while undergoing probation¹.

'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is fit to be rehabilitated² is guilty meanwhile of a number of Samghâdisesa offences which he does not conceal; and he then becomes a Sâmañera, goes out of his mind, becomes weak in his mind, or becomes diseased in his sensations; his offences are some of them

¹ As laid down in chap. 31.

² This includes, of course, the two other cases of a Bhikkhu who has rendered himself liable to, or is undergoing the Mânatta discipline.

concealed, some of them not concealed . . . [and so on, as in chapter 30, down to the end, excepting that the penalty is here the same as it is in the previous chapters 31 and 32].'

33.

1. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, definite, and not concealed—not definite, and not concealed—of one designation, and not concealed—of various designations, and not concealed—similar, and not concealed—dissimilar, and not concealed—connected¹, and not concealed—disconnected, and not concealed—and then throws off the robes². . .

¹ On the opposition of *vavatt hita* and *sambhinna*, compare Minayeff *Pâtimokkha*, p. 29, where these two expressions are used of language.

² The chapter is translated as it stands. To supply the implications involved, the words 'a Bhikkhu' at the beginning should be understood as 'a Bhikkhu undergoing probation, or liable to the *Mânatta* discipline, or undergoing the *Mânatta* discipline, or fit to be rehabilitated.' And the conclusion should be supplied as in chap. 28, except that the penalty in each case is not an additional probation, but a probation corresponding in length to the period which has elapsed since the first of those offences which the re-ordained Bhikkhu has concealed (either before or after the second ordination). The details are only worked out, in chap. 28, of the first of the several pairs here enumerated, and are intended to be supplied here for each of the other pairs in a similar way. All the pairs recur in chaps. 35, 36.

34.

1. 'Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence¹. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it should be compelled to confess himself guilty of a *dukkata* offence, and a probation corresponding to the period during which he has concealed it having been imposed upon him, a *Mânatta* should be imposed upon them both.

'Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are in doubt. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. [The penalty is the same.]²

'Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a mixed offence³. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. [The penalty is the same.]²

'Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a mixed offence, and as touching that mixed offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. One of

¹ Compare chap. 23, § 4.

² The concluding words of the last paragraph are here repeated.

³ The Samanta Pâsâdikâ says, *Missakan ti thullakkayâdhi missitam*; that is an act which involves not only a *Samghâdisesa*, but also some one or other of the lesser offences. Compare the use of *missaka* at *Gâtaka* II, 420, 433, and at *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ed. Childers, p. 22.

them conceals, the other does not conceal it. [The penalty is the same.]¹

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a mixed offence, and as touching that mixed offence they are of opinion that it is a mixed offence. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. [The penalty is the same.]

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a minor offence²; and as regarding that minor offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it should be compelled to confess himself guilty of a *dukkata* offence, and both of them should be dealt with according to law.

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a minor offence, and as touching that minor offence they are of opinion that it is a minor offence. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it should be compelled to confess himself guilty of a *dukkata* offence, and both of them should be dealt with according to law.

2. ‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa*. One of them thinks: “I will tell (the *Samgha* of it).” The other thinks: “I will not tell (the *Samgha* of it);” and during the first watch of the night he conceals it, and during the second watch of the night he conceals

¹ The concluding words of the last paragraph are here repeated.

² That is, any offence less than a *Samghâdisesa*. The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says, *Suddhakan ti Samghâdisesam vinâ lahukâpattik-khandham eva*.

it, and during the third watch of the night he conceals it. After the sun has arisen the offence is a concealed one. He who has concealed it [&c.; the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 1].

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. They set out, intending to tell (the *Samgha* of it). On the way there springs up in one of them a desire to conceal it; and during the first watch of the night he conceals it, and during the second watch of the night he conceals it, and during the third watch of the night he conceals it. After the sun has arisen the offence is a concealed one. He who has concealed it [&c.; the penalty is the same as before].

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. They go out of their mind; and afterwards when they have recovered their senses one of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it [&c.; the penalty is the same as before]¹.

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence. When the *Pâtimokkha* is being recited they say thus: “Now do we come to perceive it; for this rule they say has been handed down in the *Suttas*, is contained in the *Suttas*, and comes into recitation every half month.” As touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence, they (thus) come to be of

¹ It is probably to be understood that a like rule is to apply in the other similar cases mentioned in the last paragraph of chap. 32.

opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it [&c.; the penalty is the same as before].'

35.

1. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences—definite, and not definite—of one designation, and of various designations—similar to each other, and dissimilar—connected with each other, and disconnected¹. He asks the *Samgha* for an inclusive probation on account of those offences². The *Samgha* imposes upon him an inclusive probation on account of those offences. He undergoing that probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, definite ones, which he does not conceal. He asks the *Samgha* to throw him back on account of those intervening offences to the commencement (of his term of probation). The *Samgha* [does so] by a lawful proceeding that cannot be quashed³, and fit

¹ See chap. 33 for this list.

² In accordance with the rule laid down in chap. 28, which shows that by 'a Bhikkhu' must be understood 'a Bhikkhu who is under probation;' and the offences he has committed must have been concealed by him.

³ *Akuppa*. The technical term *kammaṃ kopeti* is not to revoke the valid decision of a *kamma* regularly held, but to show that the *kamma* by reason of some irregularity was no real *kamma*, and its whole proceedings therefore void. One may compare *akuppā me kēto-vimutti* spoken by the Buddha immediately after he had attained *Nirvāṇa* under the Bo Tree (*Ariya-pariyosāna Sutta* in H. O.'s 'Buddha,' p. 429) and the opposite idea in *Sutta Nipāta* IV, 3, 5.

for the occasion; and it also imposes a Mânatta upon him, but by an unlawful proceeding, and then by an unlawful proceeding rehabilitates him. That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is not purified from those offences.

‘And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a number of Samghâdisesa offences—definite, and not definite—of one designation, and of various designations—similar to each other, and dissimilar—connected with each other, and disconnected. And he asks the Samgha for an inclusive probation on account of those offences. The Samgha imposes upon him an inclusive probation on account of those offences. He undergoing that probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of Samghâdisesa offences, definite ones, which he does conceal. He asks the Samgha to throw him back on account of those intervening offences to the commencement (of his term of probation). The Samgha [does so] by a lawful proceeding that cannot be quashed, and fit for the occasion; and it also imposes upon him an inclusive probation by a lawful proceeding, and imposes upon him a Mânatta, but by an unlawful proceeding, and by an unlawful proceeding it rehabilitates him. That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is not purified from those offences.’

[The same decision is given if, of the intervening offences, all of which are definite, some have been concealed, and some not concealed.]

2. [The same if the intervening offences have been not definite and not concealed, or not definite and concealed, or all not definite but some concealed and some not concealed, or all not concealed but some definite and some not definite, or all concealed

but some definite and some not definite, or some definite and some not definite and some concealed and some not concealed.]

Here end the nine principal cases (which serve as a basis for the variations in the following chapter) in which a Bhikkhu is not purified (by undergoing a term of probation).

36.

1. [The same nine cases of the throwing back is carried by unlawful proceeding, though the Mānatta and the rehabilitation are by a lawful proceeding.]

2. ' And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a number of Samghādisesa offences—definite, and not definite—of one designation, and of various designations—similar to each other, and dissimilar—connected with each other, and disconnected¹. He asks the Samgha for an inclusive probation on account of those offences. The Samgha imposes upon him an additional probation on account of those offences. He undergoing that probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of Samghādisesa offences, definite ones, which he does conceal. He asks the Samgha to throw him back on account

¹ These offences must be understood to be offences committed while under probation, and concealed. See the note on chap. 35, § 1.

of those intervening offences to the commencement of his term of probation. The *Samgha* [does so] by an unlawful proceeding that is liable to be quashed, and unfit for the occasion; and it also imposes an inclusive probation upon him, but by an unlawful proceeding. He thinking, "I am undergoing that probation," is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, definite ones, which he does conceal. When he has arrived at this condition he calls to mind the other offences committed while the first offences were being committed, and he calls to mind also the other offences committed while the latter offences were being committed.

'Then it occurs to him, "I have been guilty of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences (&c., as in the whole of the section from the beginning to the end of the last paragraph, down to) and I called to mind also the other offences committed while the latter offences were being committed. Let me now ask the *Samgha* to throw me back on account of those offences committed while the former offences, and while the latter offences, were being committed, to the commencement of my term of probation, by a lawful proceeding that cannot be quashed, and is fit for the occasion; and let me ask for an inclusive probation to be imposed by a lawful proceeding, and for a *Mânatta* to be imposed by a lawful proceeding, and then for rehabilitation by a lawful proceeding."

'And he asks the *Samgha* [accordingly], and the *Samgha* [does so]. That *Bhikkhu*, O *Bhikkhus*, is purified from those offences.'

[The same if some of the offences in each case have been concealed and some not concealed.]

3, 4. [The Bhikkhu is not purified from such intervening and remembered offences as are specified in the last section, if the *Samgha* has proceeded, as in the first section of this chapter, by an unlawful proceeding.]

Here ends the Third Khandhaka, on the
Accumulation of Offences.

NOTE ON ABHIHATTHUM.

In the 7th Nissaggiya, in the 34th Pākittiya, and in the 36th Pākittiya there occurs the phrase *abhiha//hum pavāreyya*, regarding the correct translation of which, as will be seen from the note on the first passage, we were in doubt. The connection is always 'if A should offer B,' &c.; and the only difficulty is the force of the word *abhiha//hum* which precedes the 'should offer,' and in some way qualifies it. In all three passages the Old Commentary preserved in the Sutta-Vibhaṅga explains the two words *abhiha//hum pavāreyya* by 'Take just as much as you want' (*yāvatakam ikkhasi tāvatakam gaṇhāhi*), which does not solve the difficulty. On the following words of the third passage, however, the Old Commentary (see H. O., 'Vinaya Pitakam,' vol. iv, p. 84) uses the word *abhiharati* in its usual sense of 'he brings up to, offers to, hands over to,' as practically equivalent to *abhiha//hum pavāreti*; and Buddhaghosa, in the Samanta Pāsādikā on the 7th Nissaggiya, uses *abhiharitvā* as directly equivalent to *abhiha//hum*.

Now in a passage quoted from the Thera-gāthā in H. O.'s 'Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, und seine Gemeinde' (p. 425, note 1), *nikkhamitumna* occurs as the gerund of *nikkhamati* instead of *nikkhamitvāna*. The existence in Prākṛit of corresponding gerunds in -tu, -tum for -tvā, and in -tūna, -tuāna for -tvāna, is laid down in Hemakandra II, 146 (Pischel, vol. i, p. 62). And Professor Weber has given corresponding forms (*āha//tu, ka//tu, &c.*) from the Gain dialect in his *Bhagavatī* I, p. 433.

What we have in the phrase in question is therefore simply a gerund in -tum, and the two words taken together mean, 'if A should lay before and offer to B,' &c. The thing offered in one case is robes, in the other two cases food; and *abhiharati* is the usual word in Pāli for serving food, laying it before another person. Compare *thāli-pāka-satāni abhihari* at *Gātaka* I, 186; and the phrase *bhattābhihāro abhihāriyittha* constantly repeated in the Mahā-sudassana Sutta (Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas,' in the last paragraph of chap. II, §§ 12, 29, 31, 33, 37).

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.										
	II Class.	III Class.									
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 3 (ng) 𐬚 (n) 𐬛 (h)	.	.	.	.	.	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	ह	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	ह	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	ह	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	.	
11 " asper fricatus	'h	.	.	ह	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	.	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	.	.	ह	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	.	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
14 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
15 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.	
16 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.	
17 " Nasalis	h	.	.	ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(ḡ)								
20 " lenis		(ḡ)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑		
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌		
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l								ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	ש	s
34 " asper 2			S							
35 " lenis	z								ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			Z (z)							
37 " asperimus 2			Z (z)						ז	zh

Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)									
38	Tenuis	...	t	...	...	...	...	...	...
39	" aspirata	...	th	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Media	...	d	...	...	...	...	...	...
41	" aspirata	...	dh	...	...	...	...	...	...
42	Nasalis	...	n	...	...	...	...	...	...
43	Semivocalis	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...
44	" fricata	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...
45	" discritica	...	r	...	...	...	...	...	...
46	Spiritus asper	...	sh	...	...	...	...	...	sh
47	" lenis	...	zh	...	...	...	...	...	...

Labiales.

Labiales.					
48 Tenuis	p	.	.	.	p
49 " aspirata	ph	.	.	.	ph
50 Media	b	.	.	.	
51 " aspirata	bh	.	.	.	
52 Tenuissima	.	.	.	.	p
53 Nasalis	m	.	.	.	m
54 Semivocalis	w	.	.	.	w
55 " aspirata	hw	.	.	.	
56 Spiritus asper	f	.	.	.	f
57 " lenis	v	.	.	.	
58 Anusvāra	.	.	.	.	m
59 Visarga	.	.	.	.	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlevi	Persian.	Arabic	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	o									ǎ
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ë									..
3 " labialis	ö									..
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	ا	ا	א	a
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	آ	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	ی	ی	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	ی	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ê			ए						..
9 " longa	ē			ऐ						..
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			र						..
11 " longa	rī			रि						..
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ						..
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ						..
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬄	𐬄	و	و	ו	e
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬅	𐬅	و	و	ו	é
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		ऐ	𐬆	𐬆	و	و	ו	ai
17 " " " "	ei (éi)			ई	𐬇	𐬇	و	و	ו	ei, éi
18 " " " "	oi (ōu)			औ	𐬈	𐬈	و	و	ו	..
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬉	𐬉	و	و	ו	o
20 " longa	ô (au)	(o)		औ	𐬊	𐬊	و	و	ו	..
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		औ	𐬋	𐬋	و	و	ו	au
22 " " " "	eu (ēu)			औ	𐬌	𐬌	و	و	و	..
23 " " " "	ou (ōu)			औ	𐬍	𐬍	و	و	و	..
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ	𐬎	𐬎	و	و	و	..
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			इ	𐬏	𐬏	و	و	و	..
26 Labialis fracta	ü			उ	𐬐	𐬐	و	و	و	..
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ऊ	𐬑	𐬑	و	و	و	..



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VOL. XVIII

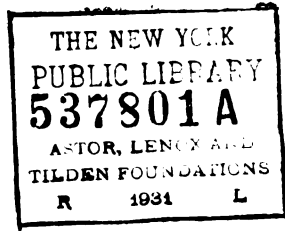
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PAHLAVI TEXTS

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E. W. WEST

PART II

THE DĀDISTĀN-Ī DĪNĪK AND THE EPISTLES
OF MĀNŪSKĪHAR

Orford

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INTRODUCTION.

I. GENERAL REMARKS.

THE Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are distinguished from all others by the peculiarity that both the name and station of their author and the time in which he lived are distinctly recorded.

His name, *Mânûskihar*, son of *Yûdân-Yim* (or *Gûsn-dam*), is mentioned in each of the headings and colophons to the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* and the three Epistles attributed to him. He is styled simply *aêrpat*, or 'priest,' in the headings of Eps. I and II, and *aêrpat khûdâî*, or 'priestly lordship,' in that of Ep. III; but he is called the *rad*, 'pontiff, or executive high-priest,' of *Pârs* and *Kirmân*, and the *farmâdâr*, 'director,' of the profession of priests, in the colophons to Dd. and Ep. II; and we learn from Dd. XLV, 5 that the *farmâdâr* was also the *pesûpâî*, or 'leader' of the religion, the supreme high-priest of the *Mazda*-worshipping faith.

Regarding his family we learn, from Ep. I, iii, 10, vii, 5, that his father, *Yûdân-Yim*, son of *Shahpûhar*, had been the leader of the religion before him; and his own succession to this dignity indicates that he was the eldest surviving son of his father, who, in his declining years, seems to have been assisted by his advice (Ep. I, iii, 11). We also learn, from the heading of his second epistle, that *Zâd-spam* was his brother, and this is confirmed by the language used in Ep. II, vi, 1, ix, 6, and by *Zâd-spam* being a son of the same father (Eps. I, heading, III, 2); that he was a younger brother appears from the general tone of authority over him adopted by *Mânûskihar* in his epistles. Shortly before these epistles were written, *Zâd-spam* appears to have been at *Sarakhs* (Ep. II, v, 3), in

the extreme north-east of Khurâsân, where he probably came in contact with the Tughazghuz (Ep. II, i, 12) and adopted some of their heretical opinions, and whence he may have travelled through Nivshahpûhar (Ep. II, i, 2, note) and Shîrâz (Ep. II, v, 3, 4) on his way to Sîrkân to take up his appointment as high-priest of the south (Eps. I, heading, II, i, 4, v, 9, vii, 1, viii, 1, Zs. I, o). Soon after his arrival at Sîrkân he issued a decree, regarding the ceremonies of purification, which led to complaints from the people of that place, and compelled his brother to interfere by writing epistles, threatening him with deprivation of office (Ep. I, xi, 7) and the fate of a heretic (Eps. II, viii, 2, 3, III, 17-19). That Zâd-spâram finally submitted, so far as not to be deprived of his office, appears from his still retaining his position in the south while writing his Selections (Zs. I, o), which must have been compiled at some later period, free from the excitement of active and hazardous controversy.

The age in which Mânûshîhar lived is decided by the date attached to his third epistle, or public notification, to the Mazda-worshippers of Irân; which date is the third month of the year 250 of Yazdakard (Ep. III, 21), corresponding to the interval between the 14th June and 13th July A.D. 881; at which time, we learn, he was an old man (Ep. II, ix, 1), but not too old to travel (Eps. I, iii, 13, xi, 4, II, v, 5, vi, 4, 6, vii, 3, viii, 4, 5).

His writings, therefore, represent the state of the Zoroastrian religion a thousand years ago; and it may be presumed, from the importance and influentialness of his position, that his representations can be implicitly relied upon. To detect any differences there may be between the tenets and religious customs he describes, and those upheld by Zoroastrians of the present time, would require all the learning and experience of a Parsi priest; but, so far as a European can judge, from these writings and his own limited knowledge of existing religious customs among the Parsis, the change has been less than in any other form of religion during the same period.

The manuscripts containing the writings of Mânûshîhar

are of two classes, one represented in Europe by the codex No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen, the other represented by No. 14 of the Haug Collection of similar manuscripts in the State Library at Munich, which two manuscripts are called K35 and M14, respectively, in this volume. In the former of these classes, represented by K35, the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* occupies the central third of the codex; being preceded by a nearly equal extent of other miscellaneous religious writings of rather later date, resembling a Pahlavi *Rivâyat*; and being followed by a third series of similar writings of about the same age and extent as the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk*, which includes the Epistles of *Mânûskîhar* and the Selections of *Zâd-sparam*. In the latter class of manuscripts, from which M14 is descended, the text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* contains many variations from that in the former class, as if it had been revised by some one whose knowledge of Pahlavi was insufficient to decipher difficult passages, and who had freely exercised his editorial license in altering and mutilating the text to suit his own limited comprehension of it.

The codex K35, which was brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843, is one of the most important manuscripts of the former class, and now consists of 181 folios; but it is incomplete at both ends, having lost seventy-one folios at the beginning and about thirty-five at the end. It still includes, however, the whole of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* and the Epistles of *Mânûskîhar*; though its date has been lost with its last folios. But this date can be recovered from an old copy of this codex existing in India (here called BK) and still containing a colophon, probably copied from K35¹, which states that the manuscript was

¹ One reason for supposing that this colophon was so copied is that K35 does not seem older than the date mentioned in it. Another reason is that the loss of the end of this colophon in BK allows us to assume that it was followed by another colophon, as is often the case in copies of old MSS. A colophon that extends to the end of the last folio of a manuscript can never be safely assumed to belong to that manuscript, because it may have been followed by others on further folios.

completed by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, on the day Âsmân of the month Amerôdad A.Y. 941 (19th March, 1572), in the district of the Dahikân in the land of Kirmân. The end of this colophon is lost with the last folio of BK, which renders it possible that the last folio contained the further colophon of this copy.

That BK is descended from K35 is proved by its containing several false readings, which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35. And that it was copied direct from that codex is proved by the last words of thirty-two of its pages being marked with interlined circles in K35, which circles must have been the copyist's marks for finding his place, when beginning a fresh page after turning over his folios. This copy of K35 has lost many of its folios, in various parts, but most of the missing text has been recently restored from the modern manuscript J, mentioned below; there are still, however, eleven folios of text missing, near the end of the codex, part of which can be hereafter recovered from TK, described below. The independent value of BK is that it supplies the contents of the seventy-one folios lost at the beginning of K35, and of about nineteen of the folios missing at the end of that codex.

A third manuscript of the first class, which may be even more important than K35, was brought to Bombay from Persia about fifteen years ago, and belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, of Bombay, but it has not been available for settling the texts translated in this volume. It is here called TK, and is described as still consisting of 227 folios, though seventy folios are missing at the beginning and about fourteen at the end. In its present state, therefore, it must begin very near the same place as K35, but it extends much further, so as even to supply nearly half the contents of the eleven folios missing from BK; it does not, however, include the contents of the last three folios of BK. According to a colophon appended in this manuscript to the 'Sayings of Zâd-spâram, son of Yûdân-Yim, about the formation of men out of body, life,

and soul' (see Zs. XI, 10, note), some copy of these 'sayings' was written by Gôpatshah Rûstôm Bândâr Malkâ-marzân in the land of Kirmân. This Gôpatshah was evidently a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of the Marzapân who wrote the colophon found in BK and supposed to have been copied from K35 (see pp. xv, xvi). If, therefore, this colophon in TK has not been copied from some older MS., it would indicate that TK is two generations older than K35.

A recent copy of TK exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, to whom I am indebted for the information that its text does not differ from that of K35, at the two points (Dd. XCIII, 17 and Ep. III, 11) where some omission of text may be suspected.

The manuscripts of the second class appear to be all descended from an old, undated codex brought to Bombay from Persia about sixty-five years ago¹, and recently in the library of Mr. Dhanjibhâi Frâmji Pâtel of Bombay. From what is stated, concerning the contents of this codex, it appears to commence with about three-fourths of the miscellaneous religious writings, found at the beginning of BK; and these are followed by the altered text of the Dâdîstân-î Dînik, as appears from the copies described below, but how the codex concludes is not stated. It may, however, be supposed that it contains as much of the third series of writings as is found in the manuscript J, a copy of this codex which ends in Ep. II, vi, 2.

This manuscript J belongs to the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay; it commenced originally at the same point as the codex just described, and, so far as it has been examined, it contains the same altered text of the Dâdîstân-î Dînik. There is, therefore little doubt that it was originally copied from that codex, but a considerable

¹ There is some doubt about this period. Dastûr Peshotanji mentions thirty or forty years, but in the MS. J, which appears to have been copied chiefly from this codex in Bombay, the date noted by the copyist of the older part of that MS. is 'the day Rashn of the month Khûrdâd, A. Y. 1188' (21st December 1818, according to the calendar of the Indian Parsis), showing that the codex must have been at least sixty-four years in Bombay.

portion of the additional matter at the beginning of BK has been prefixed to it at a later date. The oldest portion of this copy, extending to Ep. I, vii, 4, bears a date corresponding to 21st December 1818; the date of a further portion, extending to Ep. II, vi, 2, corresponds to 12th February 1841; and a third portion copied from BK, at the beginning of the manuscript, is still more recent.

Another copy of this codex, or of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* contained in it, exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay; and from this copy the text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* contained in M14 was transcribed.

This latter manuscript consists of two volumes, written in 1865 and 1868, respectively; the first volume containing Chaps. I, 1-XXXVII, 9, and the second volume Chaps. XXXVI, 1-XCIV, 15 of the altered text of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk*.

Other copies of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk*, which have not been examined, are to be found in India, but, unless descended from other manuscripts than K35 and the above-mentioned codex recently belonging to Mr. Dhanjibhâi Frâmjî, they would be of no further use for settling the text.

Of the manuscripts above described the following have been available for the translations in this volume:—K35 for the whole of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* and the Epistles; M14 for the whole of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* alone; BK for Dd. I, 1-VI, 3¹, X, 2-XIV, 3², LXXXVIII, 9-XCIV, 15, the whole of the Epistles, the legend about the soul of Keresâsp (see pp. 373-381), and the extracts from the Pahlavi Rivâyat in these codices relating to Khvêrôk-das (see pp. 415-423); and J for Dd. I, 1-XXXIX, 10³; LXXXVIII, 9-LXXXIX, 1⁴, XCI, 7-XCIV, 15, Ep. I, i, 1-II, ix, 7⁵, the

¹ The text of Chaps. VI, 3-X, 2 has been lost, and recently supplied from J.

² No copy of the intermediate chapters obtained by the present translator, and several of the original folios have been lost.

³ No copy of the intermediate chapters taken by the present translator.

⁴ Chaps. LXXXIX, 1-XCI, 7 omitted.

⁵ Ep. II, vi, 2-ix, 7 being copied from BK and wrongly inserted in Dd. XXXVII, 33 (see p. 89, note 5).

legend about Keresâsp, and the extracts relating to Khvétûk-das. Other manuscripts, used for the remaining extracts translated in the Appendix, will be mentioned in § 4 of this introduction.

The existence of two versions of the text of the *Dâdis-tân-i Dînik* would have been a source of much perplexity to the translator, had it not been soon apparent that the version represented by M14 was merely a revision of that in K35, attempted by some editor who had found much difficulty in understanding the involved phraseology of *Mânûskîhar*. There are, undoubtedly, some corrupt words and passages in K35, where the revised version may be followed with advantage, but nine-tenths of the alterations, introduced by the reviser, are wholly unnecessary, and in many cases they are quite inconsistent with the context.

Under these circumstances it has been the duty of the translator to follow the text given in K35, wherever it is not wholly unintelligible after prolonged study, to note all deviations of the translation from that text (which are usually small), and merely to mention the variations of the revised text, so far as they are intelligible, in the notes.

The writings of *Mânûskîhar* are certainly difficult to translate, not only from the involved and obscure style he affects, but also from the numerous compound epithets he uses, which are not easy either to understand with certainty, or to express clearly in English. The only other Pahlavi writings that approach them in difficulty are those of his brother, *Zâd-sparam*, and those of the author of the third book of the *Dînkard*, who seems to have also been a contemporary writer. To a certain extent, therefore, an involved style of writing may have been a failing of the age in which he lived; and his works, being of an epistolary and hortatory character, would naturally be more abstruse and idiomatic than simple narrative; but much of the obscurity of his style must still be attributed to his own want of clear arrangement of thought and inadequate, though wordy, expression of ideas, the usual sources of all obscure and rambling writing.

When to the difficulty of tracing the thread of an argument

through the involved obscurity of the text is added the perplexity occasioned by the ambiguity of many Pahlavi words, it can be readily understood that no translation is likely to be even approximately accurate, unless it be as literal as possible. The translator has to avoid enough pitfalls, in the shape of false constructions and incorrect readings, without risking the innumerable sources of error offered by the alluring by-paths of free translation. If, therefore, the reader should sometimes meet with strange idioms, or uncouth phrases, he must attribute them to a straining after correctness of translation, however little that correctness may be really attained.

For the purpose of more effectually keeping a curb upon the imagination of the translator, and indicating where he has been compelled to introduce his own ideas, all words not expressed or fully understood in the original text are italicised in the translation. Occasionally, also, the original word is appended to its translation, where either the reading or meaning adopted is unusual, or where a scholar might wish to know the particular Pahlavi word translated.

Some endeavour has likewise been made to introduce greater precision than has hitherto been attempted, in the transliteration of Pahlavi words and names, by taking advantage of the italic system, adopted for this series of Sacred Books of the East, not only for distinguishing variations of sound (as in the use of *g*, *k*, and *s* for the sounds of *j*, soft *ch*, and *sh*, respectively, in English), but also to indicate the use of particular Pahlavi letters, when there are more than one of nearly the same sound. Thus, *d* is used where its sound is represented by 𐭌 t; *l* and *r* where they are represented by 𐭎 n, v, ū, or by 𐭑 Av. o; *v* and *z* where they are represented by 𐭒 k; and *sl* where those letters are represented by 𐭓 â. If, in addition to these particulars, the Pahlavi scholar will remember that the uncircumflexed vowels are not expressed in Pahlavi characters, and the vowel *ö* is expressed, he will find no particular difficulty in restoring any of the transliterated words to their original character, by merely following the

ordinary rules of Pahlavi writing. Without some such mode¹ of distinguishing the different Pahlavi letters used for the same sound, it would be practically impossible to restore the transliteration of any word, new to the reader, to its original Pahlavi form. And even the system here adopted requires the addition of *a* and *d* to represent the vowel *u* a, *â* when one of its turns is omitted in writing (as in *ap*, *d̄v*, used for *ap*, *af*; *adîn* used for *adîn*, &c.), and of *j* or *j̄* to represent *y* when it has the sound of *g* or English *j*, in order to distinguish it from *k*, *g*.

The general reader should, however, observe that these niceties of transliteration are merely matters of writing, as the exact pronunciation of Pahlavi cannot now be fully ascertained in all its details. There is every reason to suppose that the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi was never pronounced by the Persians as it was written (unless, indeed, in the earliest times); but to transliterate these Semitic words by their Persian equivalents, as the Persians certainly pronounced them, would produce a Pâzand text, instead of a Pahlavi one. If, therefore, we really want the transliteration to represent the Pahlavi text correctly, we must transliterate the Semitic words as they are written, without reference to the mode in which we suppose that the Persians used to read them. With regard to the Persian words, if we call to mind the fact that Pahlavi was the immediate parent of modern Persian, we shall naturally accept the modern Persian pronunciation (stripped of its Arabic corruptions) as a guide, so far as Pahlavi orthography permits, in preference to tracing the sounds of these words downwards from their remote ancestors in ancient Persian or the Avesta. But the pronunciation of words evidently derived directly from the Avesta, as is the case with many religious terms, must clearly depend upon the

¹ Dotted letters might be used, if available, instead of italics; but they are liable to the objection that, independent of the usual blunders due to the ordinary fallibility of human eyesight, it has been found by the translator that a dot, which was invisible on the proofs, will sometimes appear under a wrong letter in the course of printing.

Avesta orthography, so far as the alteration in spelling permits. These are the general rules here adopted, but many uncertainties arise in their practical application, which have to be settled in a somewhat arbitrary manner.

2. THE DĀDISTĀN-Ī DĪNĪK.

The term *Dādistān-ī Dīnīk*, 'religious opinions or decisions,' is a comparatively modern name applied to ninety-two questions, on religious subjects, put to the high-priest *Mānūskīhar*, and his answers to the same. These questions appear to have been sent in an epistle from *Mitrô-khūrshêd*, son of *Ātūrō-mahân*, and other *Mazda*-worshippers (Dd. heading and I, 2), and were received by *Mānūskīhar*, who was the leader of the religion (Dd. I, 10, note), in the month of July or August (Dd. I, 17); but it was not till September or October, after he had returned to *Shirâz* from a tour in the provinces, that he found time to begin his reply which, when completed, was sent by a courier (Dd. I, 26) to his correspondents, but at what date is not recorded.

Regarding the residence of these correspondents, and the year in which these transactions took place, we have no positive information. The correspondents seem to have thanked *Mānūskīhar* for sending them one of his disciples (Dd. I, 3, 4) to act probably as their high-priest; and, from the mode in which the land of *Pârs* is mentioned in Dd. LXVI, 28, LXXXIX, 1, it seems likely that they were not inhabitants of that province; but this conclusion is hardly confirmed, though not altogether contradicted, by the further allusions to *Pârs* in Dd. LXVI, 3, 15, 21, LXXXVIII, 1. With regard to the date of this correspondence we may conclude, from the less authoritative tone assumed by *Mānūskīhar* in his reply (Dd. I, 5-7, 11), as compared with that adopted in his epistles (Ep. III, 17-19), that he was a younger man when he composed the *Dādistān-ī Dīnīk* than when he wrote his epistles; we may, therefore, probably assume that the *Dādistān-ī Dīnīk* was written several years before A. D. 881.

Although the subjects discussed in the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* cover a wide range of religious doctrines, legends, and duties, they cannot be expected to give a complete view of the *Mazda*-worshipping religion, as they are merely those matters on which *Mitrô-khûrshêd* and his friends entertained doubts, or wished for further information. It is also somewhat doubtful whether the whole of the questions have been preserved, on account of the abrupt transition from the last reply, at the end of Dd. XCIII, to the peroration in Dd. XCIV, and also from the fact that a chapter is alluded to, in Dd. XVII, 20, XVIII, 2, which is no longer extant in the text.

The questions, although very miscellaneous in their character, are arranged, to some extent, according to the subjects they refer to, which are taken in the following order:—The righteous and their characteristics; the temporal distress of the good; why mankind was created; good works and their effects; the account of sin and good works to be rendered; the exposure of corpses and reasons for it; the paths, destinations, and fate of departed souls, with the ceremonies to be performed after a death; the contributors to the renovation of the universe; the contest between the good and evil spirits from the creation till the resurrection; works of supererogation; the sacred shirt and thread-girdle; apostasy and its prevention; the use of fire at ceremonies, and other details; duties, payment, and position of priests; details regarding ceremonies; lawful and unlawful trading in corn, wine, and cattle, with a definition of drunkenness; adoption, guardianship, and inheritance; rights of foreigners and infidels; the origin of mankind and next-of-kin marriage; the cost of religious rites; the causes of the rainbow, phases of the moon, eclipses, and river-beds; things acquired through destiny and exertion; the sins of unnatural intercourse and adultery; imperfect prayer before drinking; ceremonies and payments for them; the seven immortal rulers before *Zaratûst*; the sky, the source of pure water, and the cause of rain and storms.

In his replies to these questions *Mânûskîhar* displays

much intelligence and wisdom, the morality he teaches is of a high standard for the age in which he lived, and, while anxious to uphold the power and privileges of the priesthood, he is widely tolerant of all deficiencies in the conduct of the laity that do not arise from wilful persistence in sin. The reader will search in vain for any confirmation of the foreign notion that *Mazda*-worship is decidedly more dualistic than Christianity is usually shown to be by orthodox writers, or for any allusion to the descent of the good and evil spirits from a personification of 'boundless time,' as asserted by strangers to the faith. No attempt is made to account for the origin of either spirit, but the temporary character of the power of the evil one, and of the punishment in hell, is distinctly asserted.

Although *Mânûskîhar* does not mention, in his writings, any of the lost Nasks or sacred books of the *Mazda*-worshippers, except the *Hûspârûm* (Dd. LXI, 3) and the *Sakâdûm* (Ep. I, viii, 1, 6, 7), he certainly had access to many Pahlavi books which are now no longer extant; hence he is able to give us more information than we find elsewhere regarding some of the legendary personages mentioned in Dd. II, 10, XXXVI, 4, 5, XLVIII, 33, XC, 3; he hints that the second month of the year (April-May) was called *Zaremaya* in the *Avesta* (Dd. XXXI, 14); and he mentions two places, instead of one, intermediate between heaven and hell, one for the souls of those not quite good enough for heaven, and one for those not quite bad enough for hell (Dd. XXIV, 6, XXXIII, 2).

The present translation of this work is not the first that has been attempted. Shortly before the late Professor Haug left India he delivered a lecture on the Parsi religion to a large assemblage of Parsis in Bombay, at their request, and at his desire the sum of 900 rûpîs, out of the net proceeds of the entrance-tickets sold, was offered as a prize for an edition of the Pahlavi text of the *Dâdistân-î Dînîk* with a *Gugarâti* translation and glossary. Some years afterwards this prize was awarded to Mr. Shehriarji Dadabhoy and Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, for their joint *Gugarâti* translation of the work, which still, however, remains unpublished

for want of funds, and has, therefore, been inaccessible to the present translator.

3. THE EPISTLES OF MÂNÛSKÎHAR.

It has been already stated (see pp. xiii, xiv) that *Zâd-sparam*, a younger brother of *Mânûskîhar*, after having been at *Sarakhs*, in the extreme north-east of *Khurâsân*, where he seems to have associated with the heretical *Tughazghuz*, was appointed high-priest of *Sîrkân*, south or south-west of *Kirmân*¹. Shortly after his arrival there he issued a decree, regarding the ceremonies of purification and other matters, which was so unpalatable to the *Mazda*-worshippers of that place that they wrote an epistle to *Mânûskîhar*, complaining of the conduct of his brother (Ep. I, i, 2, ii, 1).

In reply to this complaint, which was sent by a special courier (Ep. I, i, 2), and after going to *Shîrâz* and holding a general assembly of the priests and elders (Ep. II, i, 11), *Mânûskîhar* wrote his first epistle, completed on the 15th March 881 (Ep. I, xi, 12), in which he condemned the practices decreed by *Zâd-sparam*, to whom he sent a confidential agent, named *Yazdân-pânak* (Ep. I, xi, 1, 2, 6, 10, II, vii, 2), with a copy of this epistle and a further one to himself, which has not been preserved, for the purpose of inducing his brother to withdraw his decree and conform to the usual customs.

It would appear that *Yazdân-pânak* was not very successful in his mission, as we find *Mânûskîhar* writing a general epistle (Ep. III) to all the *Mazda*-worshippers in *Îrân*, in the following June or July (Ep. III, 21), denouncing as heretical the mode of purification decreed by *Zâd-sparam*, and ordering an immediate return to former customs. At the same time (Ep. II, vii, 2, viii, 1) he wrote a second epistle (Ep. II) to his brother, as he had already

¹ The city of *Kirmân* was itself called *Sîrgân*, or *Sîrgân*, in the middle ages, and is evidently mentioned by that name in Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, pp. 139, 143, though the *Sîrgân* of pp. 138, 141 of the same work was clearly further south. Which of these two towns was the *Sîrkân* of these epistles, may, therefore, be doubtful.

promised in Ep. I, xi, 2, and, after referring to an epistle (now lost) which he had received from Zâd-spâram in the previous November or December, he proceeded to enforce his views by a judicious intermingling of argument, entreaty, and threats. He also contemplated making preparations (Ep. I, xi, 4, II, vii, 3) for travelling himself to Sîrkân, notwithstanding his age (Ep. II, ix, 1), to arrange the matters in dispute upon a satisfactory basis. Whether he actually undertook this journey is unknown, but that his brother must have finally submitted to his authority appears from Zâd-spâram retaining his position in the south, as has been already noticed (p. xiv).

The matter in dispute between Zâd-spâram and the orthodox *Mazda*-worshippers may seem a trivial one to people of other religions, but, inasmuch as the ceremonial uncleanness of a person insufficiently purified after contact with the dead would contaminate every one he associated with, the sufficiency of the mode of purification was quite as important to the community, both priests and laity, as avoidance of breach of caste-rules is to the Hindû, or refraining from sacrifices to heathen gods was to the Jew, the early Christian, or the Muhammadan. And much more important than any disputes about sacraments, infallibility, apostolic succession, ritual, or observance of the Sabbath can possibly be to any modern Romanist or Protestant.

In his mode of dealing with this matter Mânûskîhar displays at once the moderation and tact of a statesman accustomed to responsibility, the learning and zeal of a well-informed priest, and the kindly affection of a brother. That he was not without rivals and enemies appears from his casual allusions to Zaratûst, the club-footed, and Âtûrô-pâd in Ep. II, i, 13, v, 14, ix, 11; but in all such allusions, as well as in his denunciation of heretical opinions, he refrains from coarse invective, and avoids the use of exaggerated language, such as too often disfigures and weakens the arguments in polemical discussions.

Indirectly these epistles throw some light upon the condition of the *Mazda*-worshippers after more than two

centuries of ceaseless struggle with the ever-advancing flood of Muhammadanism which was destined to submerge them. Shîrâz, Sîrkân, Kirmân, Râî, and Sarakhs are still mentioned as head-quarters of the old faith; and we are told of assemblies at Shîrâz and among the Tughazghuz, the former of which appears to have had the chief control of religious matters in Pârs, Kirmân, and the south, acting as a council to the high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân, who was recognised as the leader of the religion (Dd. XLV, 5). We also learn, from Ep. I, iii, 11, II, v, 14, that the leaders of the *Mazda*-worshippers, if not their high-priests, were still in the habit of maintaining troops; and, from Ep. II, i, 9, that when a high-priest became very old his worldly duties were performed by four of the most learned priests, forming a committee, which had full authority to deliberate and act for him in all worldly matters. *Mânûskîhar* even speaks of emigrating by sea to China, or by land to Asia Minor (Ep. II, viii, 5), in order to escape from the annoyances of his position.

But the statements which are most important to the Pahlavi scholar, in these epistles, are the date attached to the third epistle, corresponding to A.D. 881, and the mention of *Nîshahpûhar* in Ep. I, iv, 15, 17 as the supreme officiating priest and councillor of king *Khûsrô Nôshîrvân* (A.D. 531-579), engaged apparently in writing commentaries on the Avesta. The date of these epistles not only limits that of the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* to the latter half of the ninth century, but also fixes those of the larger recension of the *Bundahîs* and of the latest revision of the *Dinkard* within the same period, because it is stated in Bd. XXXIII, 10, 11 that the writer of that chapter was a contemporary of *Zâd-spâram*, son of *Yûdân-Yim*, and *Âtûr-pâd*, son of *Hêmiđ*, the former of whom was evidently the brother of *Mânûskîhar*, and the latter is mentioned in *Dinkard* III, ccccxiii as the latest editor of that work. The actual compiler of a great part of the *Dinkard* (especially of the fourth and fifth books) was, however, the somewhat earlier writer *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of *Farukhûzâd* (Dd. LXXXVIII, 8, Ep. I, iii, 9). The name of *Nîshahpûhar* is also mentioned as that

of a commentator in the Pahlavi Vendidâd and Nîrangistân, which works must, therefore, have been revised since the middle of the sixth century. And as we are informed in the book of Ardâ-Virâf (I, 35) that 'there are *some* who call *him* by the name of Nikhshahpûr,' we ought probably to refer that book to the same age. These epistles, therefore, enable us, for the first time, to fix the probable dates of the latest extensive revisions of six of the most important Pahlavi works that are still extant; and from the relationship of these to others we can readily arrive at safer conclusions, regarding the age of Pahlavi literature in general, than have been hitherto possible.

4. THE APPENDIX.

For the sake of elucidating certain matters, mentioned in the writings of Mânûskîhar, further information than could be given in the foot-notes has been added in the shape of an appendix.

To a brief summary of the Avesta legends, relating to the ancient hero Keresâsp, has been added a translation of a Pahlavi legend regarding the fate of his soul, in which several of his more famous exploits are detailed. This legend is found in the Pahlavi Rivâyat preceding the Dâdistân-i Dinîk in the manuscripts BK and J, and is evidently derived from the fourteenth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask, whose contents, as described in the ninth book of the Dinkard, are also given. It is likewise found in the later Persian Rivâyats, with several modifications which are duly noticed.

The Nîrang-i Kustî, or ceremony of tying the sacred thread-girdle, is also described in detail, with a translation of the ritual accompanying it, partly from actual observation, and partly from Gugarâti accounts of the rite.

It having become necessary to ascertain with certainty whether the term 'next-of-kin marriage' was a justifiable translation of khvêtûk-das, as used by Pahlavi writers, an extensive examination of all accessible passages, which throw any light upon the meaning of the word, has been

made. The result of this enquiry can be best understood from the details collected, but it may be stated in general terms that, though 'marriage among kinsfolk' might fairly represent the varying meaning of *khvêôtûk-das* in different ages, its usual signification in Pahlavi literature is more accurately indicated by 'next-of-kin marriage.'

Some apology is perhaps due to the Parsi community for directing attention to a subject which they consider disagreeable. But, by the publication of a portion of the *Dînkard*, they have themselves placed the most important passage, bearing on the subject, within the reach of every European Orientalist; thus rendering it easy for any prejudiced translator to represent the practice of such marriages as having been general, instead of their being so distasteful to the laity as to require a constant exertion of all the influence that the priesthood possessed, in order to recommend them, even in the darkest ages of the faith. To avoid such one-sided views of the matter, as well as to hinder them in others, has been the special aim of the present translator in trying to ascertain the exact meaning of the obscure texts he had to deal with.

The translations from the Pahlavi *Vendidâd*, regarding the *Bareshnûm* ceremony and the purifications requisite after finding a corpse in the wilderness, will be found necessary for explaining many allusions and assertions in the *Epistles of Mânûskîhar*.

The text followed in all passages translated from the *Dînkard* is that contained in the manuscript now in the library of *Dastûr Sohrâbji Rustamji*, the high-priest of the *Kadmi* sect of *Parsis* in *Bombay*. It was written A. D. 1669, and was brought from Persia to *Surat* by *Mullâ Bahman* in 1783. All other known copies of the *Dînkard* are descended from this manuscript, except a codex, brought from Persia by the late Professor *Westergaard* in 1843, which contains one-fifth of the *Dînkard* mostly written in 1574, and is now in the *University Library* at *Kopenhagen*.

For translations from the Pahlavi *Vendidâd* the text adopted, wherever available and not evidently defective, has been that of *L4*, a manuscript of the *Vendidâd* with

Pahlavi, Z. and P. IV, in the India Office Library in London. The date of this manuscript has been lost with its last folio, but its text is in the same handwriting as that of three others, in Kopenhagen and Bombay, which were written A. D. 1323-4. A considerable portion of the beginning of this manuscript has also been lost, and is replaced by modern folios of no particular value.

In conclusion, the translator must take the opportunity of thankfully acknowledging the kindness and readiness with which Dastūr Peshotanji Behrāmji Sanjānā, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, and Dastūr Jāmāspji Mino-chiharji Jāmāsp-Āsā-nā, of the same city, have always furnished him with any information he applied for, not only on those matters specially mentioned in the foot-notes, but also on many other occasions.

E. W. WEST.

MUNICH,
September, 1882.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Acc. for accusative case; Âf. Zarat. for Âfringân-i Zaratûst; anc. Pers. for ancient Persian; App. for Appendix to this volume; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for the Book of Arđâ-Virâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug; Av. for Avesta; B29 for Persian Rivâyat MS. No. 29 of the University Library in Bombay; Bd. and Byt. for Bundahis and Bahman Yast, as translated in vol. v of this series; BK for an old imperfect copy of K35 written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay; Chald. for Chaldee; comp. for compare; Dd. for Dâdîstân-î Dinîk, as translated in this volume; Dk. for Dînkard; Ep. for Epistles of Mânûskîhar, as translated in this volume; Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug; Gen. for Genesis; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd edition; Hn. for Hâdôkht Nask, as published with AV.; Huz. for Huzvâris; Intro. for Introduction; J. for Dd. MS. belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay; K35 for Dd. MS. No. 35 of the University Library in Copenhagen; L4 for Vend. MS. No. 4 of the India Office Library in London; Lev. for Leviticus; M5, M7, M10, M14 for MSS. Nos. 5, 7, 10, 14 of the Haug Collection in the State Library in Munich; Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West; n. for foot-note; nom. for nominative case; p. for page; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; p. p. for past participle; Sir. for Sirozah, ed. Westergaard; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; TD for Bd. MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji in Bombay; TK for Dd. MS. belonging to the same; trans. D. for translated by Darmesteter, in vol. iv of this series; Vend., Visp., and Yas. for Vendidâd, Visparad, and Yasna, ed. Spiegel; Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard; Z.D.M.G. for Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-spâram, as translated in vol. v of this series.

DÂDISTÂN-Î DÎNÎK
OR
THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS
OF
MÂNÛSKÎHAR, SON OF YÛDÂN-YIM,
DASTÛR OF
PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,
A. D. 881.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the manuscripts merely indicate the beginning of each question and reply.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume). The italic *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and *z* like French *j*.

4. In Pahlavi words the only vowels expressed in the original text are those circumflexed, initial *a*, and the letter *ö*; italic *d* is written like *t*, *r* and *l* like *n* or the Avesta *o*, *v* and *z* like *g*, and *zd* like *â* in the Pahlavi character (see the latter part of § 1 of the Introduction).

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. For the meaning of the abbreviations used in the notes, see the end of the Introduction.

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

BK, an old imperfect copy of K₃₅ written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay.

J (about 60 years old), belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochi-harji in Bombay.

K₃₅ (probably written A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which this translation is based.

M₅ (written A.D. 1723), a MS. of miscellaneous texts in Persian letters, No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M₁₄ (a modern copy of a MS. in the library of the Parsi high-priest in Bombay), No. 14 in the same Collection.

TD, a MS. of the Bundahis belonging to Môbad Tehmuras Dinshawji in Bombay.

DÂDISTÂN-Î DÎNÎK.

SOME chapters of the enquiries which Mitrô-khûrshêd, son of Âtûrô-mahân¹, and others of the good religion made of the glorified (anoshakô-rûbân) Mânûskêthar², son of Yûdân-Yim, and the replies given by him in explanation.

CHAPTER I.

o. Through the name and power and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd *and* all good *beings*, all the heavenly and earthly angels, and every creature and creation that Aûharmazd set going for his own angels and all pertaining to the *celestial* spheres.

¹ The name Âtûr-mâhân occurs in a Pahlavi inscription, dated A.Y. 378 (A.D. 1009), in one of the Kanheri caves, near Bombay (see Indian Antiquary, vol. ix, pp. 266, 267), and Adharmâh is mentioned in Hoffmann's Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer (Leipzig, 1880), p. 203; so that this name must have been commonly used by Parsis in former times, though unknown now.

² He calls himself pontiff and director of the priests of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250=A.D. 881, and was, therefore, the leader of the religion (see Chaps. XLV, 5, XCIV, 13, and Ep. III, 21). Besides these titles of pêsûpâi, 'leader,' farmâdâr, 'director,' and rad, 'pontiff or executive high-priest,' he is also called aêrpat khûdâi, 'priestly lordship,' in the heading to Ep. III, and has the general title aêrpat, 'priest,' in those of Ep. I and II. The reading of the name of his father, Yûdân-Yim (Pers. Guvân-Gam, 'the youthful Gamshêd'), is merely a guess; the Parsis read either Gôshna-gam or Gôdân-dam; and, perhaps, Gûshna-dam, 'breathing virility,' is a likely alternative reading.

1. *To* those of the good religion, who are these enquirers owing to devout force of demeanour and strength of character, the type of wisdom and standard of ability—and of whom, moreover, the questions, seeking wisdom, contemplating good works, and investigating religion, are specified—the blessing *and* reply of Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, are these:—2. That is, forasmuch as with full affection, great dignity, and grandeur you *have* blessed me in this enquiring epistle¹, so much as you *have* blessed, *and* just as you *have* blessed, with full measure *and* perfect profusion, may it happen fully likewise unto you, in the first place, and *to your* connections, separately for yourselves and dependents; may it come upon *you* for a long period, and may it be connected with a happy end.

3. *As to* that which you ordered to write about wishes for an interview and conversation *with* me, and the friendliness and regard for religion of yourselves *and* our former *disciple*² (lanmanak kâdmôn)—who is a servant of the sacred beings (yazdânö)³ and a fellow-soldier in struggling with the fiend, alike persistent in reliance upon the good religion of Mazda-worship—I am equally desirous of that one path of righteousness when *its* extension is to a place in the best existence⁴, *and* equally hopeful

¹ Regarding this epistle, nothing further is known that can be gathered from the text of this reply to it, which gives the substance of the questions it contained.

² This disciple appears to have been previously sent by Mânûskîhar to the community he is addressing, most probably to serve as their high-priest.

³ The word is plural, like Elohîm in the book of Genesis, but it means 'God' in Pers an.

⁴ Another name for Garôdmân, the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd (see Sls. VI, 3, 4).

of resurrection (âkhezisnō) at the renovation of the best existence¹. 4. *As to* the interview and important conversation of that *disciple* of ours (mānak), and his going, and that also which he expounded of the religion—that of him who is intimate in interview and conversation with him who is wise and righteous the stunted² good works are then more developing³—and *as to* the degree of praise which you ordered to write concerning me, much greater than reason, and the important statements full of the observations of friendship as to kind regards, my course about these is also *that* which *leads* to gratitude.

5. That which you ordered to write about the way of knowing and understanding not being for any one else but for *your* servant, *was* owing to your affection, and for the sake of kind regard; but on account of the importance of truth *it* is more expressly to be regarded *as* being proper to write also to other spiritual⁴ men, as to the learning which is more fully studied by them. 6. For even with the perplexing struggle of the fiend, *and* the grievous devastation and collapse (nizôrîh) which have happened to religious people, after all, through the persistence (khvâparîh) of the sacred beings even

¹ That is, when this transitory world is purified and made permanent, so as to form a part of heaven, which is expected to take place at the resurrection.

² Pahl. kazd, which may be compared with Pers. kaz, 'distorted,' or may be a miswriting of Pahl. kas, 'small.'

³ The modern MSS., M₁₄ and J, add 'and those which are great are more attainable.'

⁴ The word is maīnôk (mīnavad), but the omission of one stroke would make it magôg, 'priestly,' which was probably the original reading.

now *there are* pontiffs (radânö), priests, high-priests, judges, and also other religious leaders of those of the religion in various quarters. 7. Moreover, the other priests *and* spiritual¹ men *here* enumerated *have* well considered the commentary (zand) of the text (mânsar) which is muttered, are acquainted with opinions explaining the religion, *and* are, in many places, the cause of preferring good works; with whom also, on account of *their* understanding *and* knowing about such opinions, the sacred beings are pleased.

8. The desires expressed, and the good wishes as to what is mine and *has* happened *to me*, which you ordered to write, are likewise marks of friendship and kind regard, and owing to them a like measure of friendship and kind regard becomes your² own.

9. *As to* that which you ordered to write in much friendship *and* commendation and profusely about me—as regards the administration of the realm (kêshvar dastôbarîh), *of* the unity without counterpart (dadîgarîh), and the singleness co-extensive with any duality—if the writing of that, too, *were* owing to your friendship, even then it seemed *to* me disquieting, owing to this *being* so much praise. 10. If in these times and countries *there be* an understanding of the time and a boasting about any one, if *it be* graceful as regards him who is a leader of the religion (dînô pêsûpâî) of long-continued faith, I consider it not suitable for myself³. 11. Though

¹ See p. 5, note 4.

² All MSS. have 'thy.'

³ Although he was himself the 'director of the profession of priests' of Pârs (see Chap. XCIV, 13), an office which was then equivalent to that of 'leader of the religion' (see Chap. XLV, 5).

the praise of a leader (*sardâr*), raised by agreeable voices¹, is uttered about me, yet I am not pleased when they extol my greatness *more* than *that of* their own leader; for my wish is *for* that praise which is *due* to my own rank and similar limits, and seems suitable to me; and humility in oneself is as correct as grandeur among inferiors.

12. That which is about the lengthy writing of questions, *as to* your worldly circumstances (*stihânthâ*) and worldly affairs, *has* also shown this, that I should write a reply at a time in which I have leisure. 13. That is more important on account of your well-expressed questions *and* boldness about ambiguous answers, and *your* ardent desire for the setting aside of time; for the setting aside, or not beginning, of a reply is implied. 14. *But* owing to the perplexing² struggle on account of the fiend there is little leisure for quick *and* searching thought, and owing to that which is undecided³ *there is little* for indispensable (*frêzvântkô*) work.

15. As to a reply *at* a period of leisure time, the occurrence of the time appointed is manifested in everything, apart even from the kind regards of friendship, and the collection of information whereby, owing to my little leisure, it is declared unto you. 16. And I have, too, this confidence, that your questions are written with religious faith *and* desiring religious decision; *and* in the reply the statement of reasons from revelation (*dînô*) is manifold, for

¹ This translation of *mânô-advâzikô-âkhezakô* is somewhat doubtful.

² Or 'prodigious.'

³ That is, awaiting the high-priest's judicial and ecclesiastical decision.

guidance which is not destitute of wisdom and *which* is without risk from every kind of importunity¹.

17. And *this* same epistle² came in the month Tîr³, at such season as, owing to entreaties for three years from the country-folk (dêstîkânö), and the burden of troubles of the offspring (sarakö) of those of the good religion, the much importunity for arranging *what was* undecided among them—which, inasmuch as I had no power about investigating that trouble and suffering, *was* the more indispensable—the arrangements for the preservation and education of disciples⁴, and many private *matters* which had accumulated, I obtained no *opportunity* for properly looking *over these* same questions till the month Shatvatrô⁵, when I came to Shirâz⁶ and had *at* various times a little leisure.

18. And I looked *over these* same questions; and when I saw the compact writing (ham-dâdakhâyektîbûnîstîh) it then seemed to me more important to make each chapter of the questions separate and more explanatory. 19. And I gave the questions to a writer, in the same copy which you ordered to write, and instructed *him* to write the various chapters, every single question in one chapter; and the several opinions, both due to my acquaintance with the religion and my remembrance in perfection,

¹ Or 'over-persuasion.'

² See § 2.

³ The fourth month of the Parsi year, which corresponded to July–August in the time of Mânûskîhar.

⁴ That is, candidates for the priesthood and young priests.

⁵ The sixth month of the Parsi year, which then corresponded to September–October.

⁶ From this it would appear that the Dâdistân-î Dînîk was written at Shirâz which, being the principal city of Pârs, was probably the high-priest's usual residence.

both of the decisions (dastôbarth) of the ancients and as regards wisdom, are the replies I intend to write below the questions.

20. When there is nothing in such as you ask, concerning which I consider such otherwise, as I write, than what is like that which was once advisedly our different opinion from those high-priests of the ancients who *were* better and wiser, and have become our lord (ahvô), master (radô), and high-priest, I *have* written that¹, even though the *usual* decision on the same subject is such as our high-priests, who are of our family, *have* maintained in particular.

21. Afterwards, moreover, about the sayings of that high-priest whose custom is otherwise there is no difference of opinion *expressed*²; and if there be *any one* for whose opinion I *have* acquired perfect reverence, a priestly man acquainted with the religion, who understands *and* who manages intelligently, by holding in reverence the ancient treatises and truth, and the sayings of the high-priests, whatever *of his* is to the purpose, as regards the reply, this also is written as successful illustration.

22. If owing to such cause it be not fully perceived, or regarding the decision *it be not* clear, *it* is chiefly not owing to the incompleteness of the decision of revelation in clearness of demonstration and correctness of meaning, but owing to our incomplete attainment to understanding the authoritative decrees (nikêzak fragûtô)³ of the religion. 23. From the

¹ That is, his own different opinion apparently, but the writer's sentences are often so involved as to confuse the reader.

² Meaning, apparently, that he does not propose to mention the opinions of others unless he approves of them.

³ The MSS. have fragûtô, possibly Pers. fargûd, 'miracle.'

imperfection (avêhîh) of that also which is asked of us the hasty thinking, notably therein, owing to the grievousness of the times, is even till now devoid of a distinct knowledge, interpreting the texts *about* the compassion of the good spirits, and *regarding* a clearer demonstration of the exposition of revelation which is thereby¹ more fully declared, as regards religious practice, from two sources, one is from the treatises which are an exposition of the rules *and* wisdom of the leader of the religion, and one—which is more descriptively expressed (mâdî-gânötar hankhetûntô)—is the writings (vutakö) of various glorified ancients, those who *were* the great leaders of those of the primitive faith². 24. Owing to that³, as their writings (nipîkân) about the demonstration of reasons, on account of depth *and* minute wording, are not well known, even to minute observers *and* penetrative (vêhramakö) understandings, and through the little diffusion (frâgö-padîkhûîh), likewise, of difficult words, *there* may be doubts *among* the less intelligent, so, about the purport of *these* same questions, if there be *anything* which is wanted by you more clear and more plain in meaning, *or* a nearer way to a true interpretation, not without clearness, of *any* decision of a learned leader of the religion, I *will* give a reply, whenever you ask and I am able, so far as my knowledge and want of power *permit*.

25. When *one has* to observe the nature of the attributes (gôhârânö) of the sacred beings the

¹ That is, revelation is declared by the exposition.

² The true Mæda-worshipping religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst (see Sls. I, 3).

³ Want of knowledge referred to in § 23.

investigator's great advantage is the perfection, peace, equipment with righteousness, and fiend-destroying power of his own people; *and* since you are made aware of the result of wishes and actions, and are directed by me, many new blessings also *arise* from you.

26. That which is written to you yourselves and unto all, in the beginning and even the end, is completely adapted to your own several wants; may it have an exalted end, with one courier (aê-barîdö) and continuously from beginning to end, and also perpetually!

27. A fair copy (bûrzišnîkô pakîno) of the questions, as well as the replies, is this; so that, when there is nothing in it which owing to that cause¹ is different, I am of opinion as is *here* written.

CHAPTER II.

1. First you ask thus: Why is a righteous man created better than the stars and moon *and* sun and fire of Aûharmazd, and is called in revelation greater and better than the spiritual creation, *and* also than that which is worldly?

2. The reply is this, that the greatness and goodness of advance in wisdom and just judgment over the creatures arise from proficiency (hûnar).

3. Justice is the one good proficiency over the creatures, the means of wisdom are great, and praise bestowed is the most effectual performance

¹ Owing to the copying. The sentence is equivalent to the modern phrase, 'errors excepted.'

of what is desirable (kâmisn-karîh). 4. For all three are mutually connected together; since the manifestation of justice is through wisdom, and its advantage is the performance of what is desirable for the creator; wisdom is the performance of what is desirable for the requirements of the creator, and its weapon (zênô) is justice; and the desire of the creator, which is progress, is in wisdom with justice. 5. All three are great among the creatures, and their lodgment in the superior beings and righteous men is spiritual, in the spirit which is the pure guardian angel¹, *in* the understanding for encountering, averting, smiting, and prostrating (khvâpâk) the fiend, *in* the army of angels, and *in* the sovereignty of the far-seeing (dûr-vênâkô)² spirit, Aûharmazd; and, materially, in the worldly equipment and mutual connection of body *and* life. 6. And their appliances are the wisdom and worldly efficacy of treatises on the wise adoption of good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds, *and* the relinquishment *and* discontinuance of evil thoughts, evil words, *and* evil deeds. 7. And their acquirer is the worldly ruler who is providing for Aûharmazd, and approving and stimulating the pure religion, a praiser of the good and pure creator, and a director of persistence in destruction of the fiend. 8. And in the pro-

¹ The fravâhar or fravashi, which is the prototype or spiritual counterpart supposed to have been created in the beginning for each good creature and creation afterwards produced, whether material or immaterial, and whose duty is to represent the creature and watch over its interests in the spiritual world.

² This word is badly written in K35, so that it has become zôrînâk in later MSS., which might perhaps mean 'strength-exerting.'

mulgation (rûbâkô-dahisnîh) of the good and religious liturgy (mânsar), the coming of the good cause of the resurrection, and the production of the renovation *of the universe*¹ are *his* cöoperation and his own thanksgiving; and over the creatures of *this* prior world *he* is a guardian, defender, and manager.

9. And *such rulers* are great and pre-eminent; yet every man is not for that greatness, but it is mentioned as to superior beings *and* concerning righteous men, in whom it *has* arisen, and the best are the three who are the beginning, middle, *and* end of the creation. 10. One is the pure man, Gâyômarð, who was its first rational praiser; he in whose keeping *was* the whole creation of the sacred beings, from *its* beginning and immaturity unto the final completion of the worldly creatures, over which *was* the exercise of goodness of his well-destined progeny, such as Hôshâng, Tâkh-môrup, Yim, and Frêdûn², such as the apostles of the religion, like Zaratûst, Hûshêdar, and Hûshêdar-mâh³, and the producers of the renovation *of the universe*, like Sôshâns⁴, Rôshanô-kâshm, and

¹ Which is expected to take place about the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 32).

² The first four rulers of the world (omitting the usurper Dahâk) after Gâyômarð (see Bd. XXXI, 1-3, 7). The five names of these primeval sovereigns are corruptions of the Avesta names, Gaya-maretan, Haoshyangha, Takhmô-urupa, Yima, and Thraëtaona. The third name is always written Tâkhmôridô in Dd.

³ Corruptions of Av. Zarathustra, Ukhshyad-ereta, and Ukhshyad-nemangh. The last two are future apostles still expected by the Parsis to restore their religion to its original purity, in preparation for the resurrection (see Bd. XXXII, 2-10, Byt. III, 13, 43-48, 52, 53).

⁴ Av. Saoshyâs. The last of the future apostles, in whose

Khûr-kashm¹. 11. The approver² of the enterprises (rûbâk-dahisnîhâ) of cöoperators, the purely-praising and just worshipper of the sacred beings through the strength of the spirit, the disabler of the worldly activity of the fiend as regards worldly bodies, and the one of pure religion—which is his charge (spôr)³, the revelation of the place of the beneficent spirit and of the destruction of the depravity of the evil spirit⁴, the subjugation (khvâpisnô) of the fiend, the completion of the triumph of the creator, and the unlimited progress of the creatures—is the upholder of Mazda-worship. 12. And likewise through the goodness of Gâyômarâd, which is the begetting of Zaratûst, *he* is also just; likewise through the goodness of Sôshâns, by which he is the progeny of Zaratûst, *he* is also progressive in every good thought, good word, *and* good deed, *more* than the creatures which are produced with a hope of the religion, and equally thankful. 13. And one is the producer of bodies⁵,

time the universe is expected to be renovated and the resurrection to take place (see Bd. XXX, 4-27, XXXII, 8, Byt. III, 62).

¹ These two names, which mean 'bright-eyed' and 'sunny-eyed,' are the Av. Rao¹kas-kaêshman and Hvare-kaêshman of Fravardîn Yt. 128 (see also Chap. XXXVI, 4).

² This is Zaratûst (see § 12), the righteous apostle of the middle portion of the history of creation referred to in § 9.

³ Or 'which is wholly his.'

⁴ These two spirits are supposed to be the authors of all the good and evil, respectively, that exists in creation. They appear, originally, to have been both supposed to spring from Aûhar¹masd, who speaks of 'the more beneficent of my two spirits' in Yas. XIX, 21; but in later times, and throughout the Pahlavi literature, the beneficent spirit is identified with Aûhar¹masd, and the origin of the evil spirit is left in obscurity.

⁵ The renovated bodies of the future existence which are prepared for mankind at the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 4, 7, 25-27).

the renovator (frashagar) Sôshâns, who is the putter down, with complete subjugation from the world, of the glorification of fiends *and* demons, and of the contention with angels in apostasy and heterodoxy of various kinds and unatoned for; and the completer of the renovation through the full continuance of the glorification of the angels, and the perfect continuance of the pure religion.

14. And through that excellent, unblemished, brotherly work¹ *such a ruler* may be seen above the sun with swift horses, the primeval luminaries, and all removal of darkness, the advance of illumination which is the display (tôgisnô) of the days *and* nights of the world². 15. Regarding the same completion of the renovation *of the universe* it is said in the revelation of the Mazda-worshippers, that this great light is the vesture of the like righteous men.

CHAPTER III.

1. The second is that which you ask thus: For what purpose is a righteous man created for the world, and in what manner is it necessary for him to exist in the world?

2. The reply is this, that the creator created the creatures for progress, which is his wish; and ✓

¹ Mentioned in §§ 7, 8.

² M₁₄ and J have '*such rulers*' own praise is above the sun with swift horses, the primeval luminaries, and all good creatures; for that, too, which may be seen when the light of the sun is owing to the removal of darkness, and the removal is the advance of illumination of the world, is the display of days *and* nights.'

it is necessary for us to promote whatever is his wish, so that we may obtain whatever is our wish.
3. And, since that persistent creator is powerful, whatever is our wish, and so far as we remain very faithful, such is as *it were* deserving of his wish, which is for our obtainment of whatever is our wish¹.

4. The miracle of these creatures was fully achieved (*âvôrtâdö*) not unequally, and the gain (*gûâftâkô*) also from the achievement of the same miracle is manifest; that is, achieving, and knowing² that his achievement is with design (*kîm*) and his desire is goodness, when the designed achievement, which is his creature, and also the goodness, which is his wish, are certain, and likewise, owing to the perfect ability which is due to the creator, the wish is achieved, *it* is manifest.
5. And, afterwards, it is decided by wisdom that *he has* achieved it, and the creatures, as perfected for the complete progress which is his wish, lapse into evil; and since when evil exists good becomes the subjugation of evil—for when evil is not complete, and after it is expressly said that his creatures are created for his own will, the progress due to subjugations of evil is on account of the good completed—it is similarly testified, *in accordance* with the will aforesaid, that it³ is achieved.

6. The creatures are for the performance of what is desirable for the creator, and the performance of what is desirable for the creator is necessary

¹ Reading *kâmakô* instead of the *dâmakô* of the MSS., which was, no doubt, originally *gâmakô*.

² M14 has 'knowing perfectly.'

³ The subjugation of evil apparently.

for two *purposes*, which are the practice of worship *and* contention. 7. As the worship is that of the persistent creator, who is a friend to his own creatures, *and* the contention is that with the fiend—the contender who is an enemy to the creation of the creator—that great worship is a pledge, most intimate to one's self, of the utmost contention also, and a pledge for the prosperity owing to the friend subjugating by a look which is a contender with the enemy, the great endeavour of the acquirers of reliance upon any mortals whatever¹. 8. For when the persistent *one* accomplished that most perfect and wholly miraculous creation of the lord, and his unwavering look—which *was* upon the coming on of the wandering evil spirit, the erratic, unobservant spirit—*was* unmingled with the sight of an eye², he made a spirit of observant temperament, which *was* the necessary soul, the virtuous lord of the body moving into the world. 9. And the animating life, the preserving guardian spirit, the acquiring intellect, the protecting understanding, the deciding wisdom, the demeanour which is itself a physician, the impelling strength, the eye for *what* is seen, the ear for *what* is heard, the nose for *what* is smelt, the mouth for recognising flavour, the body for approaching the assembly (*pidrâm*) of the righteous, the heart for

¹ Referring probably to the strong influence of a steady eye upon all living creatures.

² This appears to be the meaning of *agûmêgisnô-î va/ vênâftâkô dîdag*; which phrase is followed by the conjunction 'and,' so that the original text means that when the creator had done as in §§ 8, 9, he proceeded to act as in § 10. This conjunction, for the sake of clearness, is here transferred to the beginning of § 10.

thinking, the tongue for speaking, the hand for working, the foot for walking, these which make life comfortable, these which are developments in creating, these which are to join the body, these which are to be considered perfected, are urged on by him continuously, and the means of industry of the original body are arranged advisedly. 10. *And* by proper regulation, and the recompense of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, he announced and adorned conspicuous, patient, and virtuous conduct; *and* that procurer of the indispensable did not forget to keep men *in* his own true service and proper bounds, the supreme sovereignty of the creator.

11. And *man* became a pure glorifier and pure praiser of that all-good friend, through the progress which is his wish. 12. Because pure friendship is owing to sure meditation on every virtue, and from its existence no harm whatever arose; pure glorifying is owing to glorifying every goodness, and from its existence no vileness whatever arose; and pure praising is owing to all prosperity, and from its existence no distress whatever arose. 13. And pronouncing the benedictions he is steadfast *in* the same pure friendship, just glorifying, and expressive praising, *which* are performed even as though Vohûman were kept lodging in the thoughts, Srôsh in the words, and Ard in the actions¹. 14. That, moreover, which is owing to the lodgment of Vohûman in the thoughts is virtu-

¹ These three angels are personifications of the Avesta terms *vohû-manô*, 'good thought,' *sraosha*, 'listening, obedience,' and *areta*, 'righteous.' The coming of Vohûman ('the good spirit' of § 17) and of Srôsh is mentioned in the Gâthas (Yas. XLIII, 16, c d).

ously rushing unto true propitiation from the heart, and keeping selfishness away from the desires; the lodgment of Srôsh in the words is owing to him who is intelligent *being* a true speaker, *and* him who is unintelligent being a listener to *what* is true and *to* the high-priests; *and* the lodgment of Ard in the actions is declared to be owing to promoting that which is known *as* goodness, *and* abstaining *from* that which *one* does not know. 15. And these three benefits¹ which *have been* recited are sent down (farôstakô) in two ways that the ancients *have* mentioned, which are *that* deliberately taken and *that* they should deliberately leave², whose means are wisdom and proper exertion.

16. And his (man's) high-priest is he whose instigation is to keep him truly *in accordance* with the revelation (dînô) of the sacred beings, and is the origin of his pure meditation which is truly through goodness like Vohûman's. 17. As the religious of the ancients *have* religiously said, that of him who keeps the goodness of Vohûman lodging in the thoughts the true way is then that of the good spirit. 18. The Mazda-worshipper understands the will of the creator in the true way, and grows and acquires by performing what is desirable for the creator, which obtains the benefit of the renovation.

19. A more concise reply is this, that a righteous man is the creature by whom is accepted that occupation which is provided for him, and is fully

¹ The lodgments of the three angels.

² Meaning, probably, the deliberate adoption of good conduct and relinquishment of evil (compare Chap. VII, 7).

watchful in the world as to his not being deceived by the rapacious fiend. 20. And as a determiner, by wisdom, of the will of the creator—one who is himself a propitiator and understander, and a promoter of the understanding of goodness—and of whatever *pertains* to him (the creator), *he* is a giver of heed thereto; and it is necessary for him to be thus, so that such greatness *and* goodness may also be his more securely in the spiritual *existence*.

CHAPTER IV.

1. The third question is that you ask thus: For what reason does this greatness¹ of a righteous man exist?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is for the performance of what is desirable for the creator by the Mazda-worshipper; because he strives unhesitatingly that the way for the performance of what is desirable for the creator *may* be the propitiation² which is his desire, and that desired propitiation² becomes perfect through sound wisdom. 3. The wisdom by which he understands about the desire of the heavenly angels is not appointed (*vakht*), but is the true, pure religion which is knowledge of³ the spirits, the science of sciences, the teacher of the

¹ Referring to Chap. II, 1, and not to Chap. III, 20; otherwise it might be supposed that the questions were contrived to suit the replies.

² Or, perhaps, 'understanding.'

³ K35 has 'obedience to' by inserting a medial stroke in *dânisnô*, which converts it into *sinvisnô*, but is probably a mistake.

teaching of the angels, and the source of all knowledge.

4. And the progress, too, of the pure religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers is through the righteous man, as is shown of him in revelation thus: 'I created, O Zaratûst the Spítamân! the righteous man who is very active¹, and I will guard his hands from evil deeds; I *will* also have him conveyed unto those who are afterwards righteous and more actively wise². 5. And *at* the same time the religion of me who created him is his desire, *and* it is the obtainment of a ruler which is to be changed by the well-organised renovation *of the universe*³.'

6. As through wisdom is created the world of righteousness, through wisdom is subjugated every evil, and through wisdom is perfected every good; and the best wisdom is the pure religion whose progress is that achieved by the upholders of religion, the greatness of the best men of the righteous, in whose destiny *it is*, such as that which *was* shown about Gâyômarð, Zaratûst, and Sôshâns⁴.

¹ M14 and J here insert 'I will guard his mind from evil thoughts, *his* tongue from evil-speaking.'

² In the future existence.

³ M14 and J have '*and* it is the obtainment of a ruler who is a wise upholder of religion, from time to time, even unto the change of the last existences by the well-organised renovation *of the universe*.' But the additional words appear to have been suggested by the word 'ruler' being taken literally, whereas it seems to have been figuratively applied to the religion which is to rule the righteous till the future existence.

⁴ In Chap. II, 9-13.

CHAPTER V.

1. The fourth question is that which you ask thus: Of this destruction (*zađam*) and terror which ever happen to us from the retribution¹ of the period, and are a cause of the other evils and defects of the good religion, what kind of opinion exists? And is there a good opinion of us among the spirits, or not?

2. The reply is this, that it is said in the revelation of the *Mazda*-worshippers that the impediments (*râs-bandîh*), through which *there* is vexation in righteousness, are because its doctrine is this, that, regarding the difficulty, anxiety, and discomfort which occur through good works set going, it is not desirable to account *them* as much difficulty, trouble, and discomfort. 3. Whereas it is not desirable to account *them* as anxiety and difficulty, it is then declared by it² thereof, that, as its recompense, so much comfort *and* pleasure will come to the soul, as that no one is to think of that difficulty and discomfort which came upon him through so many such good works, because he is steadfast to maintain the good religion, and utters thanksgivings (*va stâyedô*). 4. And as regards the discomfort³, which the same good religion of ours *has* had, it comes on from the opponents of the religion.

¹ Reading *pâđâsân*, but by a slight alteration M₁₄ and J have *pâđakhshahân*, 'monarchs,' which is equally suitable.

² By revelation.

³ M₁₄ and J have 'and he remains thereby certain that his good works are in the statement (*mâđigânô*) of good works, *and* as regards all that terror, anxiety (*vayâđô*), and discomfort,' &c.

5. Through the coming of religion we have full enjoyment (*barâ gûkârêm*), and owing to religion, unlike bondsmen (*abûrdögânvâr*), we do not become changeable among the angels; our spiritual life (*ahvôth*) of praise then arrives in readiness, and owing to the angels *there* are joyous salutation, spiritual life, and glory for the soul.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The fifth question is that you ask thus: Why does evil always happen more *to* the good than to the bad?

2. The reply is this, that not *at* every time and every place, *and* not *to* all the good; does evil happen more—for the spiritual welfare of the good is certainly more—but in the world it is very much more manifest¹. 3. And the reasons for it are many; one which is conclusive is even this, that the modes

¹ *Mi*₄ and *J* have 'but the worldly evil and bondage are incalculably more manifest about the good, much more in the season (*zêmânih*) of *Srôsh*.' The 'season of *Srôsh*' may perhaps mean the night-time, or the three nights after death, when the protection of the angel *Srôsh* is most wanted; but *Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji*, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, prefers reading *zimânash* (with a double pronominal suffix), and has favoured me with the following free translation of the whole passage:—'At every time and every place much evil does not happen *to* all the good; for the good, after having been separated from this world, receive (as a reward for their suffering evil) much goodness in the next world, which goodness is (regarded as) of a very high degree in religious doctrines (*srôsh*).' Perhaps, after all, *Srôsh* is a miswriting of *saryâ*, 'bad, evil.'

and causes of *its* occurrence are more; for the occurrence of evil is more particularly appointed (vakhtô) by two modes, one by the demons, the appointers of evil, *and* one by the vile, the doers of evil; even to the vileness of creation and the vile they cause vexation. 4. Moreover, incalculable is the evil which happens to the vile from the demons, and that to the good from the demons and also from the vile, and the mode of its occurrence is in the same way without a demon.

5. This, too, is more particularly such as the ancients *have* said, that the labour and trouble of the good are much more in the world, and their reward *and* recompense are more certain in the spiritual *existence*; and the comfort and pleasure of the vile are more in the world, and their pain *and* punishment in the spiritual *existence* are more severe. 6. And this, too, is *the case*, that the good, through fear of the pain and punishment of hell, should forsake the comfort and ease in the world, and should not think, speak, *or* do anything improper whatever. 7. And through hope for the comfort and pleasure in heaven they should accept willingly, for the neck¹, much trouble *and* fear in the practice of virtue in thought, word, *and* deed.

8. The vile, through provision with temporary enjoyment²—even that enjoyment of improprieties for which eventually there is hell—then enjoy them-

¹ The word can be read either garêvan, 'collar,' or gardûn, 'neck,' and is the usual Pâz. of the Huz. *kavarman* (Chald. ܐܡܝܢ), 'the neck,' though 'neck' is often expressed by *gardûn*. The meaning is that the yoke of trouble and fear should be accepted.

² M14 and J have 'through provision with the enjoyment of improprieties which is temporarily theirs.'

selves therein temporarily, and lustfully on account of selfishness; those various actions also, through which *there* would be a way to heaven, they do not trouble themselves with.

9. And in this way, in the world, the comfort and pleasure of the vile are more, and the anxiety, vexation, despondency, and distress of the good *have* become more; the reason is revealed by the stars¹.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The sixth question is that which you ask thus: Why are we men produced for the world, and what is it necessary for us to do therein?

2. The reply is this, that even in the reply to an accompanying question² *it* is written that the creatures are achieved for³ justice and the performance of what is desirable for the creator; and to prepare thoroughly well that which is unlimited and the virtuous progress of the creatures, whose distress is like fear, there is the unparalleled (*abrâdarvatô*) renovation *of the universe*.

3. And that preparation arises from the complete predominance of the creator *and* the non-predominance of the fiend, as is said of it in revelation thus: 'In that time I become completely predominant, I who am *Aûharmazd*; in nothing whatever

¹ That is, it is dependent upon destiny.

² See Chap. III.

³ Reading *pavan* instead of *barâ*, two words which are often confounded by the copyists of MSS. because their Persian equivalents are nearly identical.

is the evil spirit predominant.' 4. And also about the good procedure of the creature-creation *it* is recounted thus: 'Happy *am* I when the creatures are so created by me, and according to any wish whatever of mine they give the sovereignty to me, and also come *to* the sovereignty when I have created *it* for the performance of what is desirable for the expression of what sovereignty is.'

5. And it is necessary for us to become so in the world as that the supreme sovereignty of the creator may be kept more friendly to us, its own true servants. 6. The way to that true service is known through wisdom, is believed (*vâvari-aftô*) through truth, *and* is utilized through goodness; and the path of excellence more particularly *leads to* it. 7. And to set the good spirit rightly in the place of thought *it is* deliberately taken *and* they should deliberately leave *it*¹, as it is said in revelation that *Aûharmazd* spoke out to *Zaratûst* thus: 'Thou shouldst assist *Vohûman* with thy pure spiritual faculties (*ahvô*), so that they may make him fully welcome; for when thou assistest *Vohûman* with thy pure spiritual faculties, so that they make him fully welcome, thou shalt thus fully understand the two ways, *that* which is good conduct, and *that* also which is bad conduct.'

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The seventh question is that you ask thus: When a man is passing *away*, *and* after the occurrence of his passing *away*, how does the good work

¹ Compare Chap. III, 15. The 'good spirit' is *Vohûman*.

then go to him *and* assist him, which any others may do for him who has gone out from the world, on the third night in the dawn¹, *at* which he goes out to the balance²? *And is its* greatness such as though it be done by his own hand, or otherwise?

2. The reply is this:—When any others do a good work for him who *has* passed away, after the passing away, and if he who *has* passed away did not order that good work in *his* lifetime, and did not bequeath it, nor *was its* originator, and it was not even his by design (dâdǝ), then it does not go and does not reach him out at the balance. 3. Even at the time for being proceeded with, when that good work does not assist it is not appropriated, for that which is appropriated as the design of some one is appropriated by acceptance from some one; when it is not his by design it is then not accepted *as* his.

4. If he who *has* passed *away* did not order that good work, and did not even bequeath *it*, but was consenting to it by design, that which shall be done in *his* lifetime then reaches out in the three *nights* (satûih) for the aggrandizement of his position; *but* that which shall be done after *his* passing *away* is not in the account of the three *nights* and the balance, but reaches out, at the time the good work is proceeded with, for the enjoyment of the soul.

5. And if he who *has* passed *away* ordered that

¹ The soul of a dead person is supposed to hover about the corpse for three nights, and not to depart for the other world till the dawn after the third night; that is, at dawn of the fourth day, including the day of death (see Chap. XX, 2, 3, Sls. XVII, 2-6).

² Where the soul's good works are balanced against its sins, to determine its fate till the resurrection.

good work in his own *lifetime*, or bequeathed it, or was the originator and cause of the soul's employment, although it is proceeded with after *his* passing away, it then reaches out to him for the happiness of his soul, since the origin of the thanksgiving (*sipâs*)¹, and the orderer and ownership of the good work are certain.

6. Any good work whatever which is proceeded with is clearly a like good work as regards those who account for *it as* with him who is the doer *of it*; also in the account of his soul the good work is as much with him who did *it*, but the soul of him by whom the good work is done by his own hand, is handsomer and stronger than of him by whom it is ordered. 7. And its similitude is such as when a man's handsome and seemly suit of clothes is his own, and he wears *it* on *his* body *and* is handsomer, more splendid, and more seemly *than* another man *who* wears a suit of clothes, *in* like manner, *which* is his own by theft.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The eighth question is that which you ask thus: Of him who, out of his *own* wealth, himself directed others thus: 'Let them act advantageously (*khangînakö*) for my soul,' is it so that what others may do for him out of that wealth *and that* done by his own toil are very different, one from the other, or not?

¹ The good works mentioned in this chapter would chiefly consist of prayers and ceremonies for which priests have to be remunerated, and gifts to holy men and the poor; such actions as are most highly appreciated by priests.

2. The reply is this, that *they* are very different, one from the other; for that which he orders out of his own wealth is more effectual than that which others may do for him without order. 3. And among the kinds of good work, that is more effectual which *one* practises himself and with his own toil; then that *which one* sets going out of whatever is his own by his own order, regarding which he¹ afterwards bequeaths *and* orders out of his own *property and* it comes into progress; and, lastly, that which others may do for him.

4. Since thus his own *and* that which is his by design, when any one manages for him and in his *lifetime*, aggrandize his position then, *and his* soul is preserved, when he manages for him thereafter the enjoyment then reaches unto his soul. 5. When not consenting as to the good work, and *it is* not his by design, even though others may do *it* for him it does not then come into his possession.

CHAPTER X.

1. The ninth question is that which you ask thus: How much does the growth² of his good works increase, from the *time* when the good works are done, so long as *he* is living?

2. The reply is this, that from the *time* when a good work comes into progress *its* growth remains on the increase so long as *he* is living; moreover,

¹ M14 and J make this an additional kind of good work by reading 'after which is that regarding which he himself,' &c.

² Reading *vakhsh* instead of the *vêš*, 'more,' of the MSS.

when he is distressed by that good work¹, while the increase does not desist *from* increase, it grows just as a child becomes enlarged in the womb of a mother.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The tenth question is that which you ask thus : Does the growth which increases become as commendable in the fourth night² as the original good work³ in *his* possession, or does it become otherwise?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is otherwise ; for the original good work stands up opposing sin, and the growing good work⁴ stands up opposed to the growth of sin.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The eleventh question is that you ask thus : Does the growth of a good work eradicate sin just like the original good work, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the growth does eradicate *it*, as happens *with* the good work which is for atonement for sin ; it shall be done as retribution for sin, *and* it eradicates the sin, which is specially mentioned in revelation⁵. 3. 'Then the place of his

¹ The good work being more meritorious when more troublesome.

² After death, when all the immediate ceremonies for the dead have been completed (see Sls. XVII, 5 note).

³ Literally 'the good work of the beginning.' That *bûn kirfakö* does not here stand for *bûn-î kirfakö*, 'the origin or root of the good work,' appears from Chap. XII, 1, where it is written *kirfakö-î bûn*.

⁴ Literally 'the good work of growth.'

⁵ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 136, where the matter is mentioned, but

other good work is evidently the soul; and, in order to be with the sin at *its* origin, it remains *and* is taken into account.' 4. 'Through good works and the growth of good works is the recompense of the soul, so that they should do those good works in atonement for sin.' 5. And concerning the sin eradicated it is said: 'An original good work eradicates original sin¹, and the growth of a good work *eradicates* the growth of a sin.'

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The twelfth question is that which you ask thus: In the fourth night do they score off (*barâ angârênd*) the sin by the good works, and does he go by the residue (*bôn*); or do they inflict punishment on him for the sin which *has* happened to him, and give reward *and* recompense for the good works which he *has* done?

2. The reply is this, that at dawn of the third night the account is prepared it is said, and about the sin which he *has* atoned for, *and* the good work which is its equivalent (*âvâr*) *there* is no need for account, since the account is about the good works which may be appropriated by him *as* his own, and about the sin which may remain *in* him as *its* origin. 3. Because the origin of it (the sin atoned for) remains distinct, and it is cancelled (*astardô*)

the passages which seem to be quoted here must be from some other source.

¹ Literally 'sinning of the beginning' (*bûn-vinâsîh*). It must mean the first commission of any particular sin, and has no connection with the 'original sin' of Christian writers.

by it (the good work), they balance it therewith; and they weigh the excess and deficiency, as it may be, of the *other* good works *and* sin.

4. Of those living, at the just, impartial (*akafsišnô*) balance the *man* of proper habits (*dâdô*), whose good works are more, when sin *has* happened to him, undergoes a temporary (*vidanâik*) punishment and becomes eternally cleansed by the good works; and he of improper habits, of much sin and little good works, attains temporary enjoyment by those good works, *but* through the sin which they perceive *in* him he is suffering punishment unto the resurrection.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The thirteenth question is that which you ask thus: Who should prepare the account of the soul as to sin and good works, and in what place should they make it up? *And* when punishment is inflicted by them, where is their place then?

2. The reply is this, that the account about the doers of actions, as to good works *and* sin, three times every day whilst the doer of the actions is living, Vohûman the archangel should prepare; because taking account of the thoughts, words, and deeds of all material existences is among his duties.

3. And about the sin which *affects* accusers¹, which

¹ Sins are divided into two classes, *hamêmâlân* or those which affect 'accusers,' and *rûbânîk* or those which affect only one's own soul. In the first class are included all evil actions which injure our fellow-creatures or any good animal or thing, and for which the injured party (the 'accuser') must receive satisfaction before the sinner can be pardoned (see Sls. VIII, 1).

is committed by (*va*l) breakers of promises, even in the world Mitrô¹ is said *to be* over the bodies, words, and fortunes (*hû-bakhtakô*) of the promise-breakers; *and* as to the amount, and also as to *being* more than the stipulation when *there is* a period of time², Mitrô is the account-keeper. 4. In the three *nights' account* (*satûth*) Srôsh the righteous *and* Rashnû the just³ are over the estimate of the limits of the good works *and* sin of righteousness and wickedness. 5. In the future existence, on the completion of every account, the creator Aûharmazd himself takes account⁴, by whom both the former account of the three *nights* and all the thoughts, words, and deeds of the creatures are known through his omniscient wisdom.

6. The punishment for a soul of the sinners comes from that spirit⁵ with *whom* the sin, which *was* committed by it, is connected; fostered by the iniquity practised, that punishment comes upon the souls of the sinful and wicked, first on earth, afterwards in hell, *and* lastly at the organisation of the

¹ The angel of the sun's light; he is a personification of friendship and good faith, and is, therefore, specially aggrieved by breaches of promise and fraudulent debtors, but assists righteous souls in their passage to the other world (see AV. V, 3, Mkh. II, 118).

² Referring to debts and promises to pay.

³ The angels of obedience and justice; the duty of the former is to protect the righteous, and that of the latter is to weigh the good works and sins in his golden scales, when the soul's account is balanced after the third night after death (see AV. V, 2–5, Mkh. II, 115–122).

⁴ Referring, perhaps, to the future temporary separation of the wicked from the righteous, after the assembly of the *Sadvâstarân* (see Bd. XXX, 10–16).

⁵ The demon who is supposed to have occasioned the sin.

future existence¹. 7. When the punishment of the three *nights* is undergone² the soul of the righteous attains to heaven *and* the best existence, *and* the soul of the wicked to hell and the worst existence. 8. When they have undergone their punishment at the renovation *of the universe* they attain, by complete purification from every sin, unto the everlasting progress, happy progress, *and* perfect progress of the best *and* undisturbed existence.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The fourteenth question is that which you ask thus: Is the eradication of life the gnawing of dogs and birds upon the corpse? And does the sin of those who suppose *it*³ a sin proceed from *that* origin, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the decrease of sin and increase of good works, owing to good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds, arise really from the effort and disquietude which come on by means of the religion the soul practises, *and* through the strength in effort, steadfastness of religion, and

¹ The three days and nights of final punishment, after the resurrection and before the final purification in melted metal (see Bd. XXX, 13, 16, 20), which is mentioned again in § 8.

² This does not refer to the final punishment of §§ 6 and 8, but to the previous three nights' tribulation just after death, and to the fate of the soul before the resurrection (see Chaps. XXIV, XXV).

³ The exposure of the dead, apparently; but the construction of this question and its relation to the reply are by no means clear at first sight. From §§ 2, 5, 6 we have to infer that the exposure is a meritorious action rather than a sin; and from §§ 3, 4 we have to gather that as loss of life occurs to every one, and exposure of the corpse only to some, the former cannot be caused by the latter.

protection of soul *which* the faithful possess. 3. That evil which *occurs* when doing good works, which is the one (*hanâ*) when doing iniquity, and when one strives *it* is the one when he does not strive, the one when content and the one when not content, and after *it is* undesired, and no cause of good works is with it, it occurs just as undesired, for the sake of favour and reward, is the certain eradication of life. 4. It happens once only (*aêtûm*) unto the righteous and the wicked, every one *who* may have received the reward—that reward is living until the time of passing *away*—but the gnawing of dogs and birds does not happen unto every one and every body. 5. It is necessary *for those* to act very differently¹ whose understanding of good works is owing to proper heed of dead matter; and, on account of the rapid change (*vardî-hastanö*) of that pollution, and a desire of atonement for sin, they should carry the body of *one* passed *away* out to a mountain-spur (*kôf vakhsh*), *or* a place of *that* description, enjoining unanimously that the dogs and birds may gnaw it, owing to the position of the appointed place². 6. Therefore, as owing to that fear³, the commands of religion, and progressive

¹ Differently from others.

² The dead must be deposited upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water, and, if possible, upon the summit of a hill (see Chap. XVII, 17, and Vend. VI, 93). From the mention of dogs gnawing the corpse it would appear that the depositories for the dead were less enclosed when this work was written than they are at present; and in ancient times both enclosed and unenclosed depositories seem to have been used (see Vend. VI, 92-106). For a description of the present form of such depositories see Sls. II, 6, note.

³ Fear of pollution from the dead.

desire *it* is accepted strenuously for the wicked himself, his own recompense is therein, and it happens to him in that way for the removal (narafsisnô) of sin *and* for the gratification of *his* soul.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The fifteenth question is that which you ask thus: When the dogs and birds tear it (the corpse) does the soul know *it*, and does it occur uncomfortably *for* it, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that the pain *occasioned* by the tearing and gnawing so galls (mâlêdô) the body of men that, though the soul *were* abiding with the body, such soul, which *one* knows is happy and immortal, *would* then depart from the body, *along* with the animating life, the informing (sinâyinâkô) consciousness, *and* the remaining resources of life.

3. The body is inert, unmoving, and not to be galled; and at last no pain whatever galls *it*, nor is it perceived; and the soul, with the life, is outside of the body, and is not unsafe as regards its gnawing, but through the spiritual perception¹ it sees *and* knows *it*.

4. That which is wicked is then again desirous of its bodily existence², when it sees them thus: the wonderfully-constructed body which was its

¹ Supposing that sinâsnô stands for sinâyisnô; otherwise we must read 'in the spiritual places (dîvâgânô).'

² This section is made still more complicated in the Pahlavi text by the division of this first phrase; half of it being placed at the beginning, and the other half at the extreme end of the sentence.

vesture, *and* is dispersed, and that spiritual life (hûkǒ) which was with its heart, and is even on account of this—that is: ‘Because in my bodily existence and worldly progress *there was* no atonement for sin and no accumulation of righteousness’—also in mourning about it thus: ‘In the prosperity which this body of mine had, it would have been possible for me to atone for sin *and* to save the soul, *but* now I am separated from every one and *from* the joy of the world, which is great hope of spiritual *life*; and I have attained to the perplexing account and more serious danger.’ 5. And the gnawing becomes as grievous to it, on account of that body, as a closely-shut arsenal (afzâr bêtâ-î badtûm) and a concealed innermost garment are useless among those with limbs *provided* with weapons and accoutrements, and are destroyed.

6. And of that, too, which is righteous and *filled* with the great joy that *arises* from *being* really certain of the best existence, then also the spiritual life which was with its body, on account of the great righteousness, *fit* for the exalted (fîrâkhtagânîk), which *was* ever accumulated by it with the body, is well developed (madam hû-tâshîdǒ), *and* the wonderfully-constructed body is destroyed in the manner of a garment, particularly when its dispersion (apâsîsnǒ) occurs thereby.

7. And the consciousness of men, as it sits three nights outside of the body, in the vicinity of the body, *has* to remember and expect that *which* is truly fear and trouble (khâr) unto the demons, *and* reward, peace, and glad tidings (nôvîk) unto the spirits of the good; and, on account of the dispersion and injuring of the body, it utters a cry spiritually,

thus: 'Why do the dogs and birds gnaw this organised body, when still at last the body and life unite together at the raising of the dead?' 8. And this is the reminding of the resurrection *and* liberation, and it becomes the happiness and hope of the spirit of the body *and* the other good spirits, and the fear *and* vexation of the demons and fiends.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The sixteenth question is that which you ask thus: What is the purpose¹ of giving up a corpse to the birds?

2. The reply is this, that the construction of the body of those passed *away* is so wonderful that two co-existences have come together for *it*, one which is to occasion endurance (dêr padâyinîdanö) *and* one which is to cause conflict (nipôrdîninîdanö), and their natures are these, for watching the angels *and* averting the demons. 3. After appertaining *to it* the life—so long as *it is* in the locality of the place of the body—and the demons of dull intellects, *who* are frightened by the body, are just like a sheep startled by wolves when they shall further frighten *it* by a wolf². 4. The spirit of the body, on account of being the spiritual life (hûkö) for the heart in the body, is indestructible; so is the will which resided therein, even when they shall release it from *its* abode.

5. In the same way the body of those who are

¹ Assuming that âhan stands for âhang.

² This last clause is a quotation, slightly altered, from Pahl. Vend. XIX, 108, 109.

passed *away* is so much the more innocently worthy of the rights (sânō) of *one* properly passed *away*, and *what it* is therein provided with, as it has uttered thanksgivings. 6. *For* those guardian spirits who keep watch over the body of Keresâsp¹ the Sâmân are also such praises from the life and body, for that reason, moreover, when they unite.

7. The injury of the destroyer to the body of those passed *away* is contaminating; the Nasûs ('corruption')² rushes on it and, owing to its violence when it becomes triumphant over the life of the righteous man, and frightens it from the place of the catastrophe (hankarâtkth), and puts itself into the place of the body, that body is then, for that reason, called Nasât ('dead matter'). 8. And, on account of the co-existence of rapid changing and the mode of attacking of the same Nasûs, even when it is necessary for the disintegration of the body, this is also then to lie and change sanatorily.

¹ An ancient hero, mentioned both in the Avesta and Shâhnâmah, who, owing to his disregard of religion, is said to be lying asleep on the plain of Pêsyânsai (probably the Pîsîn valley near Qandahâr), watched by a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous, until he shall be hereafter aroused by the angels to kill the revived usurper Az-i Dahâk (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 8, Byt. III, 59–61). Regarding his soul a legend is related in the Pahlavi tracts which precede Dd. in some MSS., of which a translation will be found in Appendix I.

² Supposed to be a fiend who enters and pervades every corpse immediately after death, except in certain cases of violent death, when its arrival is delayed till the next period of the day (see Sls. X, 32). This exception is made in Vend. VII, 5, 6, and was probably intended, in most cases, to prevent a person who had met with a serious accident being left to perish, through fear of his death contaminating any one coming to his relief; not from any idea of the fiend being taken unawares by the suddenness of the death. This fiend is the Av. *nasu* (nom. *nasus*).

9. Hence, as the body of men is formed out of hard bone and soft fat, that *which* is established is the expulsion of the bone from the fat. 10. For the bone through its hardness, when no damp fat is with it, and it does not become a holder of its damp, is itself essentially dry; and it becomes unconsumable and attaining durability, through dryness, out of the dead matter even for perpetuity. 11. And the sun is provided to make rotten, dispersed, *and* useless the fat that is around the bone, which on the decay of the animating life is to become increasingly damp, and, after the departure of life through terror and disgust (adôstîh), it comes to rottenness and stench; and the noxious creatures in *it* alike afflict it and the hard *part* such as bone.

12. As regards the shrinking away of those who are sinners, the nearer way to a remedy is the gnawer away from men¹; the fat becomes separate from the bone, and is seized and digested, as by the separation of the fat from the dead matter for digestion, moreover, the permanent matter (asarîh) and bone attain more fully unto their own nature (sânö), *and* the body (kâlpûdö) to emptiness. 13. Because there is no *other* way to consume that fat of men, since *it* is most grievous to them (the sinners), and the pollution and contamination are made a blessing unto it (the gnawer). 14. The dispersers (astârđögarân) completely disperse from it²; they are ap-

¹ That is, in the case of those who neglect the proper exposure of corpses, there is a natural remedy in the worms produced for consuming them. Perhaps the word khastâr, 'cutter or gnawer,' stands for khastar, 'noxious creature.'

² The consumers of the corpse disperse when their work is done, and carry contamination with them unless purified by the sun's heat, as described in § 15.

pointed and produced, a production not worthy, for its defilement of those purified *and* animals is contaminating, through contact again with men. 15. The crow (galâg) and such-like, through scorching away by the fire of the luminaries, become worthy; moreover, the affliction of that which is completely pure fire arises therefrom, as it is not able itself to come unto the scorched *one*, *for* then the defilement (darvâkh) of the scorcher by the most grievous gnawer *would* be possible.

16. But it is not proper to recount (angâstanô) the devouring of the noxious creatures, for the spirit of the body is troubled when it observes the alarmed (vazîd) spirituality which *was* in the body of those destroyed, the noxious creatures upon the goodly forms, and the mode and strangeness of *their* disintegration and spoliation. 17. And so it then becomes the more remedial way¹ when, as it is ordered in revelation², the body fraught with corruption is placed on the ground of a clear mountain-spur (kôf vakhsh); *and*, in order not to convey *it* to the water, plants, and men of the plain, it is fastened³ in the customary manner, so that the corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, which are not subject to the hand (dastô-âmûkô) of men, and are likewise not entertained as food, shall yet not drag *any* of it away for man's eating of dead matter.

18. For streams and waters go themselves⁴ *and*

¹ That is, it is better to adopt the customary mode of removing the corpse.

² See Vend. VI, 93-97.

³ This is ordered only when the corpse is not placed in any enclosure.

⁴ Or, as Vend. V, 49-62 describes it, the water is rained down by

consume that fat, and are digested by the vital fire¹ which is in the life of the creatures of Aûharmazd; *and* from fat the corpses and dead matter are reduced unto dregs of clay² and permanent matter, even with the dust they are mingled *and* become scattered about. 19. Likewise to those dogs, flying creatures, *and* birds they themselves (the waters) have given the corpse-eating quality *and* habit³, and on account of dull intellect they (the creatures) are not overwhelmed even by that sin.

20. From that fat which is mingled with the living body of a creature of Aûharmazd then *arises* also the assault⁴ of the demons, as is shown in the chapter⁵ on the reason for showing a dog to a dead *person*, so that the body of those passed *away*, when the gnawers away are mingled with the living body of a creature of Aûharmazd, exhibits a partial resurrection and the tokens *of it*, and thereby the demons keep in it (the living body), and give pain⁶ by the will of the sacred beings.

Aûharmazd, purified in the Pûtîk sea, and conveyed through the wide-formed ocean to the well-watered tree of all seeds, whence the falling seeds are brought back, with the misty clouds, and rained upon the earth, to grow there and yield food for cattle and men.

¹ The vital heat, or Vohu-fryân fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2).

² Reading gîl-valîgh (compare Pers. kalîz, 'sediment,' or galîz, 'saliva').

³ Which they have imbibed by contact with dead matter.

⁴ Or 'weapon.'

⁵ No such chapter is now extant in Dd., and, therefore, this remark favours the supposition that some chapters are lost between Chaps. XCIII and XCIV. A corpse must be shown to a dog in order that the demon, Nasûs, may be driven out of it by the look, or touch, of the dog (see Sls. II, 1-4, X, 33).

⁶ A recognition of the fact that the drinking of impure water, or eating of tainted food, is apt to produce disease.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The seventeenth question is that you ask thus: Is it better when they give *it* to the birds, or what mode is better?

2. The reply is this, that after showing the dog—the reason of which is as declared¹ in its own chapter—they shall carry the corpse at once to the hills and rising ground (*vakhsh būm*); and, for the reason that the dogs *and* birds should not bring that dead matter away to a watered, cultivated, *or* inhabited place, *one* is to fasten *it in* the manner of a thief². 3. When the corpse-eating birds have eaten the fat, that fat which, when it is not possible to eat *it*, becomes rotten, offensive, and fraught with noxious creatures, then *men* shall properly convey the bones away to the bone-receptacle (*astôdânö*), which³ *one* is to elevate so from the ground, *and* over which⁴ a roof (*âskûpö*) so stands, that in no way does the rain fall upon the dead matter, nor the water reach up to it therein, nor the damp make up to it therein, nor are the dog and fox able to go to it, and for the sake of light coming to it a hole is made therein.

4. More authoritatively (*dastôbarîhâ*) it is said that bone-receptacle is a vault (*kadākö*) of solid stone⁵, and its covering (*nihûmbakö*) *one* is to

¹ Literally 'as the reason of it is declared.' This is another allusion to the missing chapter mentioned in Chap. XVII, 20.

² Reading *âhûn khadûîñö*, but this is very likely a corruption of *khadûîñö khadûîñö*, 'in various modes.'

³ The MSS. have *mûnam*, 'which by me.'

⁴ The MSS. have *min madam*, 'from above.'

⁵ Whether *khadûkö-sagakö* means 'solid rock' or 'solid ashlar' is doubtful.

construct also of a single stone which is cut perforated (sûlâk-hômand), and around it *one* is to fill in with stone and mortar¹.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The eighteenth question is that which you ask thus: When the souls of the righteous *and* the souls of the wicked go out to the spirits, will it then be possible for them to see Aûharmazd and Aharman², or not?

2. The reply is this, that concerning Aharman it is said that his is no material existence (stîs); *and* Aûharmazd, as a spirit among the spirits, is to be heard by those who are material and those also who are spiritual, *but his* form (kerpô) is not completely visible except through wisdom. 3. And a semblance of *his* power is seen, as *was* told unto Zarâtûst the Spîtamân when he saw the result (zah) of his handiwork, and he (Aûharmazd) spoke thus: 'Grasp the hand of a righteous man! for the kindly operation of my religion through³ thee thyself is as

¹ Perhaps the single stone is not to cover the whole space, but merely to contain the opening for light, and to be set in a vaulted roof of ashlar or rubble; otherwise it is not clear where the filling with stone and mortar is to be placed. This bone-receptacle was to be provided for the bones of those corpses which were deposited on the open ground. In the enclosed depositories, used in India, the bone-receptacle is a circular well in the centre, from which the rain does not appear to be excluded (see Sls. II, 6, note).

² The evil spirit (see Chap. II, 11), whose nature and powers differ very little from those ascribed to the devil by most Christian writers.

³ Or 'on;' or, perhaps, it 'is as much as he shall grasp at thee thyself.'

much as he shall grasp, and thou mayst see him whose reception (*mâhmânth*) of my wisdom and glory is the most.'

4. And about the souls of the righteous and wicked, in the spiritual places they see the throne (*gâs*), which they deem a sight of *Aûharmazd*. 5. And so also those who are domiciled with (*ham-nemân*) Aharman, through that wisdom with reference to whose creator they shall suffer, will understand minutely as regards *Aûharmazd* and the nature of Aharman (*Aharmanth*). 6. And he who is of the righteous is delighted at escaping from Aharman *and* coming to the existence pertaining to *Aûharmazd*; and they shall offer homage to the glory¹ of *Aûharmazd*. 7. And he who is wicked, through being deceived by Aharman, and turning from the direction (*pe lag*) of *Aûharmazd*, becomes more vexed *and* more penitent; the hope (*zahišnō*) and forgiveness which he possesses, and the retribution *and* manacling which are his among the fiends *and* spirits through his own handiwork, are *by* the permission which comes from the most persistent of the persistent² at the period of the resurrection.

¹ The word 'glory' is always to be understood in its material sense of 'radiance, effulgence.'

² That is, from *Aûharmazd*. The epithet *khvâpar*, here translated 'persistent,' appears to mean 'self-sustaining' in the Avesta (see Sls. XXII, 21); traditionally it is supposed to mean 'protecting, cherishing,' but this is merely a guess, though it seems related to Pers. *khapârah*, 'active,' and may, therefore, often mean 'persevering.'

CHAPTER XX.

1. The nineteenth question is that you ask thus :
To what place do the righteous and wicked¹ go ?

2. The reply is this, that it is thus said that the souls of those passed *away and* of the dead² are three nights on earth ; and the first night satisfaction comes to them from *their* good thoughts *and* vexation from *their* evil thoughts, the second night *come* pleasure from *their* good words *and* discomfort and punishment³ from *their* evil words, *and* the third night *come* exaltation from *their* good deeds *and* punishment from *their* evil deeds⁴. 3. And that third night, in the dawn, they go to the place of account *on* Albûrz⁵; the account *being* rendered they proceed to the bridge⁶, and he who is righteous

¹ As K35 inserts the relative *î* here, some such phrase as 'who are dead' has probably dropped out of the Pahlavi text.

² The Parsi books speak of the righteous dead as 'departed,' a term very rarely applied to the wicked (see Chap. XXXII, 4), who are nearly always said 'to die;' the latter verb is, however, occasionally used when speaking of the righteous. This distinction is made even in the Huzvâris logograms, which express the death of the righteous by forms allied to Chald. עָבַר 'he passed over,' and the death of the wicked by forms allied to Chald. מָיַת 'he died.'

³ So in all MSS., but the 'punishment' seems superfluous here.

⁴ The Avesta merely states that the soul remains three nights near the body, chanting a particular hymn, and experiencing as much pleasure or uneasiness as it had in the world (see Hn. II, 3-17, III, 3-16); and much the same account is given in AV. IV, 9-14, XVII, 2-9, Mkh. II, 114, 158-160.

⁵ The mountain chain which is supposed to surround the world (see Bd. XII, 3); the Av. Hara-berezaiti.

⁶ The *Kinvad* bridge (see Chap. XXI, 2-7), which is said to

passes over the bridge on the ascent (lâlâih), and if belonging to the ever-stationary (hamîstânîkō)¹ he goes thither where their place is, if *along* with an excess of good works *his* habits are correct (frârûn-dâd) *he goes* even unto heaven (vahistō), and if *along* with an excess of good works *and* correct habits *he has* chanted the sacred hymns (gâsânō) *he goes* even unto the supreme heaven (garôdmânō). 4. He who is of the wicked falls from the lower end (tîh) of the bridge, or from the middle of the bridge; he falls head-foremost to hell, *and* is precipitated (nikûnî-aitō) unto that grade² which is *suitable* for his wickedness.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The twentieth question is that which you ask thus: How are the *Kînvad* bridge, the *Dâtîh* peak (*kakâd*), and the path of the righteous and wicked;

rest upon the *Dâtîh* ('judicial') peak, and to pass over to *Albûrz* (see Bd. XII, 7). According to the *Avesta* (Vend. XIX, 100, 101, trans. D.) his conscience, in the form of a maiden, 'makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the *Hara-berezaiti* (*Albûrz*); above the *Kînvad* bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods (angels) themselves.' See also AV. V, 1, 2, Mkh. II, 115.

¹ The intermediate place for those not good enough for heaven and not bad enough for hell, where such souls remain in a passive, immovable state till the resurrection (see Sls. VI, 2). It is divided into two parts, according to the author, one for those nearly righteous (see Chap. XXIV, 6), and one for those nearly wicked (see Chap. XXXIII, 2).

² Four grades of heaven and four of hell are mentioned in AV. and Mkh. (see Sls. VI, 3, note).

how *are they* when *one* is righteous, and how when *one* is wicked?

2. The reply is this, that thus the high-priests *have* said, that the Dâitih peak¹ is in Atrân-vêg², in the middle of the world; reaching unto the vicinity of that peak is that beam-shaped (dâr-kerpô) spirit, the Kinvad bridge³, which is thrown *across* from the Albûrz enclosure (var) back to the Dâitih peak.

3. As *it were* that bridge is like a beam of many sides, of whose edges (pôstô) there are *some* which are broad, and there are *some* which are thin *and* sharp; its broad sides (sûkîhâ) are so large that its width is twenty-seven reeds (nâf), and its sharp sides are so contracted (tang) that in thinness *it* is just like the edge of a razor. 4. And when the souls of the righteous and wicked arrive it turns to that side which is *suitable* to their necessities, through the great glory of the creator and the command of him who *takes* the just account⁴.

5. Moreover, the bridge becomes a broad bridge for the righteous, as much as the height of nine spears (nîzakô)—and the length of those which they carry is each separately three reeds⁵—; and

¹ The Kâkâd-î Dâitîk of Bd. XII, 7.

² The primeval home of Mazda-worship (see Vend. I, 5, 6), which the Bundahis places 'in the direction of Âdarbigân;' it is also stated to contain the Dâitîk or Dâitih river (which must not be confounded with the Dâitih peak) and the Dâraga river (on whose bank Zaratûst's father is said to have dwelt), and to have been the scene of Zaratûst's first promulgation of the religion (Bd. XX, 13, 32, XXIX, 12, XXXII, 3). Its winter is likewise described as both long and cold (Vend. I, 8-12, Bd. XXV, 11, 16), which is the case in Âdarbigân.

³ See Chap. XX, 3.

⁴ The angel Rashnû.

⁵ The nine spears of three reeds each, in length, making up the

it becomes a narrow bridge *for* the wicked, even unto a resemblance to the edge of a razor. 6. And he who is of the righteous passes over the bridge, and a worldly similitude of the pleasantness of his path upon it is when thou shalt eagerly and unweariedly walk in the golden-coloured spring, and *with* the gallant (hû-kîr¹) body and sweet-scented blossom in the pleasant skin of that maiden² spirit, the price of goodness. 7. He who is of the wicked, as he places a footstep *on* to the bridge, on account of affliction (siparîh) and *its* sharpness, falls from the middle of the bridge, and rolls *over* head-foremost. 8. And the unpleasantness of his path to hell is in similitude such as the worldly *one* in the midst of that stinking *and* dying existence (hastân), there where numbers of the sharp-pointed darts (têzö mûk dûgö) are planted³ out inverted and point upwards, and they come unwillingly running; they shall not allow *them* to stay behind, *or* to make delay. 9. So much greater *than* the worldly similitude is that pleasantness and unpleasantness unto the souls, as such as is fit for the spirit is greater than *that* fit for the world.

twenty-seven reeds mentioned in § 3. As the reed appears to have been about 4 feet 8 inches (see Chap. XLIII, 5, note), the width of the bridge is supposed to be about 126 feet, and the length of a spear is taken as 14 feet.

¹ So in the MSS., but hû-kîhar, 'handsome,' is more probable.

² Reading kanîkö, instead of the kanâkö of the MSS., as there can be no allusion to the evil spirit here. The reference is to a good conscience, which is symbolised by the handsome maiden who is supposed to meet the righteous soul on its way to heaven (see Chap. XXIV, 5).

³ Assuming that âgzast is equivalent to Pers. âgast. The allusion seems to be to a form of torturing punishment (running upon ground studded with sharp points) well known to the author.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The twenty-first question is that which you ask thus: When he who is righteous passes away, who has performed much worship of the sacred beings, and many duties and good works, do the spirit of creation, the spirit of the *sacred* ceremony (*yazisnō*) and religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, the water, earth, plants, and animals, make complaint unto *Aûharmazd*, owing to the passing away of him who is righteous, and is it distressing to them when he goes out from the world, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that *as to* him who is of the righteous, in *his* transit of worldly pain in passing away, and also after passing away to the passage onwards¹ which is his limit (*stâr*) still in the perplexing account, and, after the account, in his own joy, and in what *occurs* when his gossips (*ham-vâkân*) in the world—by whom the spiritual beings are also not unrecognised, *nor* his position unknown—are in worldly demeanour downcast and grieving, *on all these occasions*² *his* thoughts, procuring forgiveness, are about the sacred beings. 3. And the spirit of creation, *and* the good spirit of the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, which are in the worldly *existence*—of which³ also, in the world, that righteous *one* is a praiser, an employer, a manager, a protection, and a forbearing friend—shall make an outcry to

¹ The *Kinvað* bridge, near which the soul's account is rendered.

² The sentence is clear enough in Pahlavi, but too involved to be readily understood in English without these extra words.

³ The worldly existences which those spirits represent.

the creator about him who is righteous, who is *away* from worldly protection, *also* for the granting of a promoter of forbearance, and *for* a restorer (*âvôrdâr*) of *what* is extorted¹; *likewise* a petition about the compensatory concomitants as to his new protection and disposer.

4. And the almighty creator responds, *and* allots a teacher² for smiting the fiend, for the satisfaction of the righteous, *and* for the protection of the good creatures. 5. As it is said, that in every age a high-priest of the religion and *his* managing of the creatures are made manifest, in whom, in that age, the protection of the creatures and the will of the sacred beings are progressing.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The twenty-second question is that which you ask thus: When they shall snatch forth the life from the body of man how does it depart?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is said *to be* in resemblance such as when the redness is drawn up out of a fire; for when the inflammable *material* of a fire is burnt, *and has* remained without glowing³,

¹ These latter clauses of the outcry refer to their own wants, and the necessity of providing some one to take the place of the deceased; but the final petition seems to be for the deceased himself.

² The word may be either *farhakhtâkô*, 'preparing, educating,' or *firistâkô*, 'sending, deputing,' and must be used as a substantive.

³ Reading *abarîs* (compare Pers. *barz*, 'splendour'), or it may be *abarâkh*, 'sparkless,' if *barkh*, 'a spark,' be a pure Persian word, which is doubtful.

and when it does not obtain new inflammable *material*, or extinguishing *matter* (nizâyisnîk) comes upon *it*, its redness *and* heat then depart from it¹; the life, too, on the departure of the breath (vâdö vasakîh), does not stay in the body, *but in* like manner departs.

3. To a like purport the high-priests of the religion *have* also said this, that mortals *and* men by listening² perceive the time when the spirits shall put a noose (band) on the neck³; when his time *has* fully come *one* then conducts him with a companion (pavan ham-bar)⁴, and at his falling are the place of death⁵ and cause of death; and *having* made lethargy (bûshâsp) deliver him up, and terrified his fever (tapö), death (aôsh) seizes decrepitude (zarmân) *away* from him⁶.

4. The strength in those intrusted *with him*, and the good proceedings *and* pursuit of means which remain behind⁷, giving them strength, are the deter-

¹ M14 and J omit the remainder of the sentence.

² Reading *sinvisnö*, but by omitting a stroke we should have *dânisnö*, 'knowledge.'

³ Of a person at the point of death. The demon of death, *Astô-vidâz*, is supposed to cast a noose around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, which only the righteous can throw off (see Bd. III, 21, 22).

⁴ That is, the dying man must be conveyed by more than one person, for fear of such contamination by the demon of corruption (at the time of death) as would require the tedious *Bareshnûm* ceremonial of purification (see Sls. II, 1, 6-8).

⁵ And, therefore, the place where his body will rise again at the resurrection (see Sls. XVII, 11-14).

⁶ Lethargy, fever, and decrepitude are considered as fiends, but are dispossessed by the mightier demon of death. M14 and J mention 'lethargy,' but omit the after part of the sentence.

⁷ Alluding probably to the ceremonies to be ordered and performed by the survivors (see Chap. XXVIII, 6, Sls. XVII, 2-6).

mination (*vikîr*) which is their own inward physician.
 5. And should it be a passing *away* (*vidarg*) which obtains no light, and on account of their disquietudes *they have* gone to the understanders of remedies for strength for the remedial duties, and the way is closed, he proceeds with insufficiency of means¹.
 6. And the soul of the body, which is the master of *its* house (*kadak khûdâi*), *along* with the animating life, *goes* out of the impotent body to the immortal souls², as a wise master of a house *goes* out of a foreign (*anîrânö*) house to a residence of the good worship.

7. *It was* also told to the ancient learned that life (*khayâ*) is where there is a living spirit within the soul's body, which is connected with the soul³, as much as a development (*sarîûtânö*) of the body, and is the life (*zîvandakîh*) of the soul of a body of *one* passed *away*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The twenty-third question is that which you ask thus: When he who is righteous passes away, where is the place the soul sits the first night, the second, and the third; and what does it do?

2. The reply is this, that thus it is said, that the

¹ That is, when there are doubts about the fate of the soul, and the survivors can obtain no satisfactory assurances from the priesthood, the soul has to proceed to the other world without suitable provision for its happiness.

² The MSS. have 'soul.'

³ M₁₄ and J have 'which is the soul,' and omit the remainder of the sentence.

soul of man, itself the spirit of the body¹, after passing away, is three nights upon earth, doubtful about its own position (gâs)², and in fear of the account; and it experiences terror, distress (dah-yakö), and fear through anxiety about the *Kinvad* bridge³; and as it sits it notices about its own good works *and* sin. 3. And the soul, which in a manner *belongs* to *that* same spirit of the body which is alike experiencing and alike touching it, becomes acquainted by sight with the sin which it *has* committed, and the good works which it *has* scantily done.

4. And the first night from its own good thoughts, the second night from *its* good words, and the third night from *its* good deeds it obtains pleasure for the soul; and if also, with the righteousness, there be sin which remains *in it* as its origin, the first punishment in retribution for the evil deed occurs *that* same third night. 5. The same third night, on the fresh arrival of a dawn⁴, the treasurer of good works, like a handsome maiden (kanîkö)⁵, comes out to meet *it* with the store of its own good works; and, collected by witches (parîkö-kînd), the sin and crime unatoned for (atôkhtö) come on to the account *and* are justly accounted for⁶.

¹ The 'spirit of the body' which is to some extent distinguished from the 'soul,' both in this chapter and the next, is probably the life, as described in Chap. XXIII, 7.

² That is, its future position, or 'destination.'

³ See Chap. XXI, 2-7.

⁴ Reading dên bâm-î nuk ayâftö.

⁵ Fully described in Hn. II, 22-32, AV. IV, 18-35, Mkh. II, 125-139.

⁶ The author is more practical than most other writers on the same subject, as he assumes that the righteous soul is not absolutely righteous, nor the wicked soul absolutely wicked.

6. For the remaining (*ketrûnd*) sin it undergoes punishment *at* the bridge, and the evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds are atoned for; and with the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds of its own commendable and pleasing spirit it steps forward unto the supreme heaven (*garôdmânô*)¹, or to heaven (*vahistô*), or to the ever-stationary (*hamîstânagânô*) of the righteous², there where there is a place for it in righteousness.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The twenty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: When he who is wicked shall die, where is the place the soul sits the first night, the second, and the third; and what does it say and do?

2. The reply is this, that those three nights the soul is upon earth, *and* notices about the thoughts, words, and deeds of its own body; *it* is doubtful about its own position, and experiences grievous fear of the account, great terror of the bridge, and perplexing fear on account of hell. 3. Thought is oppressive as an indicator of fear, and the soul, in a manner the spirit of the body, is a computer³ and acquirer of acquaintance by sight about the good works which it *has* not done, and the sin which it *has* committed.

4. And the first night *it* is hastening *away* from

¹ See Chap. XX, 3.

² There is another place for the ever-stationary of the wicked (see Chap. XXXIII, 2).

³ Assuming that *angrâtđâr* stands for *angâriđâr*.

its own evil thoughts, the second night from its own evil words, and the third night from its own evil deeds; but, owing to the good works which it has done in the world, the first night the spirit of *its* good thoughts, the second night the spirit of *its* good words, and the third night the spirit of *its* good deeds, come unto the soul, and become pleasing and commendable to it.

5. And the third night, on the fresh arrival of a dawn, its sin, in the frightful, polluted shape of a maiden (*karâtîk*) who is an injurer, comes to meet *it* with the store of its sin; and a stinking northerly¹ wind comes out to meet *it*, and it comes on shudderingly, quiveringly², and unwillingly running to the account. 6. And through being deceived and deceiving, heresy (*avârûn-dînôth*), unrelenting and false³ accusation of constant companions, and the wide-*spread* sinfulness of a fiend-like existence (*drûg-stihîh*) it is ruined, falls from the bridge, *and* is precipitated to hell.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The twenty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: How are the nature of heaven (*vahistô*), *and* the comfort and pleasure which are in heaven?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* lofty, exalted, and

¹ The demons are supposed to come from the north, where the gates of hell are situated (see Sls. X, 7).

² Reading *astô-sîstihâ nafô-gumdânihâ*, which may be, literally, 'with bones started *and* with shaking navel;' but the reading is doubtful.

³ Literally 'not allowing to hear and false-speaking.'

supreme, most brilliant, most fragrant, and most pure, most *supplied with* beautiful existences, most desirable, and most good, and the place *and* abode of the sacred beings (*yazdânō*). 3. And in it are all comfort, pleasure, joy, happiness (*vasdâgih*), and welfare, more *and* better even than the greatest *and* supremest welfare *and* pleasure in the world; and there is no want, pain, distress, *or* discomfort whatever *in* it; and its pleasantness and the welfare of the angels are from that constantly-beneficial place (*gâs*), the full *and* undiminishable space (*gûng*)¹, the good and boundless world.

4. And the freedom of the heavenly from danger from evil in heaven is like unto *their* freedom from disturbance, and the coming of the good angels is like unto *the heavenly ones'* own good works provided. 5. This prosperity (*freh-hastō*) and welfare of the spiritual *existence* is *more* than that of the world, as much as that which is unlimited *and* everlasting is *more* than that which is limited and demoniacal (*sêdântkō*).

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The twenty-sixth question is that which you ask thus: How are the nature of hell, *and* the pain, discomfort², punishment, and stench of hell?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* sunken, deep, and descending, most dark, most stinking, and most terrible, most *supplied with* wretched existences (*anâzdântûm*), and most bad, the place and cave

¹ See Chap. XXXI, 24.

² Or 'ingloriousness.'

(grêstakö) of the demons and fiends. 3. And in it is no comfort, pleasantness, *or* joy whatever; *but* in it are all stench, filth, pain, punishment, distress, profound evil, and discomfort; and *there* is no resemblance of it whatever *to* worldly stench, filthiness, pain, and evil. 4. And since *there* is no resemblance of the mixed evil of the world to that which is its sole-indicating (aê-numâi) good, *there* is also a deviation (gumîsnö) of it from the origin and abode of evil¹.

5. And so much more grievous is the evil in hell than even the most grievous evil on earth, as the greatness of the spiritual *existence* is *more* than *that* of the world; and more grievous is the terror of the punishment on the soul than that of the vileness of the demons on the body. 6. And the punishment on the soul is from those whose abode *it has* become², from the demons and darkness—a likeness of that evil to hell—the head (kamârakö) of whom is Aharman the deadly.

7. And the words of the expressive utterance of the high-priests are these, that where *there* is a fear of every other thing *it* is more than the thing itself, *but* hell is a thing worse than the fear of *it*.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The twenty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: Why and what is *the ceremony of*

Meaning, probably, that the mixture of good and evil in the world is as far removed from heaven as it is from hell. But the words aê-numâi and gumîsnö are doubtful both in reading and meaning.

² That is, hell has become; reading mân gastö.

the three *nights* (satûlh), when during three days they order and perform the sacred-cake ceremony (yazisnô drônô) of Srôsh¹?

2. The reply is this, that the life and soul, when from the realm of the spirit of air² they attain unto worldly attire, and have passed into its pain and misfortune, are more sensitive (nâzûktar); owing to their nurture, birth, *and* mission, protection and defence are more desirable and more suitable for the discreet (hû-kîragânîktar); and milk food, and renewed (navagûnak) and constant attention to the fire are requisite³. 3. So also when they are ousted from bodily existence, and pain and the eradication of life have come upon them, *they* are *in* like manner more sensitive, and sending them protection and defence from spirits *and* worldly existences is more desirable. 4. And on account of their spiritual character the offering (firîstisnô) of gifts *for* the angels, fit for the ritual of a spirit (maînôk nîrangîk), is more presentable; and also a fire newly tended (nôgônd) is that which is more the custom in the *sacred* ceremony (yazisnô).

5. *For* the same reason *in* the three days when in connection with the soul the *sacred* ceremony, the burning of fire, *its* cleanly clearance (gôndisnô),

¹ See Chap. XIV, 4.

² Reading min maînôk vâyh, and assuming that 'the good Vâê' (the Vayô of the Râm Yt.), who is often called the angel Râm, is alluded to (see Chap. XXX, 4, Sls. XI, 4, XVII, 4). The life and soul are treated as one being in this chapter, as all the verbs and pronouns referring to them are in the singular number in the Pahlavi text.

³ Referring to the proper care of new-born infants, for whose protection from the demons a bright fire is to be kept constantly burning for three days (see Sls. XII, 11, 12).

and other religious *and* ritualistic defence, feeding on milk *and* eating with a spoon¹ are ordered, because—as the *sacred* ceremony, the defence and protection of the worldly existences, is, by order of the creator, the business of Srôsh the righteous², and *he* is also one of *those* taking the account in the three *nights*³—Srôsh the righteous gives the soul, *for* three days and nights, the place of the spirit of air in the world, and protection. 6. And because of the protectiveness of Srôsh, and *that one* is assisted likewise by Srôsh's taking the account, and for that purpose, are the manifest reasons for performing *and* ordering the ceremony of Srôsh *for* three days and nights⁴.

7. And the fourth day the ordering and performing the ceremony of the righteous guardian spirit (*ardâi fravardö*)⁵ are *for* the same soul and the remaining righteous guardian spirits of those who are *and* were *and will* be, from Gâyômarð the propitious to Sôshâns the triumphant⁶.

CHAPTER XXIX.

I. The twenty-eighth question is that you ask thus: For what reason is it not allowable to perform

¹ No meat is to be eaten by the survivors until the third night has passed away (see Sls. XVII, 2).

² The angel Srôsh is said to have been the first creature who performed the sacred ceremony (see Yas. LVI, i, 2-7, ii, 2-4, iii, 2-4), of which the spiritual counterpart was produced by Aûhar-mazd during the creation (see Bd. II, 9).

³ See Chap. XIV, 4.

⁴ See Sls. XVII, 3.

⁵ See Sls. XVII, 5.

⁶ That is, from the first man to the last; the phrase is quoted from Yas. XXVI, 33.

the ceremony of Srôsh, the living spirit (ahvô)¹, *along* with other propitiations (shnûmanô)², when they reverence him separately?

2. The reply is this, that the lord of all *things* is the creator who is persistent over his own creatures, and a precious work is his own true service³ which is given by him to Srôsh the righteous whom, for this reason, *one* is to reverence separately when even his name is not frequently mentioned, and *one* is not even to reverence the names of the archangels with him.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The twenty-ninth question is that which you ask thus: The third night, in the light of dawn, what is the reason for consecrating separately the three sacred cakes⁴ with three dedications (shnûman)?

2. The reply is this, that one sacred cake, whose dedication is *to* Rashnû *and* Âstâd⁵, is for⁶ satisfying

¹ Probably a miswriting of ashôk, 'righteous.'

² Short formulas of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirits intended to be propitiated by them, which are introduced into a particular part of the liturgy to dedicate the ceremony to the particular spirit in whose honour it is being performed (see Sls. VII, 8).

³ Reading bôndakîh; but it may be bûndakîh, 'completeness, perfection.'

⁴ The drôn, or sacred cake, is a small flexible pancake which is consecrated in the ceremonies, and dedicated to some particular spirit by means of the shnûman, or propitiatory dedication (see Sls. III, 32).

⁵ See Sls. XVII, 4. These two angels are supposed to be present when the soul renders its account; Rashnû weighs its actions in his golden balance, and Âstâd assists it (see AV. V, 3, 5).

⁶ Reading râi, instead of lâ, 'not.'

the light of dawn and the period of Aûshahî¹, because the mountain Aûshdâstâr² is mentioned in the propitiation of the angel Âstâd. 3. With Âstâd is the propitiation of the period of Aûshahî³, and *she* is the ruler of glory⁴ of that time when the account occurs; the souls are in the light of the dawn of Aûshahî when they go to the account; their passage (*vidâ*r) is through the bright dawn.

4. One sacred cake, which is in propitiation of the good Vâê⁵, is, moreover, on this account: whereas the bad Vâê⁶ is a despoiler and destroyer, even so the good Vâê is a resister (*kûkhshîdâ*r), and likewise encountering the bad Vâê; *he* is also a diminisher (*vizûdâ*r) of his abstraction of life,

¹ One of the five periods of the day and night, extending from midnight until the stars disappear in the dawn, or, as some say, until all the fixed stars disappear except four of the first magnitude (see Bd. XXV, 9, Sls. XIV, 4-6).

² Called Ushi-darena in the Avesta, and identified with some mountain in Sagastân in Bd. XII, 15. It is mentioned in the dedicatory formula of Âstâd (see Sir. 26), and its name is evidently here supposed to mean 'the holder of dawn,' an appropriate term for a lofty mountain to the eastward.

³ Both Rashnû and Âstâd are blessed in the prayers appointed for the Aûshahî period of the day.

⁴ The 'glory of the Aryans' is lauded in the Âstâd Yast.

⁵ The spirit of air, or angel Râm, who receives and protects the good soul on its way to the other world (see Chap. XXVIII, 2, 5).

⁶ Identified with Astô-vidâd, the demon of death, in Bd. XXVIII, 35, but Pahl. Vend. V, 25, 31 makes him a separate demon, who conveys away the bound soul, which would identify him with the demon Vîzarêsh of Vend. XIX, 94, Bd. XXVIII, 18. There is very little doubt, however, that the Pahlavi translator of Vend. V misunderstood the Avesta, which merely says that 'Astô-vidhōtu binds him, Vayō conveys him bound,' referring probably to the good Vâê who receives the parting soul; and Pahl. Vend. V, 31 admits that this was the opinion of some.

and a receiver and protection of life, on account of the sacred cake¹.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The thirtieth question is that which you ask thus: When a soul of the righteous goes on to heaven, in what manner does it go; also, who receives it, who leads² *it*, and who makes it a household attendant³ of *Aûharmazd*? Also, does any one of the righteous in heaven come out to meet it, and shall any thereof make enquiry of it, or how?
2. Shall they also make up an account as to its sin *and* good works, and how is the comfort and pleasantness in heaven shown to it; also, what is its food?
3. *Is it* also their assistance which

¹ Nothing is here said about the third sacred cake, but Sls. XVII, 4 states that this is to be dedicated to the righteous guardian spirit (see Chap. XXVIII, 7).

² It is doubtful whether the verb be *yezrûn* (a corruption of *yezderûn*) or *deztûn* (a corruption of *dedrûn*), but both forms are traceable to the same Semitic root (דבר), one with and the other without the prefix 'ye,' and both, therefore, have nearly the same meaning.

³ Reading *khavag-î-mân*, 'servant of the house' (see also §§ 5, 8, Chaps. XXXII, 7, XXXVII, 16, 17, 21, XLIII, 1, XLVIII, 41). This word occurs in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 102, in a compound which is doubtfully read *avîdamânkarânô*, 'those acting without time, eternal ones,' in Haug's Essays, p. 388 (it should be 'those acting as household attendants'). It also occurs in the Pâzand tract called *Aogemadaêkâ*, from its initial word (see Geiger's ed. p. 23, § 11), where it is read *añdimânî*, and translated by Sans. *pratîhâra*, 'doorkeeper;' but in a Pahlavi version of this tract (which seems to form part of the *Âfrîn-i Dahmân*, and differs considerably from the Pâzand text) this word is replaced by *bôndak mânîk-î*, 'a household servant,' which confirms the reading adopted here.

reaches unto the world, or not? And is the limit (sâmânö) of heaven manifest, or what way *is it*?

4. The reply is this, that a soul of the righteous steps forth unto heaven through the strength of the spirit of good works, *along* with the good spirit¹ which is the escort (parvânakö) of the soul, into *its* allotted station and the uppermost (tâyîkö) which is *for* its own good works; *along* with the spiritual good works, without *those* for the world, and a crown and coronet², a turban-sash and a fourfold fillet-pendant³, a decorated robe (gâmakö) and suitable equipments, spiritually flying unto heaven (vahistô), or to the supreme heaven (garôdmân), there where its place is. 5. And Vohûman⁴, the archangel, makes it a household attendant (khavag-i-mânî-nêdö) to Aûharmazd the creator, *and* by order of Aûharmazd announces *its* position (gâs) and reward; *and* it becomes glad to beg for the position of household attendant of Aûharmazd, through what it sees and knows.

6. Aûharmazd the creator of good producers

¹ Probably the good Vâê, the spirit of air (see Chaps. XXVIII, 2, 5, XXIX, 4).

² Reading rukhö vardîvanö, which words also occur in AV. XII, 16, XIV, 9. A most elaborate account of heaven and hell will be found in the Book of Ardâ Virâf with an English Translation, ed. Hôshangji and Haug, 1872.

³ Reading vâs va kahârakö bâlak.

⁴ Vend. XIX, 102-107 (trans. D.) states as follows: 'Up rises Vohu-manô from his golden seat; Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou holy one, from that decaying world into this undecaying one?" Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-spentas, to the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.'

(dahâkân) is a spirit even among spirits, and spirits even *have* looked for a sight of him; which spirits are manifestly above worldly existences¹. 7. But when, through the majesty² of the creator, spirits put on worldly appearances (vênisnôihâ), or are attending (sinâyânîkô) to the world and spirit, and put away appearance (vênisnô apadôgênd), then he whose patron spirit (ahvô)³ is in the world is able to see the attending spirits, in such similitude as when they see bodies in which is a soul⁴, or when they see a fire in which is Varahrân⁵, or see water in which is its own spirit⁶. 8. Moreover, in that household attendance, *that* Aûharmazd *has* seen the soul is certain, for Aûharmazd sees all *things*; and many even of the fiend's souls⁷, who are put away from those of Aûharmazd in spiritual understanding, are delighted by the appearance (numûdanô) of those of Aûharmazd.

9. And the righteous in heaven, who have been

¹ Implying that Aûharmazd can hardly be considered visible, except by the eye of faith (see Chap. XIX, 2).

² Assuming that rabâ-vânagîh is equivalent to Pers. buzurgânagî, 'magnificence.'

³ The ahvô (Av. ahû) seems to be a spiritual protector, somewhat similar to a patron saint; as, according to the Ahunavar, the most sacred formula of the Parsis (see Bd. I, 21, Zs. I, 12-19), both an ahû and a ratu are to be chosen, that is, both a patron spirit and a high-priest.

⁴ That is, he sees the spirits by means of their material manifestations.

⁵ The old Pahl. form of Vâhrâm, the angel whose name is applied to the sacred fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2, 9); he is the Av. Verethraghna of the Bahrâm Yt.

⁶ The female angel of water is the Av. ardvî sûra Anâhita of the Âbân Yt.

⁷ The souls in hell.

his intimate friends, of the same religion and like goodness, speak to him *of* the display of affection, the courteous enquiry, and the suitable eminence from coming to heaven, and his everlasting well-being in heaven.

10. And the account as to sin and good works does not occur unto the heavenly *ones*; *it is* itself among the perplexing questions of this treatise, for the taking of the account and the atonement for the sins of a soul of those passed *away and* appointed unto heaven happen so¹, although its place (gâs) is there² until the renovation *of the universe*, and *it has* no need for a new account. 11. And that account is at the time the account occurs; *those* taking the account are Aûharmazd, Vohûman, Mitrô, Srôsh, and Rashnû, and they shall make up the account of all with justice, each one at his own time, as the reply is written in its own chapter³.

12. *As to* that which you ask concerning food, the meals of the world are *taken* in two ways: one is the distribution of water in haste, and one is with enjoyment (aûrvâzîsnö) to the end; *but* in heaven there is no haste as to water, and re-joicing with much delight *they* are like unto those who, as worldly beings, make an end of a meal of luxury (aûrvâzîsnîkîh). 13. To that also *which* is the spiritual completion of the soul's pleasure *it* is attaining in like proportion⁴, and in its appearance to worldly beings *it* is a butter of the name of Maîdyôk-zarem⁵. 14. And the reason of

¹ As in Chap. XXIV, 5, 6.

² In heaven.

³ See Chap. XIV, 2-5.

⁴ This sentence is rather ambiguous in the original.

⁵ Said to be the food of the souls in heaven (see Hn. II, 38,

that name of it is this, that of the material food in the world that which is the product of cattle is said *to be* the best (pâshûm), among the products of cattle *in use* as food is the butter of milk, and among butters that is extolled as to goodness which they shall make *in* the second month of the year¹, and when Mitrô² is in the constellation Taurus; as that month is scripturally (dînôikö) called Zaremâyâ³, the explanation of the name to be accounted *for* is this, that its worldly representative (andâzakö) is the best food in the world.

15. And *there* is no giving out of assistance *by* the soul of the righteous from heaven and the supreme heaven⁴; for, *as to* that existence full

Mkh. II, 152); it is to be distinguished from the draught of immortality, called Hûsh, which is prepared from the fat of the ox Hadhayôš and the white Hôšm at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 25).

¹ If the writer refers to the correct solar year of Bd. XXV, 21, beginning at the vernal equinox, the second month would be 19th April-19th May when the sun is in the conventional sign of Taurus; but the ordinary Parsi year in his time commenced in the middle of April, and its second month would be May-June when the sun (about A.D. 880) would be in the actual constellation of Taurus. So that the statements in the text afford no certain indication of the particular calendar used by the author.

² The angel of the sun's light, here used for the sun itself.

³ The fifteenth day of the second month of the Parsi year is the season festival called Maidhyô-zaremaya, 'mid-verdure,' in the Avesta; being also the middle of the second month, the author assumes that the name of that month was originally Zaremaya. The Pahl. word can also be read Zar-mâh, 'the month of gold, or the green month.'

⁴ That is, there is no intercession of saints for those still in the world. The only interceders are the angels and guardian spirits, and they go no further than to obtain strict justice for every one according to his worldly merits.

of joy, *there* is then no deserving of it for *any* one unless each one is fully worthy of it. 16. But the soul has a remembrance of the world and worldly people, *its* relations *and* gossips; and he who is unremembered and unexpecting (abarmarvad) is undisturbed, and enjoys in his own time all the pleasure of the world as it occurs in the renovation of *the universe*, and wishes to attain to it. 17. And, in like manner, of the comfort, pleasure, and joy of the soul, which, *being* attained in proportion, they cause to produce in heaven and the supreme heaven, its own good works of every kind are a comfort and pleasure such as *there* are in the world from a man who is a wise friend—he who is a reverent worshipper—and other educated men, to her who is a beautiful, modest, *and* husband-loving woman—she who is a manager (ârâstâr) under protection—and other women who are clever producers of advantage¹. 18. This², too, *which* arises from beasts of burden, cattle, wild beasts, birds, fish, and other species of animals; this, too, from luminaries, fires, streams (hû-tagisnân), winds, decorations, metals, and coloured earths; this, too, which is from the fences (pardakânö) of grounds, houses, *and* the primitive lands of the well-yielding *cattle*; this³, too, which is from rivers, fountains, wells, *and* the primary species of water; this, too, which is from trees and shrubs, fruits, grain, and fodder, salads, aromatic herbs, *and* other plants; this, too, which is

¹ Reading sūd âz kârânö, and identifying the second word with Pers. âz.

² That is, the pleasure.

³ This clause is omitted in M14 and J.

the preparation of the land for these¹ creatures *and* primitive creations; this, too, from the species of pleasant tastes, smells, and colours of all natures, the producers of protections², the patron spirits (ahûân), and the appliances of the patron spirits, can come unto mortals.

19. And what the spirit of good works is in similitude is expressly a likeness of stars and males, females and cattle, fires and sacred fires, metals of every kind, dogs, lands, waters, *and* plants³.

20. The spiritual good works are attached (ava-yûkhtô) to the soul, and in the degree and proportion which are their strength, due to the advancement of good works by him who is righteous, *they* are suitable as enjoyment for him who is righteous. 21. He obtains durability thereby⁴ and necessarily preparation, conjointly *with* constant pleasure and without a single day's vexation (ayôm-aê-bêshîhâ).

22. There is also an abundant joyfulness, of which no example is appointed (vakhtô) in the world from the beginning, but it comes thus to those who are heavenly ones *and* those of the supreme heaven; and of which even the highest worldly happiness and pleasure are no similitude, except through the possession of knowledge which is said *to be* a sample *of it* for worldly beings.

¹ It is doubtful whether we should read le-denmanshânô, a rare plural form of denman, 'this,' or whether it should be le-denman yazdânô; in the latter case the translation would be 'for these creatures of the sacred beings.'

² Assuming that zinharânô stands for zinhârânô, otherwise we must read zôharânô, 'holy-waters.'

³ The chief objects benefited by good works.

⁴ Reading hangâmîh-ash, but the construction is unusual.

23. And of *its* indications by the world the limited with the unlimited, the imperishable with perishableness, the consumable with inconsumableness are then no equivalent similitudes of it¹. 24. And *it is* the limited, perishable, and consumable *things* of the world's existence which are the imperishable *and* inconsumable *ones* of the existence of endless light², the indestructible *ones* of the all-beneficial and ever-beneficial space (gûng)³, and the all-joyful *ones*—without a single day's vexation—of the radiant supreme heaven (garôdmânô). 25. And the throne (gâs) of the righteous in heaven and the supreme heaven is the reward he obtains first, and is his until the resurrection, when even the world becomes pure *and* undisturbed; *he* is himself unchangeable thereby, *but* through the resurrection he obtains what is great and good and perfect, *and* is eternally glorious.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The thirty-first question is that which you ask thus: When he who is wicked goes to hell, how

¹ Meaning that no adequate conception can be obtained of the enjoyments of heaven by contrasting the earthly objects which most resemble it with those most opposed to it.

² The place of Aûhar mazd, or heaven in general (see Bd. I, 2), where things which are perishable on earth become everlasting.

³ The 'constantly-beneficial place' of Pahl. Vend. XIX, 122, 'which is self-sustained, (its constant beneficialness is this, that, when it once became so, all of it became thereby ever-beneficial).' The Avesta version (trans. D.) merely calls it 'the sovereign place of eternal weal;' and it appears from Chap. XXXVII, 22, 24 that it is here understood as the unlimited space of heaven, contained in the 'endless light.'

does he go, *and in* what manner does he go; also, who comes to meet him, and who leads him¹ to hell; also, does any one of the infernal ones (dûsa-hûtkânö) come to meet him, or how is it?
 2. Shall they also inflict punishment upon him, for the sin which he *has* committed, at once, or is his punishment the same until the future existence?
 3. Also, what is their food in hell, and of what description are their pain *and* discomfort; *and* is the limit of hell manifest, or how is it?

4. The reply is this, that a soul of the wicked, the fourth night after passing away², *its* account *being* rendered, rolls head-foremost and totters (kaptnêdö) from the Kinvad bridge³; and Vîzarâsh⁴, the demon, conveys (nâyedö)⁵ him cruelly bound therefrom, and leads him unto hell. 5. And with him are the spirits *and* demons connected with the sin of that *soul*, watching in many guises, resembling the very producers of doubt (vîmandâdârân-îê), the wounders, slayers, destroyers, deadly ones, monsters (dûs-gerpânö), and criminals,

¹ M₁₄ and J omit the words from 'also' to 'leads him.'

² The term 'passing away' is here used with reference to the death of a wicked person, contrary to the general rule (see Chap. XX, 2).

³ See Chap. XX, 3.

⁴ 'Then the fiend, named Vîzaresha, carries off in bonds the souls of the wicked Daêva-worshippers who live in sin' (Vend. XIX, 94, trans. D.); see also Bd. XXVIII, 18, where the name is Vîzarêsh, but it is always Vîzarâsh in Dd. Here it has been first miswritten in K₃₅, and afterwards corrected, so that later copyists have read Vîrâsh, as in M₁₄ and J.

⁵ Identifying the verb with Av. *nâyêiti* of Vend. V, 25, 31; or it may be read *vâyedö*, and identified with Av. *vayêiti* of Vend. XV, 17, or Av. *vâdhayêiti* of Vend. XIX, 94, without much change of meaning.

those *who* are unseemly, those, too, *who* are diseased *and* polluted, biters and tearers, noxious creatures, windy stenchs, glooms, fiery stenchs, thirsty ones, those of evil habits, disturbers of sleep (khvâp-khârân), and other special causers of sin and kinds of perverting, with whom, in worldly semblance, are the spiritual causers of distress. 6. And proportional *to* the strength *and* power which *have* become theirs, owing to his sin, they surround him uncomfortably, and make him experience vexation, even unto the time of the renovation *of the universe*. 7. And through the leading of Vizarâsh¹ he comes unwillingly unto hell, becomes a household attendant (khavag-i-mânôî-âitö) of the fiend and evil *one*, is repentant of the delusion of a desire for fables (vardakthâ), is a longer for *getting* away from hell to the world, and *has* a wonderful desire for good works.

8. And his food is as a sample of those which are among the most fetid, most putrid, most polluted, and most thoroughly unpleasant; and *there* is no enjoyment and completeness *in* his eating, but he shall devour (*ga'lâd*) with a craving which keeps him hungry and thirsty, due to water *which* is hastily *sipped*². 9. Owing to that vicious habit *there* is no satisfaction therefrom, but it increases his haste and the punishment, rapidity, and tediousness of his anguish.

10. The locality³ in hell is not limited (sâmânt-

¹ See § 4.

² Referring to the fact that a person who is both hungry and thirsty cannot quench his thirst, for more than a few minutes, by drinking water without eating.

³ Or, perhaps, 'his position,' if we read divâk-as instead of

aft) before the resurrection, *and* until the time of the renovation *of the universe* he is in hell. 11. Also out of his sin is the punishment connected *with it*, and that punishment comes upon him, from the fiend *and* spirit of his own sin, in that manner and proportion with which he *has* harassed and vexed *others*¹, and *has* revered, praised, and served that which is vile.

12. And at the time of the renovation, when the fiend perishes, the souls of the wicked pass into melted metal (ayênô)² *for* three days; and all fiends and evil thoughts, which are owing to their sin, have anguish effectually, and are hurried *away* by the cutting and breaking *away* of the accumulation (ham-dâdākîh) of sin of the wicked souls. 13. And by that pre-eminent (avartûm) ablution in the melted metal they are thoroughly purified from guilt and infamy (dastô va raspakô), and through the perseverance (khvâparîh)³ and mercifulness of the pre-eminent persistent ones they are pardoned, and become most saintly (môgtûm) pure ones; as it is said in metaphor that the pure are *of* two kinds, one which is glorious (khvârvatô), *and* one which is metallic (ayênavatô)⁴.

dîvâkîh, but the former reading would be more of a modern Persian idiom than a Pahlavi one.

¹ Or, '*the good*;' the word is not expressed in the Pahlavi text.

² Bd. XXX, 20 states that both the righteous and wicked are finally purified by melted metal which is a torment to the latter, but only like a bath in warm milk to the former.

³ See Chap. XIX, 7 n.

⁴ This is probably a misapplication of a Pahlavi phrase which contained the word âsnavatô, 'indestructible,' and was the translation of an Avesta passage containing the words *hvâthravand*, 'brilliant, glorious,' and âsna, 'stony, indestructible, enduring' (often translated 'heavenly'), which words are sometimes used together,

14. And after that purification *there* are no demons, no punishment, *and* no hell as regards the wicked, and their disposal (vîrâstakô) also is just; they become righteous, painless, deathless, fearless, and free from harm. 15. And with them comes the spirit of the good works which were done *and* instigated by them in the world, and procures them pleasure and joy in the degree and proportion of those good works. 16. But the recompense of a soul of the righteous is a better formation (vêh-dâdîh) and more¹.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. *As to* the thirty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: In which direction and which land is hell, and how is it?

2. The reply is this, that the place of a soul of the wicked, after the dying off² of the body, is in three districts (vîmand): one of them is called *that* of the ever-stationary³ of the wicked, and it is a

as in Yas. LIX, 14. As the Pahl. âsnavatô and ayênavatô are written alike they are easily confounded, but that 'metal' is meant here appears from Yas. L, 9, b, Bd. XXX, 20.

¹ M14 has 'and the position of more good works is better, the rank is greater, and the pleasure *and* delight more.'

² Literally 'dying down.'

³ Assuming that ham-hastakân, 'co-existences, associates,' is meant for hamîstakân (see the hamîstânîkô of Chap. XX, 3). From this it would appear that the place of the Hamistakân, intermediate between heaven and hell, was itself supposed by the author to be divided into two widely separated regions, one for the slightly righteous (see Chap. XXIV, 6), and one for the slightly wicked, as here described. No such separation is mentioned in AV. and Mkh., and the passage is omitted in M14.

chaos (gûmêzakö), but the evil is abundantly and considerably more than the good; and the place is terrible, dark, stinking, and grievous *with* evil. 3. And one is that which is called the worst existence, and it is there the first tormentors (vîkhruntgânö) and demons have *their* abode; it is full of evil and punishment, and there is no comfort and pleasure whatever. 4. And one is called Drûgâskân¹, and is at the bottom of the gloomy existence, where the head (kamârâkö) of the demons rushes; there is the populous abode of all darkness and all evil.

5. These three places, collectively, are called hell, *which* is northerly, descending, and underneath this earth, even unto the utmost declivity of the sky; and its gate is in the earth, a place of the northern quarter, and is called the Arezûr ridge², a mountain which, among its fellow mountains of the name of Arezûr³ that are amid the rugged (kôfik) mountains, is said in revelation⁴ *to have* a great fame with the demons, and the rushing together and assembly of the demons in the world are on the summit of that mountain, *or* as it is called 'the head of Arezûr.'

¹ The Av. drugaskanâm of Vend. XIX. 139, which is translated 'the slothful ones of the Drug' by Darmesteter, 'the servants of the Drug' by Harlez, and 'wizards' in Haug's Essays, p. 336. Drûgâskân is said to be a son of the evil spirit in Bd. XXXI, 6.

² See Bd. XII, 8.

³ Bd. XII, 16 mentions another Arezûr 'in the direction of Arûm.'

⁴ Vend. XIX, 142 (trans. D.) says 'they run away casting the evil eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!"'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. *As to* the thirty-third question and reply, that which you ask is thus: In what manner is there one way of the righteous from the Dâitih peak¹ to heaven, and one of the wicked to hell; and *what is* their nature?

2. The reply is this, that one is for ascent, and one for descent; and on account of both being of one appearance I write thus much for understanding and full explanation, that is to say:—3. The righteous souls pass over on the *Kinvad* bridge² by spiritual flight and the power of good works; *and* they step forth up to the star, or to the moon, or to the sun station, or to the endless light³. 4. The soul of the wicked, owing to *its* falling *from* the bridge, its lying demon, and the pollution collected by its sin, they shall lead therefrom to the descent into the earth, as both ways *lead* from that bridge on the Dâitih peak.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The thirty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: Does this world become quite without men⁴, so that *there* is no bodily existence in *it* what-

¹ See Chap. XXI, 2.

² See Chap. XXI, 2-7.

³ These are the four grades of heaven, as described in AV. VII-X, Mkh. VII, 9-11.

⁴ Reading *avîk* (or *avih*) *anshûtâ*, but it may possibly be *avî-î anshûtâ*, 'without a single man.'

ever, and then shall they produce the resurrection, or how is it?

2. The reply is this, that this world, continuously from *its* immaturity even unto *its* pure renovation, *has* never been, and also *will* not be, without men; and *in* the evil spirit, the worthless (*asaptr*), no stirring desire of this arises. 3. And near to the time of the renovation the bodily existences desist from eating, and live without food (*pavan akhûris-nih*)¹; and the offspring who are born from them are those of an immortal, for they possess durable and blood-exhausted (*khûn-girât*) bodies. 4. Such are *they* who are the bodily-existing men that are in the world when there are men, passed *away*, who rise again and live again.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The thirty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: Who are they who are requisite in producing the renovation *of the universe*, who were they, *and* how are they?

2. The reply is this, that of those assignable for that most perfect work the statements recited are lengthy, for even Gâyômarâd, Yim the splendid, Zaratûst the Spîtamân², the *spiritual* chief (*radô*) of the righteous, and many great thanksgivers *were*

¹ Bd. XXX, 3 states that men first abstain from meat, afterwards from vegetables and milk, and, finally, from water.

² See Chap. II, 10. His title, which is nearly always written Spîtamân in K35 (rarely Spîtâmân), is Av. *spitama* or *spîtâma*, but is usually understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' his ancestor in the ninth generation (see Bd. XXXII, 1).

appointed for completing the appliances of the renovation; and their great miracles and successful (*avakîragânîk*) management *have* moved on, which works for the production of the renovation¹. 3. Likewise, on the approach of the renovation, Keresâsp² the Sâmân who smites Dahâk, Kai-Khûsrôî³ who *was* made to pass *away* by Vâê the long-continuing lord⁴, Tûs and Vêvan⁵ the allies (*avâkânô*), and many other mighty doers are aiding the production of the renovation.

4. But those who are the producers of the renovation more *renowned* throughout the spheres (*vâs-pôharakânîktar*) are said *to be* seven, whose names are Rôshanô-*kashm*⁶, Khûr-*kashm*, Frâdad-gadman,

¹ That is, even these ancient rulers and legislators have contributed to the final renovation of the universe by their wise actions and laws.

² See Chap. XVII, 6.

³ Av. Kavi Husravangh, the third king of the Kayânian dynasty (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7), whose mysterious disappearance, as related in the Shâhnâmah, is evidently alluded to here.

⁴ The Av. *vayãm dareghô-hvadhâitîm* of Khûrshêd Nyâyish, 1, that seems to be identified here with the good Vâê (see Chap. XXX, 4), who conducts the soul to the other world.

⁵ The Tûs and Gîw of Bd. XXIX, 6 and the Shâhnâmah, where they are said to have been frozen in the mountain snow, with other warriors, after the disappearance of Kai-Khûsrôî. They are the Av. Tusa of Âbân Yt. 53, 58, and, perhaps, Gaêvani of Fravardîn Yt. 115, but the Pahlavi form Vêvan (or Vîvô) of our text is inconsistent with the latter identification; the form Gîw of Bd. XXIX, 6 is merely Pâzand.

⁶ These names are the Av. *Raǒkas-kæshman*, *Hvare-kæshman*, *Frâdad-hvarenô*, *Varedad-hvarenô*, *Vouru-nemô*, *Vouru-savô*, and *Saoshyās* of Fravardîn Yt. 128, 129, partly transcribed, partly translated, and partly corrupted into Pahlavi. The corruptions are easily explained thus: Av. *vouru*, 'wide,' when written in Pahlavi is often identical with *varen*, 'desire,' and has been so read by a later copyist and then translated by its synonym *kâmak*; Av.

Vâredad-gadman, Kâmak-vakhshisn, Kâmak-sûd, and Sôshâns. 5. As it is said that in the fifty-seven years¹, which are the period of the raising of the dead, Rôshanô-kashm in Arzâh², Khûr-kashm in Savâh, Frâdad-gadman in Fradaðâfsh, Vâredad-gadman in Vîdaðâfsh, Kâmak - vakhshisn in Vôrûbarst, and Kâmak-sûd in Vôrûgarst, while Sôshâns in the illustrious and pure Khvanîras is connected with them, are immortal. 6. The completely good sense, perfect hearing, and full glory of those seven producers of the renovation are so miraculous that they converse from region unto region, every one together with the six *others*, just as now men at an interview utter words of conference and co-operation with the tongue, one to the other, and can hold a conversation³.

7. The same perfect deeds for six⁴ years in the six *other* regions, and for fifty years in the illustrious Khvanîras⁵, prepare immortality, and set going ever-

nemô is translated by Pahl. nîyâyišn, 'homage, praise,' which is written very much like vakhshisn, 'increase,' and has been so read by a later copyist. For the first two names and the last see Chap. II, 10.

¹ The same period is mentioned in Bd. XXX, 7.

² That is, there is one of the seven producers of the renovation in each of the seven Kêshvars, or regions of the earth, of which Arzâh is the western, Savâh the eastern, Fradaðâfsh and Vîdaðâfsh the two southern, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst the two northern, and Khvanîras the central one (see Bd. V, 8, 9, XI, 2-4).

³ If this passage were found in the Christian scriptures, it would very probably be considered as a prophetic allusion to the electric telegraph and telephone.

⁴ So in all MSS., but one would expect it to be 'seven,' so as to complete the fifty-seven years of § 5. The number being written in ciphers the difference between 'six' and 'seven' is very slight.

⁵ This central region of the earth is that which contains Irân and all lands well known to the Irânians.

lasting life and everlasting weal (sûdîh) through the help and power and glory of the omniscient *and* beneficent spirit, the creator Aûharmazd.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. *As to* the thirty-sixth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: How shall they produce the resurrection, how do they prepare the dead, and when the dead are prepared by them, how are they?

2. When it is produced by them, is an increase in the brilliance of the stars, moon, and sun necessary, *and* does it arise, or not? are *there* seas, rivers, *and* mountains, or not? and is the world just as large as this, or does it become more *so* and wider?

3. The reply is this, that the preparation and production of the resurrection are an achievement *connected* with miracle, a sublimity (rabâth), and, afterwards, also a wondrous appearance unto the creatures who are uninformed. 4. The secrets and affairs of the persistent creator are like every mystery and secret; excepting himself—he who is *capable* of all knowledge, the fully-informed, and all in all (vispânö vispô)—no one of the worldly beings and imperfect spirits *has* known them.

5. A true proverb (gôbîsnö-gô) of the intelligent *and* worldly, which is obvious, is that as it is easier in teaching to teach again learning *already* taught *and* forgotten than that which *was* untaught, and easier to repair again a well-built house, given gratuitously, than that *which* is not *so* given, *so* also the formation *again* of that which *was* formed is more excellent (hunîrtar), and the wonder is

less, than the creation of creatures. 6. And through the wisdom and glory *of* the omniscient and omnipotent creator, by whom the saddened (âlikhtō) creatures *were* created, that which *was* to perish is produced again anew, *and that which was* not to perish, except a little, is produced handsome even for a creation of the creator¹.

7. He who is a pure, spiritual creature is made unblemished; he, also, who is a worldly creature is immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless, undistressed and painless; while, though he moves (gundêdō) in a gloomy, evil existence, the fiend is rightly judging from *its* arrangement (min nivârdō) *that it* is not the place of a beneficent *being*, but the place of an existence *which* is deadly, ignorant, deceiving, full of malice, seducing, destroying, causing disgrace, making unobservant (aûbêngar), and full of envy. 8. And his existence is so full of malice, deceit, seductiveness, unobservance, destructiveness, and destruction that *he has* no voice except for accomplices (ham-bûdîkân) and antagonists, except also for his own *creatures and* gossips when *their* hearts are desirous of evil, seducing, destroying, making unobservant, causing malice, *and* bearing envy. 9. And *he* is disclosed (vishâd) from his own origin and abyss full of darkness, unto the limits of darkness *and* confines of the luminaries; and in his terribleness and demoniacal deliberation he gazes at the unblemished light and creatures of the beneficent Aûharmazd. 10. And through abundant envy and complete maliciousness is his lying; and he mounts (sûbârêdō) to seize, destroy,

¹ This last clause is omitted in M14 and J.

render unobservant, and cause to perish *these* same well-formed creatures of the sacred beings. 11. And owing to his observance of falsehood he directed falsehood *and* lies with avidity (varenô), which were necessary for obtaining his success in his own rendering *others* unobservant (a ûbênô); even in the nine thousand winters (hazangrôk zîm)¹ of falsehood that which is disregarded therein is his own falsity.

12. He who is the most lordly of the lords of the pre-eminent luminaries, and the most spiritual of spirits, and all *the beings* of Aûharmazd the creator—who was himself capable of an effectual (tûbânô) gain for every scheme of his²—do not allow that fiend into the interior, into the radiance (farôgîd) of the luminaries. 13. And *they*³ understood through *their* own universal wisdom that fiend's thoughts⁴ of vileness, *and* meditation of falsehood

¹ The interval between the first appearance and the final disappearance of the evil spirit. Twelve thousand years are supposed to elapse between the first creation and the resurrection; during the first three (about B.C. 8400–5400) the creation remains undisturbed in a spiritual state, during the next three (B.C. 5400–2400) the evil spirit appears, but flies back to hell in confusion, during the next three (B.C. 2400–A.D. 600) he attacks the creation and keeps it in a constant state of tribulation, and during the last three (A.D. 600–3600) his power, having attained its maximum, is gradually weakened till it is finally destroyed at the resurrection (see Bd. I, 8, 18, 20, 22, III, 1, XXXIV, 1–9, Byt. III, 11, 44, 52, 61, 62).

² Probably 'the fiend,' but the sentence is by no means clear.

³ As the verbs 'allow' in § 12 and 'accept' in § 13 are both plural we must understand that the opposition to the fiend arises from the spiritual creatures of Aûharmazd, and not from Aûharmazd alone.

⁴ Reading mînishnô instead of maînôgânô, 'spirits;' the difference between these words in Pahlavi being only a single stroke.

and lies, and became aware *of them* by themselves and through their own intuition, and shall not accept the perdition (aôshîh) of the fiend, *but* are to be rightly listening to the commands of him¹ who is worthy. 14. For his² is not the nature of him who is good, *nor* the wisdom of him who is propitious; and he does not turn from the confines of the shining ones, and the developments pertaining to those of the good *being*³, until he arrives at the creatures; and he struggles in an attempt (aûzmânö), spreads forth into the sky, is mobbed (garôhagî-ait) in combats, is completely surrounded, *and* is tested *with* perfect appliances. 15. His resources, also, are destroyed, *his* internal⁴ vigour is subdued, *his* weapons of falsehood are disregarded, and *his* means of deceiving shall perish; and with completeness of experience, thorough painfulness, routed troops, broken battle-array, and disarranged means he enjoys on the outside the radiance of the luminaries with the impotence (anaîyyâragîh) of a desire which again returns to him.

16. And the same well-shining light of all kinds of the creator, when they shall not let in him who is Aharman, shall remain an unlimited time, *while* the fiend is in household attendance on those of the frontier through not being let in, *and* constantly troubled at the everlasting creatures. 17. The household attendance of the fiend seemed to it⁵ perpetually afflicting; and also the previous struggle

¹ Aûharmazd.

² The fiend's.

³ Reading vêhikânakö vakhshisnö.

⁴ Assuming that andarmûnîh is a form analogous to pîrâ-mûnîh, and with the meaning of andarûnîh.

⁵ The light.

of the fiend when the celestial spirit (ahvô) *pertain-
ing* to the luminaries *was* not contended *with* by
him, *his* defeat (makhitûntanö) when the lumi-
naries *were* not defeated by him, *his* infliction of
punishment before sin, and *his* causing hatred before
hatred *exists* are all recounted by it to the justice
and judiciousness whose unchangeableness, will, per-
sistence, and freedom from hatred—which is the
character of its faithful ones—are not so¹, to him
who is the primeval (pêsakö) creator.

18. The fiend, after *his* falsity, the struggle—on
account of the fighting of the shining ones *and* the
decreed keeping *him* away which *was* due to the fighter
for the luminaries—*and* the ill-success of the struggle
of himself and army, ordered the beating back of
the worthy fighter *against* destruction, the malicious
avenging again of the causer of hatred, *and* the de-
stroyer's internal vileness and disorganisation anew of
his own place. 19. He saw the beneficent actions by
which, through the wisdom of Aûharmazd, the spiri-
tual wisdom², within the allotted (burîn-hômônd)
time, the limited space, the restricted conflict, the
moderate trouble, *and* the definite (fargâm-hômând)
labour *existing*, struggles against the fiend, who is the
unlawful establisher *of* the wizard; and he returned
inside to fall disarmed (asâmânö) *and* alive, *and*
until he shall be fully tormented (pûr-dardag-hâe)
and shall be thoroughly experienced, they shall not³
let *him* out again in the allotted time that the fiend
ordered *for* the success of falsehood *and* lies. 20.

¹ That is, they are altogether different from the faults of the
fiend, just recounted.

² Perhaps the same as 'the spirit of wisdom' of Mkh.

³ Reading lâ, 'not,' instead of râi, 'on account of.'

And the same fiend *and* the primeval (kâdmôn) demons are cast out confusedly, irreverently, sorrowfully, disconcertedly, fully afflicting *their* friends, thoroughly experienced, even with their falsehoods and not inordinate means¹, with lengthy slumbers, with broken-down (*avastst*) deceits and dissipated resources, confounded and impotent, into the perdition of Aharman, the disappearance of the fiend, the annihilation of the demons, and the non-existence of antagonism.

21. To make the good creatures again fresh and pure, *and* to keep *them* constant and forward in pure and virtuous conduct is to render *them* immortal; and the not letting in of the co-existent *one*², owing to the many new assaults (*padgastōh*) that *occur* in his perpetual household attendance³ of falsity—through which *there* would have been a constant terror of light for the creatures of the sacred beings—is to maintain a greater advantage. 22. And his (Aûharmazd's) means are not the not letting in *of the fiend*, but the triumph arranged for *himself* in the end—the endless⁴, unlimited light *being* also produced by him, and the constantly-beneficial space⁵

¹ The words *va avigâftō afzârihâ* are omitted in M14 and J.

² The evil spirit. As the co-existent spirits of good and evil are antagonistic the word *ham-budikō*, 'co-existent,' is often supposed to mean 'antagonistic.'

³ See § 16. M14 and J have only 'that *occur* through his falsity *and* the constant terror of light *which* would have arisen from him.'

⁴ That the term *asar* has only its etymological meaning 'endless,' and not the wider sense of 'eternal,' is clear from this phrase. The 'endless light' is the phrase used in Pahlavi to express Av. *anaghra raokau*, a term implying 'the fixed stars,' so the passage in the text is very suggestive of the phrase, '*he made* the stars also' (Gen. i. 16).

⁵ Instead of *gung*, 'space,' we might read *gang*, 'treasury,'

that is self-sustained—which (triumph) is the resource of all natures, races, characters, powers, *and* duties from the beginning and maturing of those of the good religion and the rushing of the liar and destroyer on to the creatures, which are requisite *for* the final, legitimate triumph of the well-directing creator, and *for* the termination of the struggles of all by the protection and recompense of the praises and propitiation performed, which are the healing of the righteous *and* the restoration of the wicked *at* the renovation. 23. Even these developments, even these established habits (*dad-sânîhâ*), even these emissions of strength, even these births, even these races, even these townspeople (*dihîkôîhâ*), even these characters, even these sciences¹, even these manageable and managing ones², and even these other, many, special species and manners which at various periods (*anbânô*) of time are in the hope that the quantity and nature of their auxiliaries *may be* complete, and their coming accomplished and not deficient in success (*vakhtô*), are distributed and made happy by him.

24. The sky is in three thirds, of which the one at the top is joined to the endless light, in which is the constantly-beneficial space; the one at the

but it is written *gûng* in Chap. XXXI, 24, according to K35, and the meaning 'space' is more appropriate to the *gâtus hvadhâtô*, 'self-sustained place,' of Vend. XIX, 122. The epithet 'constantly-beneficial' is a Pahl. translation of Av. *misvâna*, and is evidently applied here to the unlimited heavenly space contained in the 'endless light' (see § 24) and including the supreme heaven, as appears from the order in which these three existences (the earliest creations of *Aûhar Mazda*) are mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 24.

¹ M14 and J have 'separate doers.'

² M14 and J have 'doers at different times.'

bottom reached to the gloomy abyss, in which is the fiend full of evil; and one is between those two thirds *which are* below and above. 25. And the uppermost third, *which* is called 'the rampart of the supreme heaven' (garôdmânô drupûstô)¹, was made by him with purity, all splendour, and every pleasure, and no access to it for the fiend. 26. And he provided that third for undisturbedly convoking the pure, the archangels, *and* the righteous *that have* offered praises who, as *it were* unarmed (azenâvar), struggle unprepared *and* thoroughly in contest *with* the champions of the co-existent *one*, and they smite the co-existent *one* and his own progeny (gôhârakô) *already* described, and afford support to the imperishable state², through the help of the archangels and the glory of the creator. 27. And, again also, in their³ fearlessness they seek for the destruction of the demons and for the perfection of the creatures of the good *beings*; as *one* who is fearless, owing to some rampart which is inaccessible *to* arrows and blows, and shoots arrows at the expanse below, is troubled (bakhsêdô) for friends below.

28. And he made a distinction in the prescribed splendour and glory for the lowermost third of the sky; and the difference is *that* it is liable to injury (pavan resh), so that the fiend, who is void of goodness, comes *and* makes that third full of darkness and full of demons, *and* shall be able to perplex in that difficulty when the thousand winters occur, and the five detested (lakhsîdakô) kinds of the

¹ Bd. III, 26 says that 'the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.'

² Reading âgûrasênd va/ aseḡ gûn.

³ Assuming that va/ stands for valman or valmansân.

demons of life¹ have also overwhelmed with sin those of the wicked who are deceived by the demons and *have* fled from the contest. 29. *But* they shall not let the fiend fully in, owing to the luminaries of the resplendent *one*, during the allotted time when the demons' punishing and the repentance of the wicked are accomplished.

30. And he appointed for the middle third the creatures of the world separated² from the world and the spiritual *existence*; and among those creatures³ *were* produced for them the managing man *as* a guardian of the creatures, and the deciding wisdom *as* an appliance of man; *and* the true religion, the best of knowledge *was* prepared by him. 31. And that third is for the place of combat and the contest of the two different natures⁴; and in the uppermost part of the same third is stationed by him the light *of* the brilliant sun and moon and glorious stars, and *they* are provided by him that they may watch⁵ the coming of the adversary, and revolve around the creatures. 32. All the *sacred* ceremonies of the distant earth (bûm), the light, the abundant rains, and the good angels vanquish

¹ Probably referring to the five fiends, or demonesses, which are the special embodiments of each man's evil passions, and are thus detailed in Mkh. XLI, 9-11:—'That man is the stronger who is able to contend with his own fiends, and who keeps these five fiends, in particular, far from *his* body, which are such as avarice, wrath, lust, disgrace, and discontent.'

² Reading *fîsar*akô, but the word is doubtful. This central region of the sky would seem to be the place of the 'ever-stationary,' if it do not include the earth itself, which is not quite clear, owing to the obscure style of the author.

³ While in the world.

⁴ The beneficent and evil spirits.

⁵ Reading *venâpênd*, but the word is doubtful.

and smite the wizards *and* witches who rush *about* below them¹, *and* struggle to perplex by injury to the creatures; they make all such assailants become fugitives². 33. And through their revolution the ascents and descents, the increase and diminution (narafsisnō), of the creatures³ shall occur, the flow and ebb of the seas, and the increase of the dye-like⁴ blood of the inferior creatures⁵; also owing to them *and* through *them* have elapsed the divisions of the days, nights, months, years, periods, *and* all the millenniums (hazagrôk zîmân) of time.

34. He also appointed unto *our* forefathers the equipment which is their own, a material vesture, a sturdy bravery, and the guardian spirits of the righteous; and he provided that they *should* remain *at* various times in their own nature⁶, and come into worldly vesture. 35. And those for great hosts *and* many slaves are born, for the duties of the period, into *some* tribe; he who has plenty of offspring is like Fravâk⁷, he who is of the early law

¹ Below the sun, moon, and stars which protect the creatures.

² Literally 'springers back.'

³ Reading dâmikō, but the word is unusual; it might be read dahmikō, 'of the holy man,' or be considered a corruption of damikō, 'earth.'

⁴ Reading rangmânō, but the word is doubtful.

⁵ Five folios of text are here interpolated in J, of which four contain the passage (Ep. II, vi, 4—ix, 7) omitted at the end of that MS., and the fifth contains a passage on the same subject as Ep. III, and which may possibly be part of the text missing in Ep. III, 11.

⁶ Meaning that the unembodied spirits of men should enter upon their worldly existence.

⁷ The great-grandson of the primeval man, Gâyômarz, and the forefather of the fifteen races of undeformed human beings (see Bd. XV, 25-31, XXXI, 1).

(pêsdâdö) like Hôshâng¹, he who is a smiter of the demon like Tâkhmôrup², he who is full of glory like Yim³, he who is full of healing like Frêdûn, he who has both wisdoms⁴ like the righteous Mânûskêihar⁵, he who is full of strength like Keresâsp⁶, he who is of a glorious race like Kaî-Kavâd⁷, he who is full of wisdom like Aôshânar⁸. 36. He who is noble is like Styâvash⁹, he who is an eminent doer (avarkâr) like Kaî-Khûsrôî¹⁰, he who is exalted like Kaî-Vistâsp¹¹, he who is completely good like the righteous Zaratûst¹², he who arranges the world like Peshyôtanû¹³, he who is over the religion (dînô-

¹ See Chap. II, 10 for this and the following three names.

² He is said to have kept the evil spirit thirty years as a steed (see Râm Yt. 12, Zamyâd Yt. 29, Mkh. XXVII, 22).

³ Here written Gîm.

⁴ Instinctive wisdom and that acquired by experience (see Chap. XL, 3).

⁵ Av. Manusêithra; the descendant of Frêdûn, in the eleventh generation, who overthrew the usurpation of the collateral branches of his family, and restored the Irânian line of the Pêrdâdian dynasty in his own person (see Bd. XXXI, 12-14, XXXIV, 6).

⁶ See Chap. XVII, 6.

⁷ Av. Kavi Kavâta; the first king of the Kayânian dynasty (see Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, XXXIV, 7).

⁸ Probably the Av. Aoshnara, mentioned in Âf. Zarât., along with several of the other names, in a passage somewhat similar to that in our text. The name here can also be read Aôsh-khûr.

⁹ Av. Kavi Syâvarshân; the son of king Kaî-Kâûs and father of king Kaî-Khûsrôî, but he did not reign himself. He is said to have formed the settlement of Kangdez (see Chap. XC, 5, Bd. XXXI, 25, Byt. III, 25, 26).

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXVI, 3.

¹¹ Av. Kavi Vistâspa, Pers. Gustâsp; the fifth king of the Kayânian dynasty, who received the religion from Zaratûst. His father, the fourth king, was of collateral descent from the first king (see Bd. XXXI, 28, 29, XXXIV, 7).

¹² The great apostle of the Parsis (see Chap. II, 10).

¹³ Av. Peshôtanu; a son of Kaî-Vistâsp, who is said to be

avarag) like Âtûrö-pâd¹, he who is liturgical like Hûshêdar², he who is legal like Hûshêdar-mâh, and he who is metrical and concluding like Sôshâns.
 37. Among them are many illustrious ones, glorious doers, supporters of the religion, and good managers, who are completely (âpûr) for the smiting of the fiend and the will of the creator.

38. He also produced the creatures as contenders, and granted assistance (vêdvarîh), through the great, in the struggle for the perfect happiness from heaven at the renovation³ of the universe; and he made *them* universally (vâspôharakânîhâ) contented.
 39. A vitiated thought of a living, well-disposed *being* is a stumble (nistvô) which is owing to evil; and these are even those⁴ contented with death, because they know their limit, *and* it shall be definite (burînô-hômônd) and terminable; the evil of the world, in life, is definite, and they shall not make *one* exist unlimitedly *and* indefinitely in the evil of the world, through an eternal life with pain.

40. And through a great mystery, wholly miraculous, he produced a durable immortality for the living; a perplexity so long as the best and utmost of it is such an immortality of adversity, for *it* is

immortal and to live in Kangdez, whence he is to come to restore the religion in the millennium of Hûshêdar (see Chap. XC, 3, 5, Bd. XXIX, 5, Byt. III, 25-32, 36-38, 41, 42).

¹ Probably the supreme high-priest and prime minister of the ninth Sasanian king, Shâpûr II (A.D. 309-379; see Bd. XXXIII, 3).

² See Chap. II, 10 for these last three names. The terms mânsarîk, 'liturgical,' dâdîk, 'legal,' and gâsânîk, 'metrical,' are those applied to the three divisions of the twenty-one Nasks, or books of the complete literature of the Mazda-worshippers.

³ M14 and J have merely 'granted assistance in the struggle at the renovation.'

⁴ Assuming that gha/ stands for valman, as it sometimes does.

ever living molested and eternally suffering. 41. And their development, the strength of lineage obtained, is ever young in succession, and the tender, well-destined *ones*, who are good, are in adversity and perpetuity of life, so that there is a succession of life through their own well-destined offspring¹. 42. They become eternally famous, so that they obtain, every one, an old age which is renewed, *free* from sickness and decay, visibly in their own offspring and family (*gôharakô*) whenever they become complete; and any one of the combative, whose struggle is through the smiting that his fellow-combatant obtains, is of a comfortable disposition at the balance². 43. This *one*, too, is for stepping forth to heaven, even as that pre-eminent *one* of the righteous, the greatest of the apostles and the most fortunate of those born, the chief of worldly beings, the righteous Zaratûst the Spîtamân, when the omniscient wisdom, *as* a trance (*gîp*), came upon him from Aûharmazd, and he saw him who *was* immortal *and* childless, and also him *who was* mortal *and provided* with children; that perpetual life of the childless then seemed to him terrible, and that succession of mortals *seemed* commendable³; so that

¹ M₁₄ and J have merely: 'are a succession in adversity and perpetuity of life.'

² Assuming that *tarâz* stands for *tarâzûk*. The meaning is that any one who has successfully struggled with sin in the world, and leaves offspring behind him, goes to his account, at the balance of the angel Rashnû, with cheerfulness.

³ This seems to be a variation of the statement in Byt. II, 13, where Zaratûst, after asking for immortality, and having had the omniscient wisdom infused into him for a week, describes what he had seen, and amongst other things says: 'I saw a wealthy *man* without children, and it did not seem to me commendable; and I

the coming of *his* assured offspring¹, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, *and* Sôshâns², became more longed for and more desired, *and* death *more* than the perpetual life of his own body.

44. And when he³ who is all-watchful and all-knowing had arranged the means of opposing the fiend, *there* came for destroying, like a general leader (vispvar), that fiend of deceiving nature, the harassing, rushing, evil-wishing, primeval (pêš) contender, *together* with the demons Akômanô ('evil thought')⁴, Aêshm ('wrath'), Zarmân ('decrepitude'), Bûshasp ('lethargy'), craving distress, bygone luck⁵, Vâê⁶, Varenô ('lust')⁷, Astô-vidâd⁸, and Vîzarâsh⁹, and the original, innumerable demons and fiends of Mâzendarân¹⁰. 45. And his darkness *and* gloom, scorpions (kadzûnô), porcupines, and vermin, poison

saw a pauper with many children, and it seemed to me commendable.'

¹ The Av. âsna frazai̯ntis, 'inherent or natural offspring,' of Yas. LIX, 14, &c. The Pahl. equivalents âsnûdak and âsnîdak can hardly be mere transliterations of âsna, but are more probably translations, formed of â + sunûdak and sinîdak, with some such meaning as 'assured.'

² These three future apostles (see Chap. II, 10) are considered to be sons of Zaratûst (see Bd. XXXII, 8).

³ Aûharmazd.

⁴ These first four demons are described in Bd. XXVIII, 7, 15-17, 23, 26.

⁵ The words nîyâzinâkô tangih bûdô bakhtô, here translated, may possibly be a miswriting of five names of demons.

⁶ The bad Vâê (see Chap. XXX, 4).

⁷ See Bd. XXVIII, 25.

⁸ A demon of death (see Chap. XXIII, 3, note, Bd. XXVIII, 35).

⁹ Another demon of death (see Chap. XXXII, 4, 7).

¹⁰ The mountainous country south of the Caspian, said to be full of demons, the Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta (see Bd. III, 20, XV, 28). These demons were, no doubt, merely idolators.

and venom, and the mischief originally in the lower-*most* third of the sky¹, issue upwards, astute in evil, into the middle third, in which are the agreeable² creatures which Aûharmazd created.

46. And he smote the ox³, he made Gâyômarð mortal, and he shook the earth; and the land was shattered, creation became dark, and the demons rushed below, above, *and on all* sides, and they mounted even to the uppermost third of the sky⁴.

47. And there the barricade (band) and rampart fortifying (vakhshîkô) the spiritual world is approached, for which the safeguard (nigâs) of all barricades⁵, that is itself the great glory of the pure religion, solving doubts—which is the safeguard of all barricades—is arrayed. 48. And the splendid, belt-bearing Pleiades⁶, like the star-studded girdle of the spirit-fashioned, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, are so arrayed *as* luminaries of the fully-glorious ones. 49. And there was no possibility (aitôkîh) of any demon *or* fiend, nor yet even of

¹ See § 28.

² By omitting a stroke nôs, 'agreeable,' would become vêh, 'good.'

³ The sole-created, or primeval ox, whence all animals are said to have sprung. For an account of this incursion of the fiend, see Bd. III, 12–20, VIII, 1, Zs. II, 1–11.

⁴ M14 and J have 'even to the upper sky of the middle third,' which means the same thing, as the author's words imply that the demons did not enter the upper third, but only reached its borders (see § 49).

⁵ M14 and J conclude the sentence as follows: 'the pure religion, solving doubts, is arrayed.'

⁶ Reading vandvar Pêrvakô. The author seems to have been thinking of Yas. IX, 81: 'Mazda brought to thee the star-studded, spirit-fashioned girdle (the belt of Orion) leading the Pleiades; the good Mazda-worshipping religion' (Haug's Essays, p. 182).

the demon of demons, the mightiest (*mazvantûm*) in valour, rushing up across that boundary; they are beaten back now, when *they have* not reached *it* from the gloom, at once *and* finally (*yak-vayô akhar*).

50. And the fiend *of* gloomy race, accustomed to destruction (*aôsh-âyin*), changed into causes of death the position (*gâs*) of the brilliant, supreme heaven of the pure, heavenly angels—which he ordained through the power *of*¹ *Mitôkht* ('falsehood')—and the triumph of the glory of the world's creatures, *as ordained* through two decrees (*zîkô*):—one, the destruction of the living by the power² of death; and one causing the manacling of souls by a course of wickedness. 51. And he made *as* leaders therein that *one* astute in evil who is *already* named³, and *Astô-vtdâd*⁴ *who* is explained *as* 'the disintegration of material beings'; he also intrusted the demon *Bûshasp* ('lethargy')⁴ with the weakening of the breath, the demon *Tap* ('fever')⁵ with stupefying and disordering the understanding, and the demon *Âz* ('greediness')⁶ with suggesting cravings and causing drinking before *having* the thirst of a dog⁷. 52. Also the demon *Zarmân* ('decrepitude')⁸ for injuring the body and abstract-

¹ Or, *zôharakô* may mean 'venomous.' *Mitôkht* was the first demon produced by the evil spirit (see Bd. I, 24, XXVIII, 14, 16) who is supposed to be as much 'the father of lies' as his counterpart, the devil of the Christians.

² Or, *zôhar* may mean 'venom.'

³ *Mitôkht*.

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ See Chap. XXIII, 3.

⁶ See Bd. XXVIII, 27.

⁷ Reading *pêr tîsnô-î sagak nôsânînfîdanô*, but we might read *pêr tîsnôg sedkûnisnînfîdanô*, 'causing gnawing before *being* thirsty.'

⁸ See § 44 for this demon and the next two.

ing the strength; the bad Vâê's tearing away the life by stupefying the body; the demon Aêshm ('wrath') for occasioning trouble by contests, *and* causing an increase of slaughter; the noxious creatures of gloomy *places* for producing stinging and causing injury; the demon Zâîrîk¹ for poisoning eatables and producing causes of death; with Nîyâz ('want')² the stealthily-moving and dreading the light³, the fearfulness of Nihîv ('terror') chilling the warmth, and many injurious powers and demons of the destroyers *were* made by him constant assistants of Astô-vidâd in causing death.

53. Also, for rendering wicked *and* making *fit* for hell those whose souls are under the sway of⁴ falsehood (kadbâ), which in religious language is called Mîtôkht—since it is said in revelation that that is as much an evil as all the demons with the demons of demons—*there* is Akômanô ('evil thought')⁵, who is with the evil spirit owing to the speaking of Mîtôkht ('falsehood')⁶. 54. And for his doctrine (dînôih) of falsehood, and winning the creatures, slander the deceiver, lust the selfish, hatred, and envy, besides the overpowering progress of disgrace (nang), the improper desires of the creatures, indolence in seeking wisdom, quarrelling about that

¹ One of the seven arch-fiends, the Av. Zairîka, which probably means 'decay,' but from the resemblance of his name to zâhar, 'poison,' he is called 'the maker of poison' (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 11).

² See Bd. XXVIII, 26.

³ Reading gadman bîm, but it may be yadman bîm, 'dreading the hand;' and it is doubtful whether the epithet be applied to Niyâz, or to Nihîv.

⁴ Reading î instead of the va, 'and,' of the MSS.

⁵ See § 44.

⁶ See § 50.

which is no indication of learning, disputing (*sitôg*) about the nature of a righteous *one*, and many other seductive powers *and* demons helping to win, *were* made auxiliary to the doctrine of falsehood in deceiving the creatures.

55. Also, to turn his disturbance¹ to creatures of even other kinds, *there* are demons *and* fiends of further descriptions (*freh-altân*); and for the assistance of those combatants he established also *those* afflictions (*nîvakân*) of many, the witches of natures for gloomy *places*, whose vesture is the radiance of the lights² that fall, *and* rush, and turn below the luminaries which have to soar (*vâzisnî-kânô*) in stopping the way of *any* little concealment of the spirits *and* worldly *beings*³. 56. And they (the witches) overspread the light and glory of those *luminaries*, of whose bestowal of glory and their own diminution *of it*, moreover, for seizing the creatures, consist the pain, death, and original evil of the abode for the demon of demons⁴.

57. And those demons *and* original fiends, who are the heads and mighty *ones* of the demons, injudiciously, prematurely moving, prematurely speaking, not for their own disciplined advantage,

¹ Reading *paîttyâarakô*, but K35 and J have *paîtâzâarakô*, which, if it be a real word, would have nearly the same meaning.

² Shooting stars, meteors, and comets, the last of which are apparently intended by the term *Mûspar* (Av. *Mûs pairika*, 'the *Mûs* witch') of Bd. V, 1, XXVIII, 44.

³ That is, the luminaries which have to prevent these beings from becoming obscured by the darkness produced by the evil spirits.

⁴ By the omission of one loop the MSS. have *yazdânô*, 'angels,' instead of *shêdânô*, 'demons;' the difference between the two words being very slight in Pahlavi characters.

but with unbecoming hatred, lawless manner¹, envy, *and* spears exposing the body², undesirably struggle together—a perplexing contention of troublers—about the destruction of the luminaries. 58. The army of angels, judiciously and leisurely fighting for the good creatures of the sacred beings, not with premature hatred and forward spears (pêš-nîzahîh), but by keeping harm away *from* themselves—the champions' customary mode³ of wounding—valiantly, strongly, properly, and completely triumphantly struggle *for* a victory triumphantly fought. 59. For Aharman the demons are procurers (vashîkânö) of success *in* the contests till the end, when the fiend becomes invisible *and* the creatures become pure.

60. Since worldly *beings* observe, explain, *and* declare among worldly *beings* the work of the spirits and knowledge of customs (rîstakö), by true observation, through wisdom, *that* that life (zîk) is proper when *it is* in the similitude of the true power of wisdom, *and* the visible life is undiscerning of that which is to come *and* that which is provided, so also the evidence of a knowledge of the end of the contention is certain *and* clearly visible. 61. And tokens are discernible and signs apparent which, to the wisdom of the ancients—if it extended, indeed, to a knowledge about this pre-eminent subject—*were* hidden by the fiends, who are concealers *of them* from the perception (hâzîsnö) of worldly *beings*, and also from *their* coming to the perception of worldly *beings*.

¹ Reading an-âyin gun, but this is uncertain.

² Reading kîhar-tanû nîzah; the last word is usually spelt nîzak, but occurs in § 58 in the same form as here.

³ Reading nivîkân mank gûn, but this is uncertain.

62. The learned high-priests who *were* founders (pâyînkânö) *of the religion* knew it (*the evidence*), and those portions of it *were* transmitted by them to the ancients which the successive realisers of it, for the ages before me (levînam), *have* possessed.

63. The deceivers¹ of the transmitters, who have existed *at* various times, even among those who are blessed², *have* remained a mass of knowledge for me, by *being* my reminder of the mature *and* proper duty of those truly wise (hû-kîragânkö), through the directions issuable by even worldly decision, and of so many of which I have a remembrance³, for the writing of which *there would be* no end.

64. Then the manifest power of the fiend among us below, and the way provided by the creator for *his* becoming invisible *and his* impotence are clear; so also the full power of the creator of the army of angels, assuredly the procurers of success *in* the end, and⁴ the accomplishment all-powerfully—which is his own advantage—of the completely-happy progress, for ever, of all creations which are his creatures, are thereby visible *and* manifest; *and* many tokens and signs *thereof* are manifestly clear.

65. One is this, that the creator is *in* his own predestined (bagdâdakö) abode, and the fiend is

¹ The unorthodox, or those holding erroneous views regarding the traditions handed down by them.

² Reading âfrîndö, which K 35 has converted into afgônêdö, 'casts,' by inverting the order of the two central characters.

³ M14 and J omit the words from 'through' to 'remembrance.' The author means that he has acquired much information on the subject even from the opinions of the unorthodox judiciously studied.

⁴ M14 has merely the words: 'and the completely-happy progress,' &c.

advancing *and has* rushed in, and his advancing is for the subjugation of the creation¹.

66. One, that the creatures of Aûharmazd are spiritual *and* also worldly, and that is no world of the fiend, but he gathers an evil spiritual state into the world; *and* as among so many the greed of success is *only* in one², so the triumph is manifest of the good spirits *and* worldly beings over the evil spirits.

67. One is this, that *his* defeat in the end is manifest from his contention and aggression (pêš-zadârih); for the fiend is an aggressor *in* an unlawful struggle, and leaving the army of Aûharmazd—subsequently the lawful defender (lakhvâr-zadâr)—the fiend of violence is a cause of power among those wholly unrequiting the creator *in* the world³. 68. If, also, every time that he smites the creatures he is equally *and* lawfully beaten once again, it is assuredly evident therefrom that, when their beating *and* being beaten are *on* an equality together, *at* first he whose hand *was* foremost *was* the smiter, and the backward fighter was beaten; *but at* last that backward fighter is the smiter, and the foremost fighter becomes beaten⁴; for when he is

¹ K35 has altered dakhshakō, 'token,' into dahisnō, 'creation,' by changing one letter, and M14 and J have adopted the wrong reading.

² Reading kīgûn dên hâvandih kîr âs dên khadûkō. The drift of these two first reasons seems to be that the fiend, being an invader and outnumbered, must be vanquished in the end.

³ Reading zak-î zôr drûgō dên-î dâdâr barâ-atôgîgânō-î stîs vahânō-î nîrûkō-hômandih. This phrase seems to have been generally misunderstood by copyists, as both M14 and J have altered it into something like: 'when the violence of the fiend is in the hand of the creator, yet even if the motive of the army is so much power.'

⁴ M14 and J omit this clause, from '*but*' to '*beaten*.'

beaten *in* the former combat, *there* is then a combat again, and his enemy is beaten.

69. One is this, that when the supply of weapons¹, the fighting, and the ability of the contenders are equal, the supply of weapons of him who is the beginner (*pêstâdâr*) has always sooner disappeared, and, *at* last, he is unarmed and his opponent remains armed; *and* an armed *man* is known *to be*² victorious over him *who is* unarmed, just as *one* fighting is triumphant over *one* not fighting³. 70. And a similitude of it, which is *derived* from the world, is even such as when each one of two furious *ones* (*ârdô*) of equal strength, in a fight together, has an arrow, and each one is in fear of the other's possession of an arrow; *and* one of them alone shoots *his* arrow, and makes *it* reach *his* opponent; then he is without an arrow, and his opponent, fully mindful *of it*, has an arrow, and becomes fearless through possession of the arrow, his own intrepidity, *and* the lack of arrows and complete terror of that earlier shooter. 71. And as regards mighty deeds he is successful; *and* though *there be* as much strength for the earlier fighter a successful termination is undiscoverable *for him*; despoiled of possession *by* him who is later, *and* ruined in that which is all-powerful, *his* end *and* disappearance are undoubted, clear, *and* manifest⁴.

¹ The term *zênô afzâr* evidently refers here to the warrior's stock of arrows and other missiles which were to be expended in battle, so that it is analogous to the modern term 'ammunition.'

² M14 has *yehevûnêd*, 'becomes,' instead of *dânôstô*, 'known.'

³ M14 and J omit these last four words.

⁴ The argument, both in this case and the preceding one, is that even when two combatants are equal in power and resources the hasty aggressor is likely to be beaten in the end, and, therefore,

72. One is this, that owing to the previous non-appearance of the fiend, the coming forward of sickness and death unto the creatures of the sacred beings *occurred* when the fiend rushed *in*, and he rendered the existence of men sickly; he also destroyed *and* put to death the progeny of animals. 73. Afterwards, through lawfully driving *him* away, sickness and death *come* in turn (bârikîhâ) unto the demons, *and* the healthiness¹ of the righteous *and* perfect life unto the creatures of the sacred beings, as its counterpart is the great healthiness *which* comes, more rightly rising, unto the creatures advised by the sacred beings, through united arrangement². 74. And, in the end, a worldly similitude of the sickness and grievous, complete death for the fiends³, and of the healthiness *and* intrinsic (benafsman-*ki*gûnîh) life for the creatures of the sacred beings, is that which *occurs* when one of two litigants (ham-patkâr), prematurely revengeful, gives to *his* fellow-litigant an irritating poison, *and* himself eats wholesome flour before the later litigant gives a poison, as an antidote, to the earlier litigant, *and* himself eats the poison-subduing flour; after which he is cured *by* the poison, and his enemy is dead through the poison of the later flour⁴.

the inferiority of the fiend is still more likely to lead to his final defeat.

¹ M14 begins a fresh argument here, owing to some misunderstanding of the meaning of the sentence.

² That is, the advantage of driving away the fiend in this life is a counterpart of the blessings attained at the resurrection.

³ The word drûgânö, 'fiends,' is omitted in K35, but is evidently necessary to complete the sentence.

⁴ This appears to be a description of ordeal by poison and the two usual modes of evading its operation. The hasty evader relies upon deceitfully substituting a wholesome powder for the

75. One is this, that Aûharmazd, the creator, is a manager with omniscient wisdom, *and* the contention of the fiend of scornful looks (tar nigîrîšn) is through lust of defilement; of united power is the management of that creator, as existing with (ham-zîk)¹ all the vigilance in the wisdom which is in everything; and that united power is the strength of the management of heaven. 76. And of much power is the contention of the fiend, as *his* manifold changing of will—which is hostile to the will of even his own creatures, and is through the weakness and exhausted² strength of an evil nature—is the contending power which forms his visible strength³.

77. One is this, that is, on account of the fiend's contending ill-advisedly, however strongly the contest is adapted for the damage of his own fiendishness, and regret and bad consequences therefrom are perceptible. 78. Such as the very paralyzing⁴ affliction which *was* appointed (nîhâdô) by him

poison he has to take; while the more cautious evader trusts to recognising his adversary's poison by its taste, and selecting another poison as an antidote for both to take, so that the hasty evader suffers through his own deceit in not taking the first poison. Similarly, the fiend is supposed to suffer in the end from the death and destruction which he was the first to introduce into the world.

¹ By omitting a phrase M14 and J have: 'and the management of the fiend of scornful looks is as *it were* existing with,' &c.

² This is little more than a guess at the meaning of a word which can be read vashakîdô (compare Pers. gas and kasîdan). The whole sentence is rather uncertain.

³ The argument is that this unstable power of the fiend cannot permanently stand against the consolidated strength of the creator.

⁴ Adopting J's reading samakgûntar, but K35 has vasmakgûntar, which may be 'very troublesome,' and M14 has samkîntar, probably for sahmîntar, 'very terrible.'

for the creatures of the world in putting the living to death, which he ordered with violence and the hope that it *would* be *his* greatest triumph. 79. Even that is what is so self-damaging to the same fiend that, when he puts to death him who is wicked, and he who is wicked, who is performing what is desirable for him (the fiend)—that performance of what is desirable *being* the practice of sin—is useless *and* goes thither where he is penitent of that seduction, the spirit¹ of the owner (shah) of the sin, whose soul is wicked², is righteous, in whose worldly body exist the fetters of pain and darkness; and owing to the unfettering of *its* hands *from* that pain it (the spirit) is far *away*, and goes to heaven, which is the most fortified of fortresses. 80. Fearlessly it fights for it, even as the guardian spirit of Yim the splendid³ kept away all trouble (vêsam), the guardian spirit of Frêdûn kept away even those active in vexing⁴, *and* other guardian spirits of those passed *away* are enumerated as *engaged* in the defeat of many fiends.

¹ That is, the guardian spirit (see Chap. II, 5) which is not rendered wicked by the sin of the soul.

² The phrase mûn rûbân-î zak darvand is ambiguous, as it might mean 'which is the soul of that wicked one,' but this is not reconcileable with the context.

³ See Chap. II, 10. Yim-î shêdô is the Yimô khshaêtô of Vend. II, 43, 45, the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmâh. The legends here referred to are mentioned in Fravarân Yt. 130-138, where the guardian spirit of Yima is said to withstand the misfortune brought on by the demons, while that of Thraêtaona (Frêdûn) withstands various diseases, and those of other heroes withstand various other evils and demons.

⁴ Reading pavan bêsh-îk kardârân, but for *îk* we ought probably to read *az*, so as to make the phrase correspond to the Av. azi-karstahê dâbaêshanghê of Fravarân Yt. 131.

81. One is this, that the most grievous severance that is owing to him (the fiend)¹ is the production of the mortality of the creatures, in which the afflicting (nîzgûn) demon Astô-vidâd² is the head of the many Mâzînikân *demons*³. 82. And the propitious creator's developers *were* thus unprovoked (anârgônd) when the only person, who is called Gâyômarđ⁴, *was* destroyed by him, and came back to the world *as* a man and a woman whose names were Marhayâ and Marhîyôih⁵; and the propagation *and* connection of races *were* through their next-of-kin marriage of a sister⁶. 83. The unlucky⁷ fiend, while he

¹ Instead of zîs madam, 'that is owing to him,' we ought probably to read zîs bar, 'that is his production;' the Huz. madam, which is the proper equivalent of the preposition bar, 'on, according to,' being wrongly used for the noun bar, 'produce.'

² See § 44.

³ The Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta (see § 44, note).

⁴ The sole-created, or primeval, man from whom the whole human race is said to have sprung (see Chap. II, 10, Bd. III, 14, 17, 19-23, XV, 1, 31).

⁵ The progenitors of the undeformed human race, who are said to have grown up, in the manner of a plant, from the seed of the dead Gâyômarđ (see Bd. XV, 2-5). Their names are derived from Av. mashya mashyôih, 'the man and woman,' but the latter form is no longer extant in the Avesta. From Av. mashya we have the Mashya of Bd. XV, 6, and the Mâshya of Bd. XV, 11, 19, 20, 30. From its dialectical variant martiya in ancient Pers., which would be marethya in the Avesta (compare Av. mareta, Pers. mard), we have the Marhayâ of our text. And by transposition of the letters rt=reth=rha in these latter forms, we have the Matrô of Bd. XV, 2 and the Maharîh or Maharyâ of Bd. XV, 22, note. Other forms of these names also occur (see Chaps. LXIV, 2, LXV, 2, LXXVII, 4).

⁶ M14 has 'of brother and sister,' but the insertion of the extra word is unnecessary. Regarding khvêtudâd, or next-of-kin marriage, see Chap. LXV.

⁷ Reading lâ-khâgastô; the fiend is certainly 'unlucky' here,

increased offspring and fortune for them through death, so uplifted *his* voice in *their* presence, about the death of the living *ones* of their offspring and lineage, that *together* with the unmeasured destructiveness of the deadly evil spirit, and the unjust contention of his through death and the conveyer of death¹, the sting also of birth *was* owing to death. 84. The repetitions of the cry *were* many, so that the issue (bâr) of thousands and thousands *of* myriads from those two persons, and the multitude passed *away*, from a number *which* is limited and a counterpart (aêdûnôth) of the living people in the world, are apparent; and for the annihilation of many fiends, through death, the propitiousness of the contending power of the creator is clear *and* manifest.

85. One is this, that the most steadfast quality of the demon himself is darkness, the evil of which is so complete that they shall call the demons also those of a gloomy race. 86. *But* such is the power in the arms *and* resources of the angels, that even the first gloomy darkness in the world is perpetually subdued by the one power really originating with the sun *and* suitable *thereto*, *and* the world is illuminated².

87. One is this, that the most mischievous weapon of the demons is the habit of self-deception which,

as by introducing death into the world he merely increases the number of beings who pass into the other world to join his opponents in the end; but the text probably means that he is 'inauspicious' and wishes to bring misfortune on mankind.

¹ Astô-vidâd (see § 81).

² The argument is that, as the sun is able to subdue darkness, the most constant quality of the fiend, every day, it is probable that the fiend himself will be entirely subdued in the end.

on account of rendering the soul wicked thereby, seemed to them as the greatest triumph for themselves, *and* a complete disaster for the angels. 88. In the great glory of the pure, true religion of the sacred beings is as much strength as is adapted to the full power of the lawlessness and much opposition of falsehood, *and* also to the fully accurate (*arstlđö*) speaking which is in itself an evidence of the true speaking of every proper truth; and no truth whatever is perverted by it. 89. And the false sayings are many, and good sayings—*their* opponents through good statement—do not escape from their imperfect truth¹; since a similitude of them is that which *occurs* when, concerning that which is white-coloured, the whole of the truthful speak about *its* white colour, *but as to* the liars there are *some* who *speak of* its black colour, some of *its* mud colour, some of *its* blue colour, some of *its* bran² colour, some of *its* red colour, and some of *its* yellow colour. 90. And every single statement of each of the truthful is as much evidence, about those several colours of those who are liars, as even the compiled sayings of the Abraham of the Christians³, which are the word of *him* who is also called their Messiah⁴, about the

¹ Assuming that *apûrâstîh* stands for *apûr râstîh*; it may, however, be intended for *avî-râstîh*, 'want of truth.' The meaning is that even true statements become perverted by inaccurate speakers.

² Perhaps *sapûsag*, 'bran,' may have originally been *sapzag*, 'green.'

³ Written *Abrêhâm-î Tarsâkîgân*.

⁴ The letter *s* in *Masîkhâ* is here written like *âî*, but the word is correctly written in § 91.

Son of the *Supreme* Being¹; thus, they recount that the Son, who is not less than the Father, is himself He, the Being whom they consider undying. 91. One falsehood they tell about the same Messiah is that he died, and one falsehood they tell is that he did not die; it is a falsehood for those who say he did not die, *and* for those who say he did die; wherefore did he not die, when *he is* not dead? *and* wherefore is it said he did not die, when he is mentioned as dead²? 92. Even the compilation itself is an opponent to its own words, for, though it said *he* is dead, it spoke unto *one* not dead; and though *he* is not dead, it spoke unto *one* dead. 93. The proper office (gâs) of a compiler and mutilator³—through whose complete attainments the demons of like power as to the force of truth are strengthened, *and* the pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers is itself dissipated and rendered useless for itself—is a habit (dâdō) growing with

¹ The phrase is *barmanō-î dâd*, literally 'son of the created one,' unless we assume that *dâd* is taken as a name of God. It is, however, quite conceivable that a priest would be reluctant to admit that a strange god could be anything better than a created being. That *dâd* is here used as a noun, and not with the meaning of 'gift' or 'law,' appears from the subsequent phrase *dâdō-î amîrâkō yakhsenund*, 'the created *one* whom they consider undying.'

² Owing to the frequent repetitions of the same words in these phrases they are specially liable to corruption by copyists, but as they stand in K35 they can hardly be translated otherwise than as questions. M14 and J have an altered text which may be translated as follows:—'for whomever he did not die, when dead, *he is* as dead; for whomever it is said he died, *he is so* when he is mentioned as dead;' but this seems no improvement of the text.

³ Referring to those who compile commentaries and mutilate texts to suit their own views.

the fiend; and, as he is seen *to be* victorious who overturns reliance on changeableness and similar powers, the final disruption of forces is a disruption of peculiarities (khûdth vishôpisnô)¹.

94. One is this, that is, even that prodigious devastation *of* which it is declared that it happens through the rain of Malkôs², when, through snow, immoderate cold, *and* the unproductiveness of the world, most mortals die; *and* even the *things* attainable by mortals are *attended* with threatenings of scarcity. 95. Afterwards—*as* among the all-wise, preconcerted remedies (pês kêrth) of the beneficent spirit³ such a remedy *was* established (and nihâd kêr) that *there is* one of the species of lands, that is called 'the enclosure formed by

¹ The argument is that even heterodoxy, 'the most mischievous weapon' of the fiend (see § 87), must fail in the end, because, like other revolutions, it relies on constant change, which implies want of permanency.

² Malkôsânô, 'of Malkôs,' is a denominative adjective derived from Chald. ܡܠܟܐ 'autumnal rain.' The deluging rain of Malkôs is supposed to usher in the dreadful winter foretold to Yima in Vend. II, 46-56, when all, or nearly all, living creatures were to perish, a truly glacial epoch. In a Persian paraphrase of the Bahman Yast (see Byt. Introd. p. lix) this period of Malkôs is described as follows:—'As three hundred years have elapsed from the time of Hûshêdar (Byt. III, 44-49), the period of Malkôs comes on; and the winter of Malkôs is such that, owing to the cold and snow which occur, out of a myriad of men in the world only one will remain, and the trees and shrubs all become withered, and the quadrupeds, whether carrying, walking, leaping, or grazing, will all utterly die. Then, by command of God, they will come from the enclosure formed by Yim, and the men and quadrupeds from that place spread over Irân, and make the world populous a second time, and it is the beginning of the millennium of Hûshêdar(-mâh).'

³ The formation of the enclosure was ordered, as a precaution, by Aûharmazd (see Vend. II, 61-92).

Yim¹, through which, by orders issued by Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks, the son of Vivangha², the world is again filled—men of the best races, animals of good breeds, the loftiest trees, *and* most savoury (kharegîstânö) foods, *in* that manner came back miraculously *for* the restoration of the world; which new men are *substituted* for the former created beings, which is an upraising of the dead³. 96. Likewise from that miracle is manifested the non-attainment of the evil spirit to the universal control of the glory of the creator for every purpose.

97. One is this, that—when the heterodox (dûs-dînô) Dahâk⁴, on whom most powerful demons and fiends in the shape of serpents are winged⁵, escapes from the fetters of Frêdûn, and, through witchcraft, remains a demon even to the demons⁶ *and*

¹ Reading Yim-kard var, but these words are corrupted in three different ways in the three MSS. consulted. This enclosure is said to have been in the middle of Pârs in Bd. XXIX, 14.

² Av. Vivanghau (see Bd. XXXI, 2).

³ That is, a type of the resurrection.

⁴ The Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' slain by Thraëtaona. In later times he was converted into a usurping king, or dynasty, the Dha'h'hâk of the Shâhnâmah, who conquered Yim (Jamshêd) and, after a reign of a thousand years, was defeated by Frêdûn (Thraëtaona) and fettered under Mount Dimâvand; whence he is to escape during the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh to devastate the world, till he is finally slain by the hero Keresâsp, who is revived for the purpose (see Bd. XXIX, 8, 9, XXXI, 6, Byt. III, 56-61).

⁵ That is, attached to the shoulders like wings; referring to the serpents said to have grown from the shoulders of Dahâk.

⁶ M14 alters shêdân, 'demons,' into gêhân, 'world,' so as to read 'through the demon of witchcraft remains a destroyer unto the world.' The alteration in the Pahlavi text is small, but seems unnecessary.

a destroyer—a mighty man *who* is roused¹ up beforehand from the dead, *and* is called Keresâsp the Sâ mân², crushes that fiendishness with a club *consisting* of a cypress tree, *and* brings that Dahâk through wholesome fear to the just law of the sacred beings³.

98. One is this, that these, which are *distinct* from those born *and* the men who have laboured together, Astô-vidâd⁴ *has* not obtained, nor even *will* obtain, for death; and through the power of immortals, and the action of the good discourses (hû-sakhunagânîh)⁵, they urge on to the sacred beings *those* who are inquiring (kâv-hômand), even to the immortality which is the renovation of the other creatures. 99. One, *which* is where the mingled conflict of the meeting of good and evil occurs⁶, is the glorious good-yielding *one* of the creator which is guarded by purity, so that the fiend *has* not attained to injuring *it*, since it is pronounced *to be* the uninjured ox which is called Hadhayâs⁷. 100. Also the long life which

¹ Reading angêzôî-aitô, instead of the unintelligible angîdî-aitô.

² See Chap. XVII, 6.

³ Dahâk and all other heinous offenders are said to undergo a special punishment for three nights at the resurrection, and are then finally purified by passing through molten metal like the rest of mankind (see Bd. XXX, 16, 20).

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ Perhaps referring to the liturgical recitations.

⁶ In the atmosphere apparently (see Bd. I, 4).

⁷ Written Hadhayâs here, but Hadhayâs in § 119, Chaps. XLVIII, 34, XC, 4, and Hadhayôš or Hadhayâvs in Bd. XIX, 13, XXX, 25, though always in Pâzand. It is also called Sar-saok, or Srisaok, in Bd. XV, 27, XVII, 4, XIX, 13, always in Pâzand, and this name is converted into Pahl. Srôvô in Zs. XI, 10.

is through its all-controlling power¹ until they cause the end to occur, and the devourers of fires are subdued by it—*besides* the whole strength of the unboasting (*akûm*) creatures of the beneficent spirit, after they live even without eating²—is because of the Hô³ that is white and the promoter (*frâshm*) of perfect glory, which possesses the wholesomeness of the elixir of immortality, and through it the living become ever-living. 101. And also as many more specially pure glorious *ones* whose enumeration *would* be tedious⁴.

102. One is this, that the struggle of the evil *one* and the demons *with* the creatures is not precisely the existence of *various* kinds of contest, but

It is said to be an ox which never dies till it is slaughtered at the resurrection, so that its fat may form one of the ingredients of the elixir of immortality which all men have then to taste; it is also said that mankind, in ancient times, crossed the ocean on its back, when going to settle in the other regions of the earth. From what is stated in the text it may be supposed to be some form of cloud myth, but it is not mentioned in the extant portion of the Avesta, unless 'the ox Hadhayô's' be taken as a corruption of *gâus hudhau*, 'the well-yielding ox,' and Sarsaok as connected with Pers. *srisk*, 'a drop,' and referring to showers of rain; but this is very uncertain.

¹ The power of the white Hô³ mentioned below.

² As, it is said, they will do for ten years before Sôshâns, the last apostle, appears to prepare for the resurrection (see Chap. XXXV, 3, Bd. XXX, 3).

³ A tree said to grow in the ocean, the juice of which is the other ingredient of the elixir of immortality; it is also called Gôkarn, or Gôkard, Av. *gaokerena*, and is guarded by ten enormous fish (see Bd. XVIII, 1-3, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

⁴ The existence of such immortal creatures, said to be intended for special use at the resurrection, is here taken as a proof of the reality of the resurrection itself. Whether the seven immortals described in Chap. XC are to be included among them is uncertain.

by natural operation and through desire of deceit¹. 103. And the demon of slander (spazg), whose nature it is to make the indignation (zôhar) of the creatures pour out, one upon the other, about nothing, as he does not succeed in making *it* pour out among the righteous², he makes the wicked even pour *it* out upon the wicked; *and* as he does not succeed even in making *it* pour out among the wicked, he makes a demon pour *it* out upon a demon. 104. The impetuous assailant, Wrath (Aeshm), as he does not succeed in causing strife *among* the righteous, flings discord *and* strife amid the wicked; *and* when he does not succeed *as* to the strife even of the wicked, he makes the demons *and* fiends fight together. 105. So also the demon of greediness (âzô), when he does not attain, in devouring, to that of the good, mounts³ by his own nature unto devouring that of the demons. 106. So also the deadly Astô-vidâd⁴ is ever an antagonistic operator; when *there* is no righteous *one* who is mortal, nor any creatures in the world, the wicked dying *one* (mîrâk) rides to the fiends through a death which is an antagonism of himself⁵.

¹ That is, the demons do not come into personal conflict with material creatures, but are supposed to influence their evil passions and to pervert the original laws of nature.

² M14 omits the passage from this word to the same word in § 104.

³ The word sôbârêdô, 'rides, mounts,' both here and in § 106, is possibly only a miswriting of the very similar word dûbârêdô, 'runs, rushes.' Several words in this sentence are accidentally omitted in M14.

⁴ See § 44.

⁵ As it is uncertain whether the 'dying *one*' is a human being or the demon himself, it is doubtful which of them is here supposed to commit suicide. M14 and J have merely: 'nor even among the

107. The means of the united forces¹ are means such as the wise and the high-priests *have* proclaimed, that is, at the time of the renovation of the universe² *being* nigh, when completion *has* come to generation—those who *were* provided *being* born—and after they occasion freedom from generation (azerkhûnisnîh), they cause men *and* animals to exist, though passed *away and* dead. 108. All men, righteous and wicked, who continue in the world *become* immortal, the men are righteous whom Astôvidâd does not obtain for death by evil noosing (dûs-vadisnô)³ from behind, and *who have* completely attained to the rules of the sacred beings (yang-î yazdân); *and* the soul of the wicked, which is repentant of deceit, turns back upon the demons and fiends themselves all that previous violence of destruction and perversion, contention and blinding⁴ which is natural to a demon, and they fight, and strike, and tear, and cause to tear, and destroy among themselves (benafsman va/

creatures of the sacred beings those which are an antagonism of himself;’ apparently connecting this section with the next. This final argument is that, as the demons by their very nature must injure their friends if they fail with their enemies, they contain within themselves the source of their own final destruction. In other words: ‘if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end’ (Mark iii. 26).

¹ The army of angels of §§ 58, 64. The author, having exhausted his arguments in favour of the final triumph of the good creation, now returns to his description of the issue of the contest, which he was about to commence in § 64.

² M14 and J omit the following words as far as ‘provided.’

³ See Chap. XXIII, 3.

⁴ Or, perhaps, ‘concealment,’ as there is some doubt whether aûbênîdârîh means ‘making unseeing, or making unseen.’

benefitsman) so long as they are in hell and numerous.

109. The wicked who are penitent become courageous anew as to the demon who perverts, the living occasion strength¹, *and* the retribution of the hellish existence of the wicked is completed, because the increase of sins², owing to the sin which they committed, ceases. 110. They are let out from hell, though their sins are thus accumulated by the demons; they have also prepared³ the spirit of sin by the three days *in* molten metal⁴, which drives away tears, as its name is owing to the lessening of tears⁵, which is all⁶ in that which *occurs* when all the doers of actions for the demon of falsehood⁷ pass through that preparation. 111. And *he* who, *for* three days, thus bathes (vushakêdö) his sins which are owing to the fiend, and *has* destroyed the filth (kakhû) of the accumulated sins, is like *those who* have passed off *and* turned over a burden.

112. And the impotence of sin is owing to the destroyer *of* the fiend by the perception of light,

¹ That is, the wicked who are still living, being penitent, reinforce the host of the righteous.

² Referring probably to the 'growth of sin' mentioned in Chaps. XI, 2, XII, 5.

³ That is, 'purified.'

⁴ All men are said to be purified, at the time of the resurrection, by passing through melted metal, which seems like warm milk to the righteous, but is a final torment to the wicked (see Chap. XXXII, 12, 13, Bd. XXX, 19, 20).

⁵ This would seem to allude to some Avesta name of this molten metal, which is no longer extant.

⁶ We should probably read hamât, 'ever,' instead of hamâk, 'all.'

⁷ Reading zûr, but it may be zôr, 'violence.'

who was their creator¹; they (men) all see all, they all forgive, and they all are powerful as regards all *things* for the creator. 113. And, moreover, after the three days, when they occur, all the creatures of the good creator are purified *and* pure by the perfect washing passed through, by the most amazing preparation ordained (bakhtö), *and* by the most complete account they render complete. 114. And they are triumphant *over* the fiend through their own weapons, through their own driving away *of* their own littleness (kâsvîdârîh), and the glory of the creator and that of the angels; and since he becomes exhausted in resources (dên kâr) they make *him* become extinct.

115. *But* previously² they are attacked, and dispersed, and subdued, and this even fully painfully and with complete experience; and they aid, through backward goodness, in the antagonism of means which are separated divergently, through scattered resources and subdued strength, like the life from the body of worldly mortals, and this, moreover, confusedly, uselessly, and unmovingly. 116. *But* the abode³ for the essential material existence (stî-î kîharîkö), about which *there* is a seeking for interment⁴, is not powerless, and on enquiring the wishes of such numbers⁵ they have

¹ That is, the destroyer of the fiend was the creator of the men mentioned in § 108. The reading sinâsnö, 'perception,' is uncertain; perhaps we ought to read 'in the regions (dîvâgânö) of light.'

² That is, before the purification in molten metal.

³ The 'body,' apparently, but this section is by no means clear.

⁴ This must be on the part of the fiend, as burial is unlawful.

⁵ Perhaps the meaning is that the fiend is at length overcome by the constantly accumulating numbers of the penitent wicked.

cast *him* out; and no share whatever, *nor* fragment of a share, of fiendishness, *nor* even so much as some morsel of unpardonableness sent by fiendishness, remains in this light.

117. Those who are righteous, intelligent through their own glory of religion—which is a spirit¹ in the form of light—are scattered (*parvandag-aftō*) equally around the sky of skies, when from every single side of it *there* arises, for the sake of margin, three *times* as much *space* as the earth created by Aûharmazd, in the preparation of the creatures which *were* created by him. 118. Through his own will he again constructs the bodies of the evil creation, unlaboriously, easily, and full-gloriously, though their construction is even from the clay of Aûshdâstâr², and their moisture is from the purified water of Arekdvisûr³ the undefiled. 119. And from that which is a good protector *through* him, and which is also connected *with*

¹ The handsome maiden who is supposed to meet the departed soul, and whose form is an embodiment of its own deeds and religion (see Chaps. XXIV, 5, XLIV, 20). Or, perhaps, the angel of religion (Dîn) itself, which is revered for its radiance and glory in Dîn Yt. 4.

² A mythical mountain (see Chap. XXX, 2).

³ The mythical source of pure water which is said to flow from Mount Albûr into Lake Urvis on the summit of Mount Hûgar, and thence to Mount Aûsindôm in the wide-formed ocean, whence it partly flows into the ocean, and partly rains upon the earth (see Bd. XIII, 1, 3-5). Much the same account of it is given in Chap. XCII, 5, only the lake is said to be on the summit of Mount Aûsindôm. It is the Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., and the Pahl. form Arekdvisûr = Aregdvisûr may be explained as a transposition of Aredgvisûr, an ordinary mispronunciation of Ardvî sûra. Modern Parsis, who consider the Pahl. k as silent (or merely a soft aspirate) after a vowel, would pronounce Aredvisûr.

him, even from the Hadhayâs ox¹, is the strength of everlasting welfare (vêhgarîh) *and* immortality; and the living are again produced for the body, they have immortal life, *and* they become hungerless *and* thirstless, undecaying *and* undying, undistressed and undiseased, ever-living *and* ever-beneficial.

120. After the renovation of the universe there is no demon, because *there* is no deceit; and no fiend, because there is no falsity; *there* is no evil spirit (angraminô), because there is no destruction; *there* is no hell, because there is no wickedness; *there* is no strife, because there is no anger; *there* is no hatred, because there is no ill-temper (dazth); *there* is no pain, because there is no disease.

121. *There* is also no Dahâk², because there is no fear; *there* is no want, because there is no greediness; *there* is no shame, because there is no deformity; *there* is no falsehood³, because there is no desire of falsehood; *there* is no heterodoxy, because there are no false statements; and *there* is no tardiness, because *it speaks* of a dilatory (sustô) race in that which is said thus: '*They are* all those of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, a race of all evils to be made to tear by the evil spirit.'

122. And on his (the demon's) disappearance every evil has disappeared, on the disappearance of evil every good is perfected, and in the time of complete goodness it is not possible to occasion (andâkhtanô) any pain *or* distress whatever, by any means, to any creature. 123. Those who are present (nunak) sufferers⁴, when *there* is a blow of

¹ See § 99.

² See § 97.

³ M14 and J omit what follows, as far as 'heterodoxy.'

⁴ Literally 'attainers to endurance.'

a fist on the body, or the point of a nail (têkh bûrâk) is driven into a limb, are pained on account of the combination (ham-dâdakîh) of a different nature for the purposes of the fiend in the body.

124. *But* at that time of no complication (aham-yâkhtîh), when a limb is struck upon a limb, or even such a *thing* as a knife, or sword, or club, or stone, or arrow reaches the body, *there* is no pain or discomfort whatever corresponding to that present pain. 125. And at that time one consideration (vusîd-aê) occurs, for now the pain from that beating *and* striking is always owing to that different nature, and on account of *their being* suitable to it, but at that time everything *being* of like nature and like formation *there* is never *any* distress.

126. And in that most happy time they let the sun, moon, and luminaries exist, but *there* is no need for a return of the day and a removal of *its going* forth (frâshm)¹, for the world is a dispenser (vakhtâr) of all light, and all creatures, too, are brilliant; those luminaries also become as it were perfectly splendid *for* them. 127. And every creature, too, is of like will and like power; which-ever *were* mortals, unenvious of the welfare of all creatures, are alike joyous, and that *share* of their position and pleasure rejoices *them* which has come to them from the glory of all *the existences and* capabilities of him, the all-good, who is aware of all of everything through his own perfect persistence *and* complete resources.

128. And he allots, to the doers of good works

¹ The 'going forth' of the day or the sun means its disappearance or going away, and is an Avesta phrase. The sun is supposed to be 'forth' when it is absent, not when it appears.

and the suitable ranks, the power of a judge (daḍakō), wealthiness, goodness, and the directorship (radīh) of *what* is intended. 129. *He* is the designer of *what* is intended, as it is said about his creatures and capability that fire is producing wind, fire is producing water, and fire is producing earth; wind is producing fire, wind is producing water, and wind is producing earth; water is producing fire, water is producing wind, and water is producing earth; earth is producing fire, earth is producing wind, and earth is producing water. 130. The spirit is both the cause of spirit and the cause of matter (stīś); and the cause of matter, too, is also the cause of spirit, through that perpetual capability.

131. And, moreover, all the angels, the souls, and the guardian spirits are attending to the wishes of the glory of the creator and the commands of the creator, without trouble *and* fully rejoicing, in likeness unto the forms of seas, rivers, mountains, trees, and waters¹; and they have comforted and decorated the creation. 132. And the angels, souls, and guardian spirits, themselves also the constituted spirits of a former contact with life, are thereby pleased *and* rejoiced; eternal *and* thoroughly prepared they are naturalised in that complete joy.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. *As to* the thirty-seventh question and reply, that which you ask is thus: The measure that they

¹ All objects being supposed to be represented by guardian spirits in the other world.

measure good works *with being* revealed¹, how is it then *when* there is more, or not, done by us?

2. The reply is this, that every thought, word, and deed whose result is joy, happiness, and commendable recompense—when a happy result is obtainable, and the exuberance (afzûn) of thought, word, and deed is important—is well-thought, well-said, and well-done². 3. And for him the result of whose wish for good works is conclusively joy and exaltation of soul—which are his attainment of recompense from the constantly-beneficial space³, the immortal *and* unlimited, which shall never perish—there is no measure of the multitude of good works. 4. For every one by whom many are performed, and *who* engages in still more, appropriates the result more fully, and is more worthy; *but* it is not obtained for the completion of that which is a *definite* measure, therefore he does not obtain still more, and it is not necessary *he should*; and it is, moreover, not obtained even for the completion of a limit of unlimitedness⁴.

¹ They are balanced against the sins committed (see Chaps. XIII, 2–4, XXIV, 5, 6); if the good works exceed the sins by a very small quantity the soul is supposed to go to the ordinary heaven (vahistô), but if by a quantity sufficient to balance one unatonable sin it goes to the best existence, or supreme heaven (garôdmânô, see Sls. VI, 3, 4). M14 and J have merely: ‘The measure for good works *being* revealed.’

² The three characteristics of good works.

³ See Chaps. XXVI, 3, XXXI, 24, XXXVII, 22.

⁴ The good works in excess of the quantity necessary for admitting the soul into the supreme heaven cannot affect the destination of the soul, but they add to its future enjoyment (see Chap. VIII, 4), and no limit can be assigned to the quantity that can be thus absorbed.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. *As to* the thirty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What are the reason and cause of tying *on* the *sacred thread-girdle* (kûstîkô)¹ which, when they shall tie *it* on is said *to be* so greatly valuable, and when they shall not tie *it* the sin is so grievous?

2. The reply is this, that the all-good, most spiritual of spirits, and most ruling of rulers is the creator, and there is no need of troubles for men of the poor as to any wealth *or* anything, for all are his own. 3. And through his will *as* ruler, and all-powerful, he demands this of men, to remain properly

¹ The Kûstîk (Pers. kustî) consists of a string, about the size of a stay-lace, which is first passed twice round the waist very loosely, over the sacred shirt (see Chap. XL, 2), and tied in front with a loose double knot (right-handed and left-handed), and the long ends are then passed a third time round the waist and tied again behind with a similar double knot. This string contains six strands, each consisting of twelve very fine, white, woollen threads twisted together, or seventy-two threads in all. Near each end the six strands are braided together, instead of being twisted, and for the last inch they are braided into three separate string-ends of two strands each; these string-ends, therefore, contain twenty-four threads each, and form a kind of fringed end to the string. This fringe is a sort of remembrancer, as its six strands are supposed to symbolize the six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals, the twelve threads in each strand symbolize the twelve months, the twenty-four threads in each string-end symbolize the twenty-four kardaks or sections of the Visparad, and the seventy-two threads in the whole string symbolize the seventy-two hâs or chapters of the Yasna. The girdle has to be re-tied every time the hands have been washed, which, in order to comply with the ceremonial laws, occurs many times in the day; and each time it has to be done with ceremony and a particular formula of prayer (see § 27).

skirted¹ as a true servant not even bound—which is due to that service, and also the indication of a servant—as is seen *and* clearly declared in the ever-fixed (hamât-dâdö) religion and belief.

4. Formerly men paid homage through the will and worship, as *it were* more effectually, more essentially, *and* more suitably for the discreet; and every day *spent* in worship offered and homage paid they account as *of* the greatest use, particularly for observing the world, and understanding *its* character.

5. And *as to him* of whose offering of homage no worldly advantage whatever is apparent—as fruit is apparent from trees, flavour from foods, fragrance from aromatic herbs, tint (bâm) from colours, the good quality of spears from the forest, health from the patient (môlvarakân), and decision from words—but, audibly speaking, *his* head is lowered in sign of humility—as though the head, which is uppermost in the body and in the most pre-eminent *position*, and is lowered as far even as the sole of the foot, which is lowermost in the body, salutes² *and* is placed on the ground in thought about worship *and* desire of paying homage—and the appearance which exists as regards himself through *that* lowliest (kt-hastö) servitude is *in accordance* with that which is apparent from trees, food, and the many other worldly advantages *before* recited—whoever *has* offered homage and such advantageous (vêsisnakö) appearance

¹ That is, fully clad, as going about uncovered is a sin (see Chap. XL, 4). On occasions of ceremony, and for the purpose of showing extraordinary respect, the Parsis wear an extra long-skirted robe.

² Reading *drûdöêd*, but the orthography is unusual and the word, therefore, uncertain.

is manifest—even then that sign of humility *and* servitude is *what* great multitudes consider the offering of homage of a man more essential for hypocrisy (shêdö)¹.

6. *But* owing to that which *happens* when they plant a tree in the name of a sacred being² and eat the produce, and practise other worldly labour of worldly advantage, owing also to work of this kind through the doing of which they preserve all the growing *crops* of the whole world, and through tillage and multitudinous cultivated plots (khûstakîhâ) *it* is manifest that they should meditate inwardly (dên mînyên)³. 7. A token *and* sign of worship is of great use, and a great assistance (bangîsnö) therein is this belt (band), which is called the Kûstik, that is tied on the middle of the body.

8. The reasons of the assistance are numerous; and its first assistance is this, that *as to* him who—*as* a worshipper of the sacred beings, owing to the undeceitful (akadbâ) religion whose indication is sagaciously propitiating with the *purifying* cup⁴—wears upon the body that spiritual, customary, and

¹ The author is here adopting his most involved style of writing, which, in the original Pahlavi, is often hardly intelligible, and particularly apt to be misunderstood; but the object of this section seems to be to deprecate the Muhammadan practice of frequent prostrations during prayer, which are in marked contrast to the slight obeisances made by the Parsis.

² Whether yêdatô means 'an angel,' or 'God,' is here uncertain.

³ The argument is that the growth of plants is so obviously occasioned by some unseen power that it naturally leads to meditation, and then to prayer.

⁴ The words dânisnikö levatman-tâstik-shnâyin seem to refer to the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification, described in Vend. IX, 1-145 (see App. IV), which is a rite eminently characteristic of Mazda-worship.

doctrinal indication of the sacred beings with a wisdom which is truly religion, *his* steadfastness and religious service of the sacred beings are audibly spoken thereby; even for the religious *it* is commanded, because *it* is an assisting motive of beneficial high-priests and such-like submitters *to* the commands of the religion of the sacred beings.

9. One is this, that, as the lowliest servant and greatest lord are steadily agreed, and *it is* beneficial¹ when they (the servants) wear a belt upon the body *as* a sign of service—because *it* is not the custom to grant that little at any time without guardianship—the lapse of which service is also not a beneficial lapse, then those unbound are without a token of the lord's service.

10. One is this, that it is commanded in revelation to keep thought, word, and deed confined from sin by a belt, and just like a servant; for the sake of confinement of sins from purity of thought, whose dwelling is the heart, *one* is to wear the same belt, which is the token of a servant, *on* the middle of the body and before the heart; and the periodical (hangâmîkânö) sight of the token and sign of confined sins, and of the constant reminder for *one's* own mind, is the necessity of wearing *it* as a belt which is very restraining from the sin in thought, word, and deed that is manifest even in experience; which wearing of the same belt is as a reason and cause of much remembrance of much sin, that in the same way is therefore a restraint of it.

11. One is this, that the ancients acquainted with religion *have* communicated these tidings (srôbö)

¹ Reading *spenâk*, but it may be *sazôâk*, 'seemly.'

unto our ancestors *and* to us :—‘ When the destroyer came upon the creatures, the demons and witches (parîkō) especially rushed up in the earth and atmosphere, and even to *just* below the position of the stars; and they saw multitudes of luminaries, and also the barricade *and* rampart¹ of the glory of the religion, and the girdle (parvand)² of the wishes *and* good works of all, when³ it is arrayed like a brilliant *thread*-girdle (kûstîk), and all its luminaries are girded (parvastō) by the girdle as the girdle of the omniscient wisdom has girded the all-intelligent angels.’ 12. That great glory of the pure religion, solving doubts, became as beautiful and far-adorning as is stated in the liturgy (mânsar) thus: ‘ The star-studded girdle (ayîvyahângânō) of the spirit-fashioned, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers⁴.’ 13. All the demons and fiends *were* terrified by the great glory of the religion, *and it is* said that, by the recital, practice, *and* promulgation of the whole routine of the enlightened religion, all those fiends are subdued, *and* the renovation of the universe is produced by the will of the patron spirits (ahvân). 14. Likewise, on account of that terror, none of the demons and fiends, who are the mightiest of the demons, rushed upon the creatures of that uppermost third of the sky⁵, who are in purity and inde-

¹ See Chap. XXXVII, 47.

² It is not certain that parvand signifies ‘a girdle,’ or that parvastânō means ‘to gird,’ but they seem to be used in that sense here. The former word translates Av. *paurvanîm*, ‘leading the Pleiades’ (Haug’s Essays, p. 182), in Yas. IX, 81, an epithet applied to the belt of Orion.

³ M14 has ‘which.’

⁴ Quoted from Pahl. Yas. IX, 81 (see Chap. XXXVII, 48).

⁵ See Chap. XXXVII, 24-27.

structibility. 15. And it (the girdle) is commanded in revelation for men, more particularly for upholders of the religion¹, *to be* within the middle third *and* near to the uppermost third of the body².

16. *One* is this, that Yim the splendid, *son* of Vivangha³, who in *his* worldly career was most prosperous in worldly affairs, a keeper away of all agitations of temper⁴ *and* all death, *and* a provider of freedom from decay *and* exemption from death, when he was deceived by the fiend *was* thereby made eager for supreme sovereignty instead of the service of Aûharmazd. 17. And about his administration (dâdârîh) of the creatures *it* is said he himself became cut⁵ away from radiant glory by that fiendishness⁶, and their cause of wandering

¹ M14 continues as follows:—‘through that girdle (parvand) of the religion, *and* a *thread*-girdle (kûstîkô), from the region of the world and religious *in character*, is put on within the middle third,’ &c.

² Some words are evidently here missing in the Pahl. text, including the first word of the next section. The reason here given for the girdle being worn round the waist, just below the uppermost third of the body, is that the impregnable barrier of heaven (of which the girdle is a counterpart) is said to be just below the uppermost third of the sky.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 80, 95.

⁴ Reading vispô khôî-sôrân, but we might perhaps read vispôân sahôrân, ‘all oppressors,’ assuming that sahôr stands for Av. sâthra, a term applied to some particular tribe of another religion which was under the rule of Yim and his two predecessors (see Zamyâd Yt. 26, 28, 31). Another possible reading is vispôân yêkhvarân, ‘all frosts.’

⁵ Assuming that khvûđakô stands for khûđakô, but the word is uncertain.

⁶ The particular kind of fiendishness that led Yim astray in his old age (like Solomon) was lying, that is, denial of the truth of his religion. In consequence of this apostasy the royal glory departed from him, and he allied himself to the demons in the

(garînisnô) is the demon, and mankind perishes in that wandering from plain and hill-side¹. 18. And his pardon originated from the fully-persistent creator; therefore he spoke *and* gave advice unto his successors as to the retribution of those *who* shall abandon the service of the creator; and therein is explained about the fortress of the angels², with the many proper actions which are the strength of the fortress, and about the proportional way it is strengthened when a belt worn on the waist is ordered for men *by* him—the fully glorious ruler who *was* lord of the world, and also in gloriousness well-betokening the good creation—*and* they³ likewise order *it*.

19. One is this, that just as through that reason⁴, which is an appointment (padô-dahîsnô) that the sacred beings decreed, the *sacred thread-girdle was* worn even before the coming of Zaratûst the Spîtmân, *so after the coming of* that messenger (vakhşvar) of the sacred beings, the righteous Zaratûst—who enjoined the commands of the good spirits *and* the exposition of the religion, with discourse praising the sacred beings and scriptures (avîstâkô) about steadfastness in the good religion—the same religious girdle is put on, with a religious formula⁵, around

617th year of his reign, and remained in their power for most of the remaining century of his life (see Zamyâd Yt. 31–38, Bd. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4).

¹ Assuming that dastô stands for Pers. dast, and varîvakô for Pers. garîvah; otherwise, we may read ‘from dignity and the hovel (varîkâkô),’ meaning that they perish from all ranks, instead of all places.

² The rampart of heaven (see § 11).

³ His successors.

⁴ As detailed in § 18.

⁵ The Nirang-i Kustî (see § 27).

the body, over the garment of Vohûman¹. 20. Because the same intimation, relative to girding (parvandisnîk) is wisdom for which the race of the religion is so justly famed that innumerable people, with the same customs *and* equally proper girding, wear the *sacred thread-girdle*, the ceremonial belt of the religion *and* indication of the creator, on the middle of the body; *and* it becomes more destructive of the power of destruction², more obstructive of the way to sin, and more contesting (kastaktar) the will of the demons.

21. One is this, that *he* is unwise that *has* not worn *it* when that *man has* arrived in whose law no belting and no girdling³ are ordered, and more perplexing and more grievous destruction is so manifested at the time, that *it* is similar evidence to that exposition of revelation, the purport (a êvâz) of *whose* question *and* reply is spoken thus⁴:—"O creator! in whom is the manifestation of secretly-progressing destruction, that is, in whom is its progress⁵?" And Aûharmazd spoke thus: "In him who is the guide of a vile religion; whoever it is who puts on a girdle

¹ The sacred shirt (see Chap. XL, 2). The garment of a purified man is called Vohûman in Vend. XIX, 76-78, 81-83 (trans. D.).

² The term *seg* or *sêg*, used for 'destruction' here and in §§ 21-23, is the name of 'the fiend who causes annihilation' (see Bd. XXVIII, 26).

³ It is possible that an-aylvyâgânîh may mean 'no garmenting,' and refer to the sacred shirt, as the previous term avîbandîh, 'no belting,' refers to the sacred thread-girdle.

⁴ In Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 21-23, with some variations (see Haug's Essays, p. 367).

⁵ Instead of rûbâkîh, 'progress,' K₃₅ has rûbânîh, which might mean 'soul-state,' but is probably a clerical blunder.

at most thrice (3-tûmak) in a year¹, that is, he does not wear a *sacred* shirt and *thread-girdle*, and his law also is this, that it is not necessary to wear *them*'''—and when the law of no belting is so grievous that, when that law shall be accepted, it is observed *that* destruction is strengthened.

22. The same belt, kept on after the command of Yim, *was* the first token as regards which an annihilator of destruction is mentioned *and* established by law; *and on* both occasions² destruction is more grievously manifest. 23. That which is more particularly important is such as the destroyer of destruction, Yim the splendid, advised, which the high-priest of the good, Zaratûst the Spitamân, mentioned thus:—‘The *sacred thread-girdle* is as a sign of the service of the sacred beings, a token of sin ended, and a presage of beneficence; *and one is* to put *it* on *and* to gird *it*, in the neighbourhood of the heart and *on* the middle of the body, with the religious formula accompanying the glorious scripture.’ 24. That is also betokened by *its* equally-dividing (ham-bûr) position and determining fashion; for, as a wise man becomes a discriminator between benefit *and* injury, between good and evil, so also the place of the *sacred thread-girdle* is between below and above. 25. With a low *sacred* girdle there is a passage for one’s want of openness (avîshôdanö) and secret ruin, and also a shutting up³ of life; with a high *sacred*

¹ In the Vendidad it is he who does not put one on for three years.

² Both when ordered by Yim and when confirmed by Zaratûst.

³ Reading *avar-vadîsnöih* (the first nasal in *bandîsn* = *vandîsn* being often omitted); it can hardly be *afrandîsnöih*, ‘magnificence,’ because the latter abstract suffix, *-ih*, would be

girdle there is a way *for* thought, word, and deed, and no confinement (agîrisnôkârîh) of life; and tying the *sacred* girdle with a religious rite (ham-dînô) is like a glory amid the glories *of* the angels, for it is itself through the aid of the patron spirit (ahvô). 26. And from the heart, which is the place of thought and dwelling of life, on the upper side (lâlâîh) are the eye, ear, tongue, *and* brain, which are the dwellings of sight, hearing, speech, understanding, and intellect; and on its lower side (frôdîh)¹ is the abode of a father's generativeness.

27. When this *sacred thread-girdle*, whose token, sign, and presage are such², is tied, it is girded on with this glorious rite³ of the glorious ones, the custom of the learned, the command of rulers, and the decree of apostles.

28. That secretly-progressing destruction⁴, which *arises* from the fiend of insubordination (asaṛdârîh)⁵ who *was* much afraid of Yim, *and* which is averse to the labour of men *and* the service of Aûharmazd, is a demon and irreligious (dûs-dînô), who is full of fear of the girdles (parvandîhâ) of the glory of

ungrammatical after the former, -isnô, in an uncompound verbal noun. Some of the other words are also uncertain.

¹ The MSS. have merely rôdîh.

² As stated in § 23.

³ This is the Nirang-i Kustî, or girdle formula, that has to be performed every time the girdle is re-tied, which happens several times a day. It is fully detailed in Appendix II, at the end of this volume.

⁴ See § 21; the first letter of nihân, 'secretly,' is omitted by K35 in both places.

⁵ Sêg, the fiend of destruction, is connected with the demon Bût in Vend. XIX, 4, 6; but the characteristic of 'insubordination' is more applicable to the demon Tarômat, 'the disobedient' (see Bd. XXVIII, 14, 26, 34).

religion, *with* which both angels *and* also worldlings *have* become belted *and* diligent.

29. Then, because the glory for this belt of ours, which is called the Kûstîk and is worn on the middle of the body, remains unreleased (*avî-vûkht*) from the angels, who are givers of glory, *and from* men who are glorious—which is explained as a similitude *and* sample of fortunes (*bâharakôihâ*) among worldlings, even those *who are* actually primitive creatures likewise¹—it *has*, therefore, seemed comely and desirable. 30. And their heart, will, knowledge, and purpose are as much for it as that which is perceptible where, even apart from those of the good religion who shall tie the *sacred thread*-girdle with the scripture formula, *some* of the faiths of all countries, except those who are unbelted, possess the religious custom². 31. Also outside the seat of the existence of faith³ all men have the waist, or the palms of the hands⁴, or similar joints for a girdle (*kûstîkô*); *and* it is deemed comely, desirable, and convenient for work to wear *it*. 32. And *it* is manifestly the lot (*dakô*) of the thoroughly-praising one whose own desire is truth and the enjoyment of welfare, *it is* a token of the service of the sacred beings, and a sign of walking *in* the commands of religion,

¹ The precise meaning is not very clear.

² Alluding probably to the Brahmanical thread which is worn by the higher castes of Hindus diagonally, over one shoulder and below the other arm, and is so far analogous to the Parsi thread-girdle that it is a religious symbol put on with a religious rite.

³ Reading *varôyisnô ahû gâs*, but K₃₅ has *rôyisnô*, 'growth,' instead of 'faith.'

⁴ Reading *kafihâ*, or *kafagîh*. Perhaps the allusion is to a rosary which is held in the hands, or worn on the wrists, by people of many religions.

which they shall tie on account of the superior beings (pâshûmân) with the proper formula, more particularly *with* that which *one* utters when *there is* reliance *upon* the scripture itself.

CHAPTER XL.

1. *As to* the thirty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What kind of goodness and want of goodness can there be *in* the *sacred thread-girdle and shirt*; *and* what are the sin of running about uncovered, of prayer offered and prayer not offered, and the purpose of cleansing (mîsn)?

2. The reply is this, that it (the shirt)¹ is needful *to be* perfectly pure white *and* single, which one fold is because Vohûman also is thus the one creature who *was* first², and afterwards from him the garment which is innermost and concealed is called in revelation³.

3. Proper girdling is double⁴, which two folds are because he also who is in the course of the twofold religious wisdom is intelligent, and the duties *due to* the sacred beings are themselves *in* two divisions

¹ The sacred shirt, constantly worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted), is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm (see Sls. IV, 4-8).

² The archangel Vohûman (see Chap. III, 13) is said to have been the first creation of the creator (see Bd. I, 23).

³ The garment of Vohûman (see Chap. XXXIX, 19).

⁴ That is, it is passed twice round the waist before it is tied the first time, but then it is passed a third time round the waist (see Chap. XXXIX, 1).

which are called the instinctive *and that* heard by the ears¹.

4. After a man is in the girding they shall tie on, the symptoms of *any* sins of the belted body are *free* from sin which is condemned (*vigîrîniðö*); and when he walks uncovered, or naked, or with a two-fold garment, there is then no root of *the sin of* running about uncovered² in him. 5. Moreover, on hymns *being* chanted during a meal an *inward* prayer is not also necessary³.

6. The purpose⁴ of a cleansing (*mts-n-aê*) is this, that the suitableness of men for eating is due to worship of the sacred beings and glorification of the sacred beings. 7. And *as to* their necessary recommendation (*sipârîh*)⁵ of any food for eating, the

¹ The twofold wisdom of the Avesta comprises the two intellects, the *âsnô khratus*, 'the durable or instinctive wisdom,' and the *gaoshô-srûtô khratus*, 'the ear-heard or acquired wisdom,' which are the terms used here.

² The sin of *vishâd-dûbârisnih*, which would have been incurred in any of these cases if no girdle had been worn, is a venial sin of one Farmân for each of the three first steps, but becomes a Tanâpûhar sin (equivalent to 75 or 400 Farmâns) at the fourth step (see Sls. IV, 8-10).

³ This is mentioned as a further illustration of a greater religious duty superseding a lesser one. When the Gâthas, or hymns, are being chanted, the reciter is already under the protection of the inward prayer (*vâg*) with which all acts of worship must commence; it is, therefore, unnecessary to take another prayer inwardly before eating. Inward prayer is a short formula which is said to be 'taken' and 'retained' inwardly, as a protective spell, by muttering its commencement before certain necessary acts, and after the completion of the act the remainder of the formula is 'spoken out' aloud, and the spell is dissipated, before the person can converse (see Sls. III, 6).

⁴ The MSS. have *pêm*, 'milk,' instead of *êim*, 'purpose,' but see § 1; the Pahl. letters *p* and *k* are often much alike.

⁵ M14 has *sipâsîh*, 'praise;' but this and several other emenda-

glorifying of the sacred beings, and the true usages about recounting *it*, it is commanded, before eating, when the mouth is not soiled with food, *that* the mouth (dahân) *should* proceed with the utterance of the pure glorification¹. 8. Being thereupon suitably seated, and *having* properly eaten the food, *one* is to make the mouth clean with a tooth-pick and water; and after eating, before all words, the praise of the sacred beings is glorified by the mouth cleansed by washing. 9. And between the glorifying before eating and the after glorification *one* is not² to speak other words, and when during a meal a word is spoken by the mouth, that kind of glorification which *it* is the custom to utter before and after eating is offered by its own organ (andâm)³.

10. And every single organ *has* one function, *but* two special functions are connected with the mouth, which are speaking *and* eating; *and* because *they are* together *they* are mutually opposed, for speaking connects that which is an inward possession with outside teachings (kâshthâ), *and* through eating, the outside food comes for the inward further vitality of life. 11. As the ancients *have* said, where one operation is appointed unto two operators, *it is* more

tions in the same MS. are probably nothing but unsuccessful attempts to render an obscure text intelligible, without taking the trouble to understand it.

¹ This glorification (stâyisnô) must refer to the inward prayer of § 5, which commences by praising Aôharmazd (see Chap. LXXIX, 2, note).

² Reading lâ, 'not,' instead of râi, 'on account of.' M14 has altered the passage.

³ That is, when the spell of the inward prayer is broken by speaking before the proper time (see § 5, note), the spell must be renewed before proceeding with the meal.

expressly so that during eating two operations may not both at once (ayag-ik-gûn) be produced, by speaking *and* by eating.

12. To keep those two operations distinct, one from the other, the custom of uttering the praise of sacred beings *and* the glorification of sacred beings when the mouth remains in the act of eating, until the mouth becomes clean from food, is decreed as inconsistent with goodness (aham-vêhth). 13. And that *which* remains from the outpouring (rîkh) at the time of a cleansing is called 'a cleansing (mîsn-aê).'

14. One means for the retention of knowledge is through not having that retention of knowledge exhausted, but when *one* thus speaks during that cleansing the words are really originating with the mouth, for he does not retain *them*; and whenever (maman) he does not speak anything whatever with the tongue, that religious glorification which *it* is the custom to utter before and after eating is then offered by him from his own limited resources (sâmânö-î vîmônd), and it will be offered from his own limited resources.

CHAPTER XLI.

1. *As to* the fortieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Of those whose decision is this, that it is not necessary to be steadfast in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers—by *which* decision this is asserted, *that* they should abandon the religion of the Mazda-worshippers—*some one* disparages the religion *and* goes over to a foreign faith (an-aîrth), then of what nature is his sin

owing thereto, *and* what does the sin owing thereto, as regards those of the same foreign religion, amount to? 2. Or order *some one* then to tell us clearly concerning it, how it is, and how is the disobedience due to this sin.

3. The reply is this, that an adult is worthy of death¹ on account of the good religion they² would abandon, on account also of the adopted law of the foreign faith *he* is worthy of death, in whose reliance upon the improper law is also the sin which they³ maintain *and* practise by law, and through *being* in the same law *he* is equally sinful with them.

4. And also when any one is on that course, and his wish is *for* the same protection, of which a similitude is *in* the enduring words of that good law they would forsake, and he adopts that which is vile⁴, even through that impropriety *he* is equally sinful.

5. When he dies, without renunciation⁵ *of that sin* and impenitently, in that improperly-constituted law, the position of his soul is then in the worst

¹ That is, he commits a mortal sin, for which he could have formerly been condemned to death by the high-priest (see Slis. VIII, 2, 5-7, 21).

² The teachers of infidelity.

³ The foreigners.

⁴ The probable meaning is that if he conforms to the foreign faith merely from politic motives, while retaining a belief in his own religion, he is still equally sinful.

⁵ This renunciation is effected by the recitation of a particular formula called the Patit, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. But this formal renunciation must be accompanied by atonement and true repentance; and in order to ascertain the proper atonement all serious sins must be confessed to the high-priest (see Slis. IV, 14, VIII, 1, 2, 8-10).

existence¹, and his punishment is that of many *sins* worthy of death; from the demons also *there* come grievously, hand in hand, pain and suffering, gnawing and stench of many kinds, stinging, tearing, and lacerating, primary evil and discomfort. 6. And through their² law and faith his distress in that worst existence is thus until the last change of existence, when the renovation *of the universe* is produced by will among living beings.

7. But reality (aitōih), as regards living, arises from renunciation of that disobedience; it makes those attract to the good law who seduced him to that evil law, that which established him improperly in the law it eradicates from *his* conduct (rûbâkîh), advancing sins it again restrains, and whatever *has* advanced it repairs again anew through the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *and* he becomes thoughtful, constant, and steadfast. 8. The sin which he set going he restrains and atones for by wealth, trouble, and authorising³ commands; even in the body he also undergoes punishment in the three *nights* (satûih)⁴; he then obtains forgiveness, and his soul is saved.

9. And as *it* is said in the persistent law of the sacred beings⁵, that 'the good religion of the sacred beings, who are the Mazda-worshipping superiors,

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 3.

² The foreigners'.

³ Or, tûbânkâr may mean 'lavish.' The ordering of religious ceremonies, as good works in atonement for sin, is probably intended; and these always imply a lavish expenditure upon the priesthood.

⁴ Referring to the three nights' punishment after the resurrection of the body, which is specially reserved for mortal sinners (see Bd. XXX, 16).

⁵ Quoting, with some alteration, from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

ordains *it* as retribution,' so that the sin it takes away (spayêiti)¹ may not exist in him, his retribution is declared by revelation. 10. And by the same witness *it* is said, that all of the primitive faith have been quite of the same opinion about this, that from the good religion except by² the way of renunciation of *sin* there is none unless to hell; but that renunciation *should* be during life, for it is said that 'whoever *when* living does not become righteous, that is, does not fully atone for sin, *for* him *when* dead *there* is no grant of³ the best existence.' 11. To commit no sin is better than retribution *and* renunciation of sin.

CHAPTER XLII.

1. *As to* the forty-first question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* him who remains in the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *whom* men shall make the protection and assistance of the good religion⁴, *who* shall save men from a foreign faith and irreligion (akdînôih), and then holds back *some* of those who have the idea that they should go over to a foreign faith and irreligion, *and* they do not go over to the foreign faith, *but* become steadfast in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, what is then⁵ the

¹ The Avesta verb spayêiti, here used as a technical term, occurs frequently in Vend. III, 142–148.

² Assuming that barâ, 'indeed,' stands for pavan, 'by,' (see Chap. VII, 2 n.)

³ Reading bakhshîsn-î, but it may be a corruption of bakhshând, 'they shall grant,' as assumed in M14. This passage is quoted from Pahl. Vend. V, 173.

⁴ Some one placed in authority, such as a high-priest or judge, is evidently meant.

⁵ Reading êdînas, 'then of him,' instead of ayûf, 'or;' the

nature of the decision of the angels *about* him, and what is the nature of their (the men's) good works *and* sin?

2. The reply is this, that *he* is much extolled, happy, exalted, of great good works *and* abundant recompense, and the path to the best existence, prepared (frârâstô) by his righteousness, is wide¹; the delight of *his* soul becomes complete, *and its* hope² is great. 3. And every good work that is manifested in the good religion by those who are transferred by him from a foreign faith and irreligion, and *which* they shall do thereafter—when, through the perseverance *and* praise exercised by him who is protected by the religion, they are saved *from* irreligion—becomes his as much as though it had been set going by him himself, and *he has* the same praise and the same good works with them. 4. Of the extent (sâmânô) *and* amount of such good works *there* is no writing a second time, unless *his* acquaintance with the full computation of the good works due to *their* number is continuous³; but when *in* the same way they are practising and steadfast in sin it shall not be assigned *to him*⁴. 5. Then his position in

two words being alike in Pahlavi except in the latter part of the last letter.

¹ That is, his path to heaven over the *Kinvað* bridge is rendered wide and easy by his good deeds (see Chap. XXI, 5).

² Reading *aimêd*; M₁₄ has *khîm*, 'disposition,' and K₃₅ has *khîmâd*, which suggests 'shall be greatly celebrated' as a possible translation.

³ The meaning appears to be that their good works are imputed to him only so long as he continues to exercise some control over them.

⁴ That is, their sins will not be imputed to him in the same way as their good works.

righteousness¹ is very grand, and in the world he has himself great eminence, applause, *and* dignity.

6. And as much as that which is an improper law *and* a law worthy of death is a punishing of the soul, and the disconnected² words and perversion (*vas-takñh*), due also to the perfidy (*rangisnõ*) of the fiend *who has* come, are such that in his time the religious rites (*dñnõ*) performed are rites of grievous vexation *and* fear, *so* that which is a proper law, like the great glorification in spirit and the connected words of the high-priests, is the arrival of the good spirit as much as a virtue worthy of recompense *and* full of hope. 7. Even as that which is said thus: 'Of men who are practisers of good deeds the manifestation is then in their children.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. *As to* the forty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *Regarding* a man who is consecrating a sacred cake³, and the fire is his household attendant (*khavag-ñ mñnõ*) from afar, when he sees *it*, at how many steps is it improper? 2. When they consecrate a sacred cake by *light of* a lamp, why do they not say *the words* 'tava ãthrõ (for thee, the fire),' as *by* another fire? 3. And of the propitiatory dedications (*shññmanõñhã*)⁴ to the period of the day (*gãh*), the day, and the month of the consecration of the sacred cake, which is that

¹ Or, perhaps, *aharñbõñh* may here mean 'the righteous existence' or heaven.

² Reading *apadvand*, instead of *va padvand*.

³ See Chap. XXX, 1.

⁴ See Chap. XXIX, 1.

which when earlier *or* later is also then not proper, *and* which is that which is proper? 4. When they shall accomplish the consecration of a sacred cake *with* one more dedication *than those* of the thirty days of the months in the year, how is it necessary to act so that it may not enter *too* early; and which is the one more dedication which, when they shall make *it*, is proper, which is that which is not proper, and which is that which is earlier and later?

5. The reply is this, that at forty-eight¹ feet from the sacred twigs² to the fire—which would be about nine reeds, *if* of a medium man—even though *one*

¹ K35 has 'forty-seven.' Taking the foot at 10½ English inches (see Bd. XXVI, 3 n) the 48 feet would be 42 English feet, and the nâf or reed would be 4 feet 8 inches.

² The baresôm (Av. baresma), or bundle of sacred twigs, is an indispensable part of the ceremonial apparatus; it is held in the hand of the officiating priest while reciting many parts of the liturgy, and is frequently washed with water and sprinkled with milk. It consists of a number of slender rods, varying with the nature of the ceremony, but usually from five to thirty-three. These rods were formerly twigs cut from some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used; and when not in the hand of the priest they are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the officiating priest while reciting certain prayers (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396-399), during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk, or girdle, formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together. This girdle, being passed twice round the middle of the bundle of twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side of the bundle, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the kûstîk or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Chap. XXXIX, 1).

sees the fire *and* does not say 'tava âthrô¹,' it is proper. 6. And a lamp also has the same contingency (ham-brâh) as a fire; and by our teaching they do not consecrate a sacred cake *at* a lamp on which there is no burning of firewood, *but* they should cause a burning of firewood on that at which they consecrate a sacred cake, and they say 'tava âthrô².'

7. And *there is* a propitiatory dedication *for* each separate consecration of a sacred cake, and not again from the first to the last³; and the first is the nearest to the first day, Aûhar mazd, just as Âtûr ('fire') and Âvân ('waters') are other days in the series; and the last is the day Anrân, because in the same series the day Anrân is the latest⁴. 8. When the seven

¹ These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when addressing the fire, or presenting anything to it, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. III, 52, VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.); they are not to be used, however, when the fire is so far off, or so feeble, that its light cannot be seen by the speaker (see Sls. X, 37).

² Meaning that in his opinion a lamp is no proper substitute for a sacred fire unless a little firewood is burnt in it.

³ In the liturgy for the consecration of the sacred cakes, which consists chiefly of Yas. III, 1-VIII, 9 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408), the portion contained in Yas. III, IV, VI, VII is filled with propitiatory formulas, some of which are fixed, but others vary according to the hour, day, and month of the service. Some of the variable propitiatory dedications for the day and month are, however, identical with some of the fixed ones, such as those for fire, waters, &c. And in case of the day or month requiring the use of a variable dedication of this description, the object of the text is to prohibit the use of the corresponding fixed dedication, which would be an unnecessary repetition of the same words. This appears to be the meaning of the words *va akhar min zak-i levînô va/ akhar lâ* translated in the text; but it would be hardly possible to express so simple a meaning in a more obscure fashion.

⁴ The series of propitiatory dedications for the thirty days of the

archangels are in the propitiatory dedication it is proper to put the seven archangels first in their own order, then the period of the day¹, then the day, then the month of the consecration, and, afterwards, the other dedications in such order as they are written.

g. And *as to* the earlier which they should put later, one is when they shall put a dedication before the seven archangels, one is that when they shall put the day before the period of the day, one is when they shall put the month before the day, and one is that when a dedication, distinct from the seven archangels, the period of the day, the day, *and* the month, on account of *being* before the archangels, or before the period of the day, or before the day, or before the month, is accounted as improper a dedi-

month (which are also used for months of the same names) constitute the Sîrôzah, which is given in two forms, one in which the names and titles are in the genitive case, and the other in which they are in the accusative. From the first form of the Sîrôzah the proper dedications for the actual day and month are taken and substituted for Yas. III, 50, 51, IV, 40, 41, VII, 41, 42 (which passages, as they stand, are correct only for the first day, Aûhar mazd, of the first month, Fravardîn); and from the second form of the Sîrôzah they are similarly taken and substituted for Yas. VI, 37, 38; somewhat in the same way as the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the day are taken from the complete series of such writings, and inserted in the Communion service of the Church of England. The first day is Aûhar mazd, the ninth day and ninth month are Âtûr, the tenth day and eighth month are Âvân, and the last day is Anîrân. Following these variable dedications for the day and month are the fixed dedications for Âtûr, 'fire,' and Âvân, 'waters,' unless they have been already recited for the day or month.

¹ The dedication for the gâh or period of the day occupies the place of Yas. III, 21-37 (in which the formulas for all five gâhs are given); so that when the archangels are to be propitiated the dedications for them must precede Yas. III, 21.

cation as *that of yesterday, or the day before*, is for this day.

10. So that when *it is* the propitiatory dedication for the day Khûr of the month of consecration Âvân¹, the day *and* month are such that their order and the Âtûr ('fire') and Âvân ('waters') succeeding them are thereby set in reverse order to the *proper* sequence². 11. Then, too, when in the same month³ its propitiatory dedication for the day *and* month becomes *alike for* day and month⁴, it is recited as regards *both* the month and the 'waters' (âvân), because *they are* not connected together and *have* again become non-inclusive; *and* then *one* is to consider them as proper.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. *As to* the forty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *There is* a man who is superintending (avar-mândakakö) and skilful, in whom great skill as regards religion is provided, and the high-priest's duty and officiating priest's duty (magô-patîh) are performed by him; or they are not performed by him, but in him great skill as regards

¹ The eleventh day of the eighth month.

² The meaning is that in such a case the dedications for the day and month, and the fire and waters (Yas. III, 52, 53) which follow, will stand in the following order:—Khûr, Âvân, Âtûr (the second Âvân being omitted as directed by § 7), which is precisely the reverse order of those names among the days of the month.

³ The eighth month, Âvân.

⁴ That is, on the tenth day of the eighth month, when both day and month are Âvân, in which case there would be three Âvân dedications, but only two are to be used as here directed.

religion is provided. 2. In a place of *that* district there is no one who rightly knows the commentary *and* 'the proper *and* improper¹,' so that he comes forth into a place of such decay (*sapakhân*); *and* the people of the district—who constantly order all the religious rites (*dînô*²) of many sacred ceremonies from any poor *man* of the various persons from other districts whose skill and superintending are not *like* his, but they constantly come *to* that district—shall constantly receive *from him* all the many religious rites and many sacred ceremonies. 3. *And* that man, who is revered and skilful, proceeds not undejectedly (*lâ anaskandîhâ*) and bashfully *to* his own superintending position, the position of the religion and position of the skill which are his; he does not demand any employment in the district or any award (*dînâ*) from the district, and does not know *how* to provide any other employment or award, in which there would be *any* fitness for him. 4. Are the people of the district—on account of the skill and activity which that man has exercised in religion, due to the performance of all the religious rites and sacred ceremonies which they constantly order—

¹ From this it would appear that a treatise called 'Shâyast Lâ-shâyast' existed a thousand years ago, which probably bore some resemblance to Sls., the work which now bears the same name.

² The words *hamâk dînô*, translated 'all the religious rites' both here and elsewhere, are a technical term which (as I am informed by Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay) is applied to 'those obligatory religious rites and festivals that every Parsi is bound to observe by performing certain ceremonies, in his or her name, with the assistance of priests engaged for the purpose. These rites and festivals include the Rapihvân, the Gâhâmbârs, the Fravardîgân, the monthly festivals, &c.'

thereupon to prepare that man a stipend (bâhar)¹, and is it necessary for them to give a stipend to that man, or how is it necessary to act; and is it necessary for them to collect *it* for him, or not? 5. And of the much advantage of all the religious rites and work is it necessary to speak thus: 'Until the *time* that thou hadst come it was not possible for us to order except of him who is inferior to thee,' or how is *it* to be done? 6. Is it necessary to collect a stipend for him on account of the benefit and reasoning thought (vîrmatô) on other subjects, of which *he was* the means, or how is it necessary *for* the superintendent *of* our people to collect such stipend of skill, position, and religion?

7. The reply is this, that a man of such description as written *above*, and superintending the exercise of skill and provision of ability, is very worthy of a stipend and courtesy (khûptîh); also, through good management of all religious rites *and* the ceremony of the sacred beings, *he* is very confident in any uncertainty. 8. Therefore it is necessary to consider that he manages more openly and better than those whose skill and ability are not *like* his; and also as regards stipend and reasoning thought, owing to the worthiness of the ceremony of the sacred beings, his are more whose skill, ability, and activity in religion are greater. 9. And *as to* a man who is as written *above*—when all those religious rites and ceremonies are well-managed by him, and his repeated direction and right continuance of proper duties are an accumulation of his own reasoning

¹ Literally 'a share' of the produce of the district, analogous to tithes.

thought and great capability, and are ordered of him with great solicitude—one is also to consider him a stipendiary¹ thereby, and a thriving acquirement of ample reasoning thought. 10. And *as to* him, moreover, who is less skilled than he, *and* of inferior position, by as much as he is not *so* worthy, *his* custom is therefore to produce a want of himself again.

11. But he who *has* much skill should have² a great stipend, and he of medium ability should have² a medium *one*, he *having* less means of benefiting worthily, maturely, and necessarily. 12. And the value is as it is said in revelation thus: 'The stipend they should announce to him who is an upholder of religion is two shares, *and* to him who is mediocre *only one*, to him whose lot is inferior.'

13. That man is a master *and* high-priest³ whose usage also (âfn-îkô) is wise, and in ability, goodness, and skill is the best of *those of* the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, which is the religion of wise upholders. 14. And the exercise of his religious disposition—originally possessing a religious stipend—which they shall order of him in *that* place, and that *of* the other worthy *ones and* applicants in the place and coming applying to the place, as much

¹ Literally 'a shareholder.'

² Assuming that the adverbial suffix -îhâ may be taken here (as it can be probably in all cases) as the Pâz. conditional form hâê of the verb 'to be,' equivalent to the more usual forms aê, âê, and the Huz. hômanâe (see Chap. XLVIII, 23).

³ Or, *rad dastôbar* may mean 'an awarding high-priest,' as he is called *rad*, 'master, chief,' in virtue of his power of sentencing sinners and governing the religious body, and he is called *dastôbar*, 'upholder of customs,' in virtue of his control over rites and ceremonies.

as it is worth *and* happens *to be* their own want, *one* is to altogether thoroughly well consider for him. 15. Good destiny is not fulfilled by granting *to* those applying, *but* through forward ability, the forward, kind-hearted¹, *and* extreme skill provided, *and* grand position he is worthy of much stipend, *and* it is important to make *them* stipendiary in their own gradation of applying. 16. For the observance of moderation *and* the granting of applications are mutually destructive, *and* it is discriminatively said that the high-priest Gâmâsp of the Hvôvas² considered, in that mode, the much skill of that good superintendent *being* without a stipend *as* not disproportionate, *but* most justly very moderate.

17. Moreover, to collect *for* all except for one skilful *man*, and to provide a stipend *for* any other applicants, is not right; and the limits should be³ moderate, for each one really shares the moderate apportionments according to his own want, apart even from the sacred ceremony. 18. But to collect for such a man, who *has* kind-heartedly superintended by rule during reasoning thought, is a greater good work than to approve even him *who* is superintending much more authoritatively. 19. And he who *has* himself requested is to obtain everything last; for, except *in* that *case* when a virtuous doer *has* in any

¹ Literally 'good-hearted.'

² The Av. Gâmâspa Hvôgva (or Hvôva) of Yas. XLV, 17, L, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 103. He was high-priest and prime minister of Kai-Vistâsp; but probably the opinion of some much later Gâmâsp is here erroneously attributed to him, much in the same way as the comparatively modern Book of Enoch is attributed to Enoch, 'the seventh from Adam,' in Jude, 14.

³ Reading hâê instead of -îhâ, as in § 11.

mode begged a livelihood¹ *and* is not capable of *earning it*—so that something even of the righteous gifts² of clothing is begged by him—to live in idleness is not the way to be assisted; *but* he who *has* not himself requested, and is wise, is to beg a suit of clothes (rakht-hanâ).

20. They give to the good provider of gifts much praise, *and* for the preservation of the perfect giver are many religious friends³, *and* the position of the upholders of religion⁴; so it is necessary to give, *and* to consider *it* as provided for the great female whom revelation greatly celebrates⁵, that patron spirit (ahû) connected with religion, as it is said that *in* the opinion of Hûmân⁶, the high-priest, the propitious religion is, as *it were*, the way of saving their souls⁷.

¹ M14 has zivisnô, and K35 has zîvandân.

² Charitable donations given to the priesthood and poor for the purpose of acquiring religious merit on certain solemn occasions; they often consist of clothing, and are then supposed to furnish the giver, or the person in whose name they are given, with garments in the other world after the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 28).

³ The angels who assist his soul after death, such as Srôsh, Mitrô, Rashnû, Âstâd, and the good Vâê (see Chaps. XIV, 3, 4, XXX, 2-4).

⁴ That is, he will occupy the same grade in heaven as the priesthood.

⁵ Referring to the maiden spirit supposed to meet the good soul after death and to conduct it over the *K'invad* bridge to heaven (see Chaps. XXIV, 5, XXXVII, 117). She is described in Vend. XIX, 98-101, and more fully in Hn. II, 22-32 and the later Pahlavi works. Her beauty is said to be proportional to the religious merit of the soul, and she is here identified with the ahû or patron spirit.

⁶ Probably some one nearly contemporary with the author, such as Âtûr-pâd son of Hêmid (see Bd. XXXIII, 11), who is called hû-manô, 'well-meaning,' and styled 'the leader of the people of the good religion' in the Dinkard (III, ccccxiii).

⁷ The maiden spirit, being developed by religious actions, is

21. About upholders of religion, and a more particular rule how the lawful computation should be for glorifying with moderation, a chief of the priests¹ *has* spoken thus: 'Shouldst thou be our father in wealthiness, I am thy protector in body, *and* thou becomest thy protector in soul².'

22. The same collection³ is the way of the friends of religion for begging from the upholders of religion the preservation of the soul, *and* for well considering, extremely gracefully *and* fully reverently, the advantage *and* pleasure of the position⁴ of the upholders of religion, so that they shall properly collect for the preservation of souls by the mode of going to collect thoroughly with great gain.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The forty-fourth question is that which you ask thus: Of priesthood (aêrpatîh) or discipleship (hâvistîh) which is the priest's duty (aêrpatîh), *and* which the disciple's; which is that which it is necessary to have in priesthood, *and* which in discipleship?

called the soul's 'own religion' in AV. IV, 23; it is, therefore, that spirit's assistance which is probably meant here, when speaking of religion saving the soul.

¹ A môbad of môbads.

² Meaning that the wealthy man can easily protect his own soul by a proper expenditure of his wealth on good works. The connection of this with the first part of the sentence is rather obscure.

³ Mentioned in §§ 17, 18.

⁴ In heaven (see § 20). To induce the laity to collect ample property for paying the priesthood they are promised a share of the priest's happiness in heaven.

2. The reply is this, that the priesthood and discipleship are connected together; the priests teach the scriptures¹, *and* the disciples learn the knowledge of the religion, that is, the Avesta and Zand². 3. The priest; have been disciples; through the teaching of his own priest they make the aroused existence³ of even a disciple become a priest, *and* in one body with the learner are the priesthood and discipleship. 4. Through that which he has learned as a disciple from the priest *he* is wiser, and owing to the priesthood in his own person he teaches the disciple who is a learner; the desire which is his craving for learning is also owing to that in his own priest, when *he was* a disciple unto his own priest.

5. And the disciple *and* priest are even such as is said thus: 'The director (farmâdâr) of the profession of priests (âsra vŏân) of Pârs⁴, *and* chieftain over the faithful and the officiating priests (magôpatân) of Pârs, is the leader of the religion; and *his* disciple (ashakar dŏ) is a disciple *in* a selected foremost position among the priests of the religion, set up (madam âgast) over those acquainted with the commentary (zand-âkâsânŏ).' 6. The

¹ The word mâdigân means a treatise upon almost any subject, but it is specially applied to the Nasks or books of the complete ancient literature of the Mazda-worshippers, which are now nearly all lost. It should be noted that 'teaching' and 'learning' are expressed by the same word in Pahlavi.

² The Avesta is the religious literature in its original language, erroneously called Zend by Europeans, and the Zand is the Pahlavi translation of the same literature, with the Pahlavi commentary (see Bd. Introd. p. x).

³ Reading ham-vikhtŏ yehevûnîh and taking ham-vikhtŏ as equivalent to Pers. angikht.

⁴ This was the post held by the author himself (see Chap. XCIV, 13).

more infallible (*asaktar*) of these is the powerful skill of the priest (*aêrpatō*) put forth through the ritual *and* *Visparad*¹, and *his* skill in the commentary (*zand*); the skill of disciples in the Avesta is, further, fully understood, *and* sin *recognised* as oppressive, through the formulas (*nīrang*) of the sacred ceremony, ablution and non-ablution, purity and pollution.

7. And both professions are the indispensable preservers of great decisions *as to* that which the priestly disposition *has* taught, done, and considered about the perpetual existence of every being, the complete goodness *and* final success of the non-existent evil *and* entire good of the sacred beings, the annihilation of the demons², *and* the complete understanding of the friends of the sacred beings.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The forty-fifth question is that which you ask thus: Is it allowable *that* those of the priesthood, when there is no daily livelihood for them from the life of the priesthood, should abandon the priesthood, and *that* other work *be* done, or not?

¹ The term *yastō*, 'ritual,' means any form of prayer with ceremony, and appears to include the Yasna or chief ceremonial ritual. The *Visparad* (here written *Vispōrêdō*) is a particular form of ceremonial prayer, the various sections of which are interspersed among those of the Yasna and *Vendidād* in the full liturgy of the Mazda-worshippers; it is called *Visparad*, 'all chiefs,' because it commences with an invocation of all the spiritual chiefs of the universe.

² K₃₅ has *khasânō*, which might stand for *khasânō*, 'reptiles,' but is more probably a slight alteration of *sêdânō*, 'demons,' which would correspond to the more modern form, *sêdâânō*, in M₁₄.

2. The reply is this, that there is no loss of reputation to priests from priestly duties (aêrpatîh), which are themselves the acquired knowledge *that* is accumulated *by* the priestly disposition, care for the soul, *and* the requisite good works. 3. *And* there is this advantage, that, through acquaintance with the religion *of* the sacred beings, *and* certainty as to the reward of the spirit, they make *them* become more contented in adversity, more intelligent as regards stability of character in difficulty *and* restriction, and more through knowledge the abode of hope for those saved. 4. So that it is not fit they should abandon the priesthood, which is both harmless *and* an employment *with* advantages *that has* required much trouble to learn.

5. But, indeed, when they do not obtain¹ a daily livelihood from priestly duty, and the good do not give them chosen righteous gifts² for it, and they do not let *them* obtain *any* from next of kin *or* the wicked even by begging, a livelihood *may be* requested from the paid performance of ceremonies, management of all religious rites (dînô), *and* other priestly disciple's duty therein³. 6. When even by that they do not obtain *it*, *they* are to seek a livelihood by agriculture, sheep-rearing, penmanship, *or* other proper employment among priests; *and* when *it* is not possible for them to live even by these, *they are to seek it* by bearing arms, hunting, *or* other proper employment in the profession of a virtuous warrior. 7. And when even it is not

¹ K35 has 'beg,' both here and in § 6, the difference between the two words in Pahlavi being only a stroke.

² See Chap. XLIV, 19.

³ That is, from the general funds of the priesthood.

possible for them to maintain their own bodies, which are in requisite control, by that which is cravingly digested, *they* are to beg a righteous gift¹ authorisedly (dastôbarthâ) as an effectual remedy; by living idly, or not expending strength, their own bodies, which are in control, are without livelihood, but not authorisedly².

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. *As to the forty-sixth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: At a sacred feast (myazd)*³ of those of the good religion, in which *there* are fifty or a hundred men, more or less, just as it happens, and seven men who are *engaged* in the performance of the religious rite (dînô) which is celebrated by them are feasting together with them, of those seven men there are *some* who are easily⁴ able to pray five sections (vidak)⁵, and *some* six subdivisions (vakhshisnô), of the Avesta, *but* no chapter (fargardô)⁶ of the commentary (zand) is

¹ That is, charity.

² That is, they are not authorised to beg charity for maintaining themselves in idleness.

³ The sacred feast consists of the consecration of the sacred cakes (see Chap. XXX, 1), followed by that of wine and fruit with the recitation of the Âfrîngân or blessings (see Haug's Essays, p. 408), after which the consecrated food and drink are consumed by those present, both priests and laymen.

⁴ That is, they know the prayers by heart, which is necessary in reciting the Avesta.

⁵ Compare Pers. vaî, vîd, vîdâ, 'part, little,' guz, 'a portion, a bundle of folios.' M14 has nask, 'book,' but this is clearly an unlucky guess.

⁶ The chapters of the Vendîdâd are called fargard's, as are also

easy to them ; and all seven of them are disputing about the right (râs) to the foremost places. 2. And he to whom thirty chapters in ¹ the commentary are easy speaks thus : 'The foremost place is mine, and it became my place owing to great retentiveness *of memory*, for I know the commentary well and "the proper *and* improper ²;" and my place must be good, for whenever I do not indicate this *as* the place of religion unto the people I am not in the security of religion ; *but* you should not dispute about my place, for *it* is not becoming to dispute *it*, because this neglect and outlandishness (an-aîrîh), which *some one* brings constantly into the religion, is not *due* to me.' 3. Those seven men, moreover, speak constantly unto him thus : 'Our place is *more* important and must ever be *so*, for every man of us is able to pray several sections in his own officiating priestly duty (zôttîh), *and* it is ever necessary to consider who is more participating in sharing a reward.' 4. Then *as to* those whose Avesta is very easy, or him who knows the commentary *and* 'the proper *and* improper' well, and *their* goodness and greatness, as asked by us in this chapter, direct *some one* to make *them* clear unto us, for when he demonstrates the littleness and greatness in this

those of the Vistâsp Yast and many of the lost Nasks or books. The text here applies the term specially to the chapters of some scripture with commentary, and it may be noted that the thirty fargards, subsequently mentioned, are the exact number contained in the Vendidad and Vistâsp Yast taken together, the learning of which by heart (as the word 'easy' implies) is a very serious task, comparable with learning the whole Greek text of the four Gospels.

¹ Perhaps 'with' is meant, but the word used is pavan.

² See Chap. XLIV, 2.

subject his great religion is then completely an advantage.

5. The reply is this, that, as to that which you ask *me* to write, so that they may decide *whether* thirty chapters in the commentary are easier, *or* really the other, be they five *or* be they six sections of the Avesta, are easier, *there* is no deciding, because which are the chapters and which the sections? 6. For, as regards more cleverness and less cleverness, it is not clear; there are *some* of the sections greater than many sections, and there are chapters *as great as* many chapters, but to understand severally the divisions (*buris*) and enumeration of him to whom five sections of the Avesta are easy, *and* also of him whose thirty chapters in the commentary are easy, it is necessary for making the calculation to consider every single division in the commentary as *equivalent* to seven *equal* divisions apart from the commentary¹. 7. And it is thereby thus manifest who *has* skill *in the one* and who *has* skill *in the other*², and whoever *has* less, when there is nothing in it regarding which *he* is otherwise *than* when the superintending command *of* rulers (*khûdâyân*) delivered over to him the place of duty—or on account of a new officiating priestly duty or directorship (*radîh*) of the season festivals³, or the

¹ The reason for this difference is that it is only necessary to learn the words of the Avesta, without understanding them, whereas a knowledge of the Zand, or commentary, implies understanding both texts as well as knowing the Avesta by heart.

² M14 omits the repetition of the words *mûn afzâr*, but it seems necessary for the completion of the idiomatic phrase.

³ The six Gâsânbârs or Gâhambârs are festivals, each held for five days, and severally ending on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. They were probably

foremost places *being* occupied, or like causes he becomes otherwise—is fit for all the great share *and* very good estimation of the place of *one* much more skilful, when their *being* fitting *and* skilful, or *their* excess *or* deficiency, is not specially manifest from their skill¹. 8. And him to whom the commentary is very easy, *having* prayed much, it *has* seemed important to consider more thriving proportionable to *his* eating².

9. And great and ample respect for both their ways of worthiness is an advantage *and* fully necessary, skill in the commentary *and* that in the Avesta *being* together mutually assisting; for even the solemnizers of the Avesta *have* need for information from the commentary about the scattered (parvand) 'proper *and* improper' *usages* of the sacred ceremony. 10. The more efficient information from the commentary is advantageous when the ceremonial is proceeded with by them, and one of those two is one of the skilful, *and* a friend, provider, glorifier, and aggrandizer for the other; and the friends of religion are good friends and, therefore, also providers of fame for both of them.

intended originally to celebrate the periods of midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring (see Sls. XVIII, 3), when the Parsi year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox. In later times they were supposed to commemorate the creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man.

¹ The meaning seems to be that a priest once acknowledged as pre-eminent is not to lose his right of precedence merely because others become rather better qualified, so long as he himself does not retrograde, or is not superseded in his official duties. But if through any accidental circumstance he be excluded from the chief seat, he ought not to dispute the matter.

² Or, perhaps, 'through *being* moderate in *his* eating.'

11. When, too, they are publishing accusing statements, one about the other, from necessity, or from the violence which is owing to the adversary¹, *it* is important to become an excuser as regards them, and not a diminisher of their share, *nor* a bringer (âkhtâr) of unhealthiness to *their* united strength.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. The forty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: How is a liking for the desirableness, joy, and pleasure *arising* from the sacred ceremony (yazisn) friendly to Aûharmazd, the archangels², and the guardian spirits of the righteous³; in what manner is the perfection of him by whom the ceremony is ordered and the people of the country then exalted by them; and how *and* in what manner does it become the vexation, defeat, anguish, *and* discomfort of the evil spirit, the demons, *and* the fiends? 2. How is the purpose of the ceremony, what is the ceremony, where is the place⁴ when they shall perform *it*, what is good when they shall

¹ The evil spirit.

² The archangels are usually reckoned as seven in number, because Aûharmazd, their creator, is considered as presiding over the six others, whose names are Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvairô, Spendarmad, Horvadam, and Amerôdad. These names are merely corruptions of Avesta phrases meaning 'good thought, perfect rectitude, desirable dominion, bountiful devotion, health, and immortality,' respectively, and the archangels, or 'immortal benefactors,' are personifications of these ideas. They are said to have been the first creatures created, after the guardian spirits or prototypes of creation, the light, and the sky (see Bd. I, 8, 23-26).

³ See Chap. II, 5.

⁴ Or gâs may mean 'time.'

perform *it*, and how *is it* good when they shall perform *it*?

3. The reply is this, that the great satisfaction of Aûharmazd and the archangels *arising* from the sacred ceremony is in the purity of its formulary (nîrang), and also in this, that *it* is completely fulfilling his own blessed commands; because he ordered that entire goodness for the complete procedure of those of the good religion (bândakö hûdînakânakîh), as the recompense and full allotment of the sure upholder of religion *among* those who rightly recite *it*. 4. From the performance of the ceremonial of the sacred beings are the propitiation of the good spirits, the destruction (drûgišnö) of violence, the increase of digestiveness, the growth of plants, the prosperity of the world, and also the proper progress of living beings, even until the movement of the renovation of the universe and the immortality of the creatures arise therefrom. 5. It became so, it is expressly said, because the sacred beings are great; and unitedly opposing it the demons are particularly undesirous of *it*, and owing to it their defeat and vexation are severe; its consecrated cup (tâstîkö)¹ also becomes the express preservation of the ceremony.

6. And its purpose enquired about is this, that religion is transmitted clearly to the intelligent, that is, *it is* not the wisdom whose comprehension *exists* in worldly beings; and as, moreover, even that which is not understood by worldly wisdom is really the

¹ Referring probably to the cup of Hôrn juice, the preparation, consecration, and use of which are essentially characteristic of the Yazîrn or sacred ceremony, and are, therefore, supposed to be very repulsive to the demons.

creature of the spirits, that also which is the spiritual formulary (*ntrang*) is for making *it* intelligible to worldly beings through the body¹. 7. That religion which is comprehensible by the world *and* authoritative (*nikêzakö*) is rightly connected with that which worldly beings are quite able to understand through worldly wisdom; and the understanding about its evidence as to that which is spiritual *and* powerful, apart from the worldly evidence of superiors (*avarîkânö*), is the right way of the intelligent. 8. That proper (*kânö*) purpose—in which, moreover, the ceremonial, owing to timely memory for its own completion, is unique—is this unique exhibition of purity in the pure glorifying of the heavenly angels, as is commanded; just as the purpose of the ceremonial of a season-festival *being* before the season-festival, *and* of maintaining (*dârân*) the exposure of the body of a jackal (*sakhâl*)² *or* a man, is to make the body clean from the corrupting (*nasûsikö*) pollution³, *and* also from outward contamination.

9. That also which might be written, as to the much retribution appointed as regards washing the limbs outside with clean moisture from clean

¹ That is, the purpose of the ceremonial is to afford an outward symbol of the spiritual mysteries of the religion.

² This reading is uncertain, but the reference appears to be to the exposure of the dead. M14 has the sentence altered as follows:—‘just as the ceremony of a season-festival is exhibited more royally (or more joyously) before the season-festival, and a man who is a judge is for the purpose of making the body clean from the corrupting pollution, and also from contamination which is even outside the body, as much as is proper.’

³ That is, the pollution due to the *Nasûr*, or fiend of corruption, who is supposed to seize upon all corpses (see Chap. XVII, 7).

animals¹ *and* plants, and then completely washing the body with the purifying water streaming forth; as to the clean scents among those which they rightly perceive, and making the body *and* clothing² sweet-scented; *and* as to the putting on of the white and proper garment of Vohûman³, and supposing the power⁴ of avarice *to be* the sight of distress, is *all* superfluous. 10. *But it* is needful still as regards these *matters*, that is, while *engaged* in the ceremonial *it is* not to be hurried owing to any hunger *or* thirst, owing to liability of punishment for religious practices⁵, *or* even owing to deficiency⁶ of vacant space. 11. And before the ceremonial *one* is to eat at the appropriate time, and such food, too, as is preparable and *only* moderately troublesome (navâs); and any of that which *one has* to perform aloud in leaving the heavenly-minded, yet moderate, duty in the abode of fires⁷—which is perpetual light—is proper, pertaining to good works, and good for him, and thereby lodging in *him*. 12. And they, that is,

¹ Referring to ceremonial purification by washing with bull's urine.

² Or 'the clothing of the body.'

³ The sacred shirt (see Chaps. XXXIX, 19, XL, 2).

⁴ Reading *va zôrîh*, but it may be *nizôrîh*, 'weakening.'

⁵ This seems to be the meaning of *min pâdafrâhîh-î dînôtkîh*. At the time this was written the religion was often persecuted, and its ceremonies were liable to interruption; but even when such a misfortune was apprehended, they were not to be hurried over.

⁶ The word is *kamîh* in the MSS., but it may possibly have been *kâmîh* originally, in which case the meaning would be: 'or even owing to wishing for evacuation.'

⁷ The fire temple, where the sacred fire is kept perpetually burning.

the gloomy ones¹, thereby see the service (yasâk) for them themselves is short; *and* good are *they*² who come into the world glorified by praise.

13. The position of the *ceremony*-holders³ themselves, that is, the position of the officiating priest (zôtô) *and* his co-operators, is the Aûrvêś⁴ place; and, if *it* be the precinct (dargasñh) of prayers⁵, *one* should wash *it* over (madam pasâyâd) *with* the water of purification, to make *it* clean. 14. The apparatus of the ceremonial, *together* with its own man, who is a solemnizer, and the two creatures *which* are solid⁶ out of these four: fire, metal, water, and plants, just as *one* has to bring *them* together in readiness, the stone Aûrvêś, the stone *and* mortar Khân⁷, *and* the Hôm-mortar⁸ (hâva-nih), cups, *and* crescent-shaped (mâh-rûpô) stands⁹ set upon *it*, are *all* ceremoniously washed (pâdyâ-vînd) with the water of purification. 15. The

¹ The demons. In M14 the sentence, already obscure, is altered so as to be unintelligible.

² The angels. The meaning is that, by the utterance of the proper formulas at the proper times, the demons are discouraged, and the angels are induced to come to the ceremony.

³ Perhaps we should read sâkhtârân, 'preparers,' as in M14, or else yastârân, 'solemnizers,' instead of dâstârân, 'holders.'

⁴ This is the name of the consecrated space within which the ceremony is performed. It is often written Arvîś, but is probably to be traced to the Av. urvaêśa, 'goal.'

⁵ That is, when the place is about to be used for a ceremony.

⁶ Literally 'material;' meaning the metallic and vegetable portions of the ceremonial apparatus.

⁷ The slightly raised platform or table upon which all the apparatus, except the fire and unconsecrated water, is placed.

⁸ In which the twigs of Hôm are pounded and mixed with water.

⁹ For the Baresôm or sacred twigs (see Chap. XLIII, 5).

bright fire on the clean fire-stand (âttstô)¹ is increased by the dry firewood delivered *to it* purified, *and one* is to put upon *it* at appropriate times the wholesome perfumes of *various* kinds of plants; and the water of purification, which is ritualistically produced² by *reciting* the words of revelation, is in the clean metal cups. 16. The well-grown Hô³m through which the world is possessed of creatures⁴, the Hô³m through which the production of Zarâtûst occurred⁵, is a symbol of the white Gôkerânô⁶ as

¹ A small stone platform on which the fire vase is placed, now usually called âdôst.

² Reading nîrangîkîhâ dâd instead of the unintelligible nîrang ashâyâd of K35, which is very similarly written in Pahlavi; M14 has 'which *one* is to keep pure by the ritual of words of revelation.'

³ A plant said to grow among the mountains in southern Persia, which has not yet been botanically identified, but Anquetil Duperron was told that it resembled a vine without fruit. Twigs of this plant are brought to India 'by traders and are, therefore, considered impure until they have been purified, laid aside for a year, and again purified' (see Haug's Essays, p. 399). A few fragments of these twigs are pounded and mixed with water in the Hô³m-mortar, and the juice is tasted by the priest who performs the ceremony. The Avesta Hô³m and the Sanskrit Soma must have been originally the same plant, but both Parsis and Hindus now use plants which are no doubt mere substitutes for that original. In southern and western India the Soma plant now used by the Brahmins is the *Sarcostemma Brevistigma*, a leafless bush of green succulent branches, growing upwards, with flowers like those of an onion; when not in flower it can hardly be distinguished from the *Euphorbia Tirucalli*, or thornless milk-bush, commonly used for hedges in many parts of India.

⁴ Reading dâm-hômand; or it may be sem-hômand, 'renowned.'

⁵ Zarâtûst is said to have been begotten in consequence of his parents drinking Hô³m-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory (see Zs. XI, 10 n). K35 has hôman, and M14 has hômand, instead of hô³m, in this clause.

⁶ Av. gaokerena, sometimes called gôkard in Pahlavi, the

regards the immortality of the renovation of *the universe* manifest therefrom, and the resting-places of its vengeance¹ are the various demons; and with it *one* is to put attentively (sinvisnō-dahak) in *its* appropriate place the pomegranate (hadanapag)² plant of the Aûrvârâm. 17. The vegetable³ sacred twigs carefully girded with the vegetable belt (parvand) and girdle, *and* the metallic⁴ crescent-shaped *stands*—which are in the position of those who are sovereigns of the worldly creatures who are interpreted *as* the sacred twigs⁵ of the treatises—are prepared.

18. *When* arranged (stôrdō) by the bringing together of clean worldly productions, so much the more purely as is possible, the arrival of the pure renders all the symbols reliable. 19. Those celebrators of whom the outside of their own bodies is defiled with their bodily refuse and in clean clothing, and *their* disposition—if⁶ in the religion of

mythic white Hô̄m-tree which is said to grow in the wide-formed ocean, and from which the draught of immortality is prepared for mankind at the resurrection (see Vend. XX, 17, Bd. XVIII, 1-4, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

¹ Reading ayēngîh nisîm, but this is uncertain.

² Av. hadhânaêpata, to represent which the Parsis now use a twig of the pomegranate bush, but it must originally have been some sweet-scented plant (see Vend. VIII, 7). The Aûrvârâm (Av. acc. urvarâm) consists of this twig, a small fragment of which is pounded with the Hô̄m-twigs when preparing the Hô̄m-juice.

³ From this it would appear that the practice of using metal wires, instead of twigs of trees, for the baresôm (see Chap. XLIII, 5) was not in use a thousand years ago.

⁴ Literally 'Shatvaîrian;' the archangel Shatvaîrô (Av. khshathra vairya, 'desirable dominion') having special charge of all metals (see Bd. XXX, 19, Sls. XV, 14-19).

⁵ Reading baresôm; K₃₅ has basom and M₁₄ bîm-iâ.

⁶ M₁₄ substitutes yôshdâsarîniđô for denman higariniđô,

moderate eating in which is a thirst for lawfully drinking—is customarily sleep *and* lethargy through the tendency (rûnō) to falsehood of *their* wisdom, are to consider, even from *their* innermost hearts and minds, the retribution of the body of wrath, the falsehood, and bad thoughts in that disposition of infamy, *and* the recompense of their own renunciation of it; *they* are to atone for *their* sinfulness, *and* to seek great purification of mind. 20. And *having* acquired eyes speaking¹ forth, hands in a state of ablution, and every other member of the body—especially there where well-accomplishable—*free* from its bodily refuse and covered *with* the clean clothing, the tongue is preserved *and* guarded *from* falsehood *and* the hand from sin, the mind is established *by* little preparation with good consideration for knowledge of the sacred beings, and even the good are to recite by direction (rad̥thâ) the verbal renunciation of sin².

21. The officiating priest (zōtō), *having* directed *and* purified the place³ of the fire with liturgical words⁴, is to go *and* walk unto the place of the officiating priests⁵ while glorifying the sacred beings,

and paḍmûkht for va khîm hat, so as to read 'the outside of their own bodies is purified and attired in clean clothing,' but this can hardly be reconciled with the context. The term hîgar or hîkhar (Av. hikhra), here translated 'bodily refuse,' is applied to any refuse or dirt from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a dead one.

¹ Reading gôvak, but it may be yûvâk, 'wishing,' or dûvâk, 'flowing.' M14 alters it to vênâk, 'looking,' which suits the eyes well enough, but hardly seems to express the author's idea.

² See Chap. XLI, 5.

³ M14 has 'having purified around the place.'

⁴ The Âtar Nyâyis (see Haug's Essays, p. 403).

⁵ This place is at the end of the ceremonial area farthest from

and to consider invokable the glory given to the luminaries *and* the guardian spirits of the good. 22. Of those¹ also who, co-operatively, conjointly, and interspersed (*ham-rêš*), *have* each separately remained in their own places *and* thought of the sacred beings, with propitiation of Aôharmazd *and* scornful notice (*tar dahisnô*) of the evil spirit, the employment stands forth prominently at the ceremonial. 23. *As to* the position of others co-operating *with* him who is an officiating priest of good leadership, there are *some* who are for the Avesta², there is the solitude (*khadûldârth*) by the fire, there are *some* who are bringers³ forward of water, there are *some* who are for carriers away, there are *some* who are solitary ones, there are *some* who are gregarious ones, there are *some* who are directors of duties, and their own needful arrangement in the place is arranged in the ceremony.

24. In cleanliness, purity, *and* truth, as much as *there is* in *this* mingled existence⁴, if *one has* to commence a ceremony glorifying the sacred beings,

the fire. Here the priest first invokes the spirits in whose honour the ceremony is about to be performed, by reciting their several propitiatory formulas (see Chap. XXIX, 1).

¹ Referring to any other priests who may be present.

² M14 has 'for carriers,' omitting the three clauses about the Avesta, fire, and bringing water.

³ Or, perhaps, 'there is *he* who may be a bringer;' and similarly in the following clauses. The plural suffix *-ihâ* being identical in form with the Pâz. conditional form of the verb 'to be,' which seems to be the origin of the adverbial suffix corresponding to *-ly* in English when added to an adjective; occasionally it is added to a substantive, as is probably the case here, and can then be only translated by 'may, or would, be' (see Chap. XLIV, 11).

⁴ This first clause may belong to the preceding section.

when the righteously-disposed temperament is purified *along* with the apparatus the abundant ritualism (nīrangakth) of the spirit is a symbol *and* reminder of the will of the sacred beings, undesired by the fiend¹, *and* remains a blessing deservedly unto *those* come together. 25. Then is explained the text (avistāk) of that great scripture (naskô) which is called the Hâdôkht², *that* is itself the best of the chiefs of the scriptures, *and* of the sublime Dvâzdah-hômâst³ *that* is not recited by any voice with falsehood (âkadbâ)⁴, *and* is called 'the origin of every truth⁵.'

26. The pure glorification of the sacred beings is in the light, this is in the morning time (frâyar gâs)⁶; and even until night the ritualistic *and* true

¹ K35 has drôn, 'sacred cake,' instead of drôg.

² The twentieth Nask, which is said to have chiefly treated of religious ceremonies and texts (see Byt. III, 25). Two Avesta fragments, published by Westergaard as Yt. XXI and XXII, are traditionally ascribed to this Nask.

³ Another name for the Dâmdâd Nask, from which the Bundahis appears to have originated (see Zs. IX, 1). The name is also applied to a particular series of ceremonies, continued for twelve successive days in honour of each of the twenty-two sacred beings whose names are given to the 1st-7th, 9th-14th, 16th-22nd, 24th, and 26th days of the month; these ceremonies last, therefore, for 264 days (see Byt. II, 59).

⁴ It can hardly be akadbâ, as that would imply that it 'is not recited by any undeceitful voice.' The use of the prefix â- in the sense of 'with' is rare, but it occurs in âpûstanû, 'pregnant,' (whence Pers. âbistan), and is noticed by Dastûr Jâmâspji in his Pahlavi Dictionary, p. 2.

⁵ Reading bun-î ko/â râstth, apparently a forerunner of the modern name Bundahis.

⁶ The frâyar period of the day corresponds to the Hâvan Gâh or morning (compare Farh. Okh. p. 42 with Bd. XXV, 9), at which time the Yasna ceremonial should be performed when not accom-

recitation of revelation (dīnô) is unchangeably proceeding, undivided and faultless. 27. This, too, is in benediction of the angels; this, too, is producing restraint of the fiends; this, too, is in praise of the glorious ones, the mighty doers; this, too, is as an admonition for creatures subject to command; this is in the true words of the ancients who *have* passed away; this, too, is as a suitable servant for the righteous, these good doers; this, too, is to obtain a permanence (patistân) of requisites; this, too, is suitable for the discreet *and is* merciful; this, too, is as another way *in* which the promoters of good (vêh-yâvkârân) are pardoned, as soon as the Hômi-juice (parâhôm) is digested, through not *having* eaten from dawn till night during the pure utterance of the pure glorification. 28. And, moreover, *one* performs no work¹, nor is even a word uttered; *one* does not go to sleep, nor should they allow any pollution to the body; the sequence (patisârîh) of the religious formulas is, likewise, not changed from that ordered, nor is even a detached thought away from that truth *and* purity; *but* always *with* phrases rightly consecutive *and* properly worded (hû-sakh-unagânôthâ) the Avesta is uttered; and even the manner of response of one's co-operators is *in* modes contributing to good (hû-padâyâkô), or they utter the scripture (nask).

29. Since the production of stench is needing *something* essentially purifying, many formulas in the ceremonial are tokens *and* signs which, while they

panied by the Vendidâd; or, according to the text, it must be performed by daylight.

¹ During the ceremonial.

are strongly manifested, are terrifying *and* vexing to the demons, *and* inviting *and* rejoicing to the angels. 30. Such as, indeed, the pure Hôṃ, which is squeezed out by four applications of holy-water (zôṛth)¹ with religious formulas, is noted even *as* a similitude *of* the understanding² and birth of the four apostles bringing the good religion, who are *he who* was the blessed Zaratûst *and they who* are *to be* Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns³. 31. As also the metal mortar (hâvan) which is struck⁴ during the squeezing of the Hôṃ, and its sound is evoked *along* with the words of the Avesta, which becomes a reminder of the thoughts, words, and deeds on the coming of those true apostles into the world. 32. As *also* the proper rite as regards the water, that they should perform three times⁵, which is showing the world the glorious seizing of water⁶ and formation

¹ In preparing the Hôṃ-juice fresh holy-water (zôṛ) is added four times to the Hôṃ-twigs which are each time pounded anew, while reciting the Ahunavar formula, and their liquor strained into a cup (see Haug's Essays, p. 402).

² There is no authority for translating *sinvisnô* by 'conception,' otherwise that meaning would suit this sentence better. *Mr̥* has *yehevûnisnô*, 'existence,' which differs by only one extra stroke of the pen in Pahlavi.

³ See Chap. II, 10.

⁴ The word *sikâvî-aftô* really means 'is split.' During the pounding of the Hôṃ-twigs the pestle is struck several times against the sides of the mortar, so as to produce a ringing sound (see Haug's Essays, p. 401).

⁵ Reading *vidanâg*, instead of *gûn-aê*, by transposing the first two Pahlavi characters. After the first series of poundings of the Hôṃ-twigs holy-water is added to them three times while reciting, each time, the Ashem-vohû formula (*ibid.*).

⁶ The evaporation from the ocean, said to be effected by *Tîstar* for the production of rain (see Chap. XCIII, 2, 3).

of rain, *and* the healthfulness of the production of rain¹. 33. *And* as the purification of the milk, by the glorious ritualistic *product* (nīrang)² taken from the purifying cattle, is divided in two, by means of which the token is that which is great, glorious, *and* good; one *being* for the daughter of Pâûrvâgīryâ³ the Mazda-worshipper, *and* from her *was* Aôshnôr full of wisdom; and one *being* Farhank, *daughter* of Vidhirisâ⁴, and from her came Kaī-Kavâd⁵.

34. And, as to the high-priests of the glorious religion, it is said many concomitants (padvandthâ) are obtained; such as, much discrimination of scripture (nask), the holy-water which is indispensable as a remedy, the healthfulness which is given in that ceremonial to the sacred fire⁶ which the world destroys, that pre-eminent strength which is given at the end of the world from the ox Hadhayās⁷ unto the good *people* scattered about (fravaftân)—it is

¹ The delightfulness of rain after an eight-months' drought cannot be adequately appreciated by a dweller in Europe.

² That is, bull's urine.

³ The reading of this name, as well as that of Aôshnôr, is doubtful; but if these names occur at all in the extant Avesta, they may perhaps be found in the Aoshnara pouru-gîra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2; the epithet pouru-gîra, when it occurs after the name, would naturally be considered a patronymic, whence a father or grandfather could be easily created, if he did not exist already in legendary history.

⁴ This name is written in Pâzand, and is evidently meant for the same person as the Pâz. Vîdharg-âfrâstaka of Bd. XXXI, 31, where Farhank is said to have been the mother of Kaī-Apîvēh and, therefore, the wife of Kaī-Kavâd.

⁵ M14 has 'from him she came unto Kaī-Kavâd,' which would tally better with the statements in Bd. XXXI, 25, 31.

⁶ Literally 'the fire of Varahrân (Bahram).'

⁷ See Chap. XXXVII, 99.

mingled with the fire of men's bodies¹, and they, therefore, become perfect and immortal through it—and there are also other *things*. 35. There are *also* in the ceremonial many tokens *and* signs of spiritual mysteries, glorious matters, and habitual practices of which statements *would* be very tedious.

36. And if the wish (ayûpö) should be this, that they should be *engaged* in a single ceremony of the length of a day, a man who is righteous in purification, inside and outside the body, should stay away from all *his* relations and the worldly transaction of business, *from* malicious actions *and* covetous practices, separated from all lying *and* falsehood of relatives; *and his* words are to be all those which are serving the angels, glorifying, *and* begging favours. 37. Then, indeed, the way of the spirit and the harmoniousness² of the sacred beings are manifest therefrom; *and* those which are as much the means due to the primitive good creations as is more purely possible are strengthening as regards the utility (bûn) for offering, encouraging for purity, confounding for the confusers (gûmêgakân), terrifying for the fiends, and propitiating for the sacred beings.

38. The ceremonial which is good is when they shall perform *it* for a pure disposition and assured wisdom, a minder of the religion of the sacred beings of the spheres, and *with* pure thoughts, just thoughts³, wise deeds, a purified body, a tongue worthy of good

¹ The vital heat or Vohu-fryân fire (see Bd. XVII, 1, 2).

² Reading âhankânakîh, as in K₃₅; M₁₄ has khadûkânakîh, 'unity,' which is a much commoner word, nearly identical with the other in its Pahlavi form.

³ So in the MSS., but it was probably 'true words' originally, so as to complete the triad of thought, word, and deed.

(vêh-sazâk), a scripture (nask) *made* easy¹, a true text (avistâk), ablutions performed, proper rites, undivided, and faultless. 39. Near which fashion, with like abilities, *and* innumerable times, it is very purely sollemnized in the abode of the ever-growing fire, then in the abode of the other sacred fires², then in the abodes of Mazda-worshippers *and* other good *people*, *and* then *in* other places pronounced clean. 40. That of the three *days*³ is in the abode of the fire-place which is nearest to that of the departed; the ceremony of the guardian spirits of the righteous⁴ is sollemnized in purity there where the dwelling is which is nearest that of the departed whose soul is honoured. 41. And that for victories in war is then *at* its times of battle, the husbandry of Sâm⁵ and other offenders (vinâsagân) who *were* for keeping away husbandry, the household attendant's place for a warrior of another rank, the occasion of the outcry of those not possessing (adârigân) a lodging, unto the rest of the same temperament (mûnôkô), expressly to produce *and* maintain a proportional resemblance⁶.

¹ That is, learnt by heart.

² Literally 'fires of Varahrân.'

³ The three days after a death, during which ceremonies are performed in honour of the angel Srôsh, who is supposed to protect the departed soul from the demons during that period, while it is still hovering about the body (see Chap. XXVIII, 6).

⁴ On the fourth day after a death (see Chap. XXVIII, 7).

⁵ That is, Keresâsp the Sâmân (see Chap. XVII, 6); having been a famous warrior his husbandry is said to be battle, the destruction of all ordinary husbandry.

⁶ That is, the ruin of people by war leads them to demand a share of the property of those more fortunate, so as to produce an equality. The whole section seems to be a bitter sarcasm upon the effects of war, representing the generals as cultivators of

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. *As to* the forty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to them* who shall buy corn and keep *it* in store until it shall become dear, *and* shall then sell it at a high price (pavan girânôh), what is the nature of the decision?

2. The reply is this, that when there is nothing therein on account of which I *should* so deem¹ *it* otherwise than due to the eating of the requisite amount (avâyisn) of food for one's self, that which is his controlling impulse (sardârîh), and not the teachings of the worthy *and* good, is the internal instruction which a time of scarcity *has* taught by means of the occurrences during that time²; but clamorous worldly profit is want of diligence (akha-pârakânîh), for they would buy to make people distressed, and in order that they may sell again dearer. 3. Moreover, the store *one* keeps, and keeps as closed even unto the good as unto the bad—*and* though it be necessary for a man of the good *and* worthy, and they beg for *some* of the food, they shall not sell at the price it is worth at that time, on account of *its* becoming dearer—*one* keeps in store unauthorisedly *and* grievously sinfully, *and* every calamity *of* those good people they shall suffer who would not sell it at the price they beg.

slaughter and rapine, with the soldiers as their domestic servants, driving the people into social democracy.

¹ K35 has a blank space for this word, but it is given in M14, and also occurs in a similar phrase in Chap. LIV, 6.

² That is, so long as one does not lay in a store more than sufficient for one's own requirements, it is only an act of prudence taught by former experience.

4. On account of that non-obtainment of corn, or that unlawfully heinous sin, and because of dearness of price it is not proper to give *it* for that non-distribution (an-afsânöih) unto *him* himself, or those under *his* control, or the poor to whom it would be given by him¹; and the distribution (rêshisnö) *which* occurs is then retaliative upon him. 5. And if the corn be spoiled², through keeping too long a time in store, *he* is suffering assault from the hungry *man* (gûrsnö) who is injured even by that damaging (bôdyôzêdih)³ of the corn; if through that unlawful want of preservation (adârisnöih) noxious creatures are associated with the corn, he is overwhelmed also by that heinous sin; *and*, through the profit of improper diligence *he* is unworthy.

6. But if it be necessary for their own people who are under their control, on account of the fear of a time of scarcity, they should buy at their own suitable time, and should afford protection. 7. Or, because of the teachings of the good *and* worthy, they should buy corn at a cheap price from a place where the corn is more than the requirements of the eaters, *and* they should bring *it* unto there where corn is scarce, provided (va ha tō) the good *and* those requiring corn are sufficient (vasân). 8. So that, while their information of a scarcity of corn is even

¹ That is, corn is not to be sold to a man who keeps it in store for the purpose of raising the price, nor to his people, nor is it even to be given to the poor whom he relieves, so that he may be compelled to support them out of his own stores, as a penalty.

² Reading tapâhî-ait, as in M14.

³ Literally 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdyôzêd is a technical name for sins whereby animals are ill-treated, or useful property injured (see Sls. II, 39).

from him himself to whom the price would become profit¹, or *is* the persistence of *these* same teachings of the good—so that it may become more abundant unto them than unto the bad, even in the time of scarcity *when* it is very much raised in price²—they should buy corn *at* a cheap price during an excess of corn, so that *one* may keep *it* until the time of a period of scarcity. 9. When *there* occurs a necessity for it *among* the good he sells *it* at *such* price as *one* buys it at that time, that is, the market price (arg-î shatrôik)³; by that means, in a season of scarcity, much more is obtained in price, *and* it becomes more plentiful among the good; then a more invigorating (padîkhûtnagtar) praise of him is commendable.

10. And, yet, as regards that which is suitable profit—and also apart from the eating of corn, *from* anything eatable for the maintenance of life, *from* medicine and remedies for the healthfulness of life, and *from* whatever is for the preservation of life—it is allowable *that* they shall buy *and* shall sell dear⁴.

CHAPTER L.

1. The forty-ninth question is that you ask thus : *If* they should sell wine unto foreigners and infidels what is then the decision *about* it ?

¹ And, therefore, likely to be correct, as it is given in opposition to his own interest.

² M14 has 'begged at a price,' by inserting a stroke.

³ Without holding it back for an exorbitant rise in prices.

⁴ That is, there is no harm in speculating upon prices, except in the case of necessities of life.

2. The reply is this, that *there* is very vehement danger of grievous sin, and it would be an evil occupation. 3. But if through the operation of that wine-selling of theirs the wine is kept more away from those who become worse through immoderate drinking of wine, *and* comes to those who drink wine in moderation¹—*whom* they cause to become better through drinking the wine—more than when they shall not practise that selling of the wine, then through that selling of theirs the power which is in the wealth², by their keeping away of which a man is confirmed (*paḍayṭṇāḍḍi*) in the good religion and diverted from going into infidelity, the progress of sin is impeded *and* good works are promoted, becomes the assistance of the good and protection of religion, the hindrance of sin and aid of good works, which, when they shall not practise that wine-selling, do not arise, *and* which are much more promoted than the various sins that might have arisen from the unlawfully drinking of wine. 4. Or, otherwise, the greater decision—and great are the good works which are assured therein—is thus: ‘They who shall sell wine³ to foreigners, infidels, and others from whom unlawful conduct arises through drunkenness, *act* very sinfully and not authorisedly.’

¹ That is, when the supply of wine is so limited that by selling it to moderate drinkers they keep it away from drunkards.

² The wealth they acquire by selling wine, which would have produced evil in the hands of the buyers, and ought to produce good in their own.

³ K₃₅ has *vinâs*, ‘sin,’ instead of *âs*, ‘wine,’ which is clearly wrong.

CHAPTER LI.

1. The fiftieth question is that which you ask thus: *As to one* of the good religion who drinks wine immoderately, and loss *and* injury happen to him owing to that immoderate drinking, what is then the decision about him? 2. And how is the measure of wine-drinking *which* when they drink is then authorised for them?

3. The reply is this, that whoever through the influence of opportunity drinks wine immoderately, *and* is adult and intelligent, through every loss *and* injury which thereupon come to him from that immoderate drinking, or *which* occasion anything unto any one, is then his causing such pollution to the creatures, in his own pleasurable¹ varied modes, that the shame owing to it is a help (dastakīh) out of that affliction. 4. And even *he* who gives wine authorisedly² unto any one, and he is thereby intoxicated by it, is equally guilty of every sin which that drunkard commits owing to that drunkenness.

5. And concerning that drunkenness, what is said is that that is to be eaten *through* which, when *one* eats *it*, *one* thinks better, speaks better, and acts

¹ K35 has a blank space here for a word, but no word seems really necessary. M14 fills up the blank by changing *gvīdō* into *gardīnīdō*, and reads 'converted unto his own pleasure, and the mode,' &c.

² M14 has 'unauthorisedly,' a very natural emendation of the text as it stands in K35, but it does not appear that the author intended to limit the responsibility of the person giving the wine merely to those cases in which his action would be quite unjustifiable.

better ; and such even is the food *by* which, through *having* drunk wine, *one* becomes more virtuous, or does not become more vicious, in thought, word, and deed. 6. When an experiment as regards its *being* good is tried, so that *having* drunk it in that proportion *one* becomes better, or does not become worse, then it is allowable to drink *it*.

7. When an untried *person*, for the sake of *being* tried, *has* drunk a mingled portion, first of one drinking-cup¹, secondly of two drinking-cups, *and* thirdly of three drinking-cups, *and* through drinking *it* he becomes more virtuous, or does not become more vicious, in thought², word, *or* deed, *he* is to increase the drinking-cups, and the experiment is allowable unto those tested just so far as the proportion is *such* that he becomes better, or does not become worse. 8. To those tested *it* is authorisedly *given* to that amount through which the experimenting that is mentioned *has* extended ; and to *him* who *it* is proved will become worse through the drinking of wine, that amount, through the drinking of which, *when* given³ in the experiment, *it was* seen that he became worse, is not authorisedly given.

9. In a case of doubt *one* is to consider *him who* is orthodox (hû-dîñð), who *has* chanted the *sacred* hymns, *and is* of good repute, whose drunkenness

¹ Reading âv gâmakô, 'water-cup;' but it is written like âv sîmakô in the MSS.

² K35 has mân, M14 mînisnô.

³ Reading yehabûntô instead of the unintelligible gân bûdô of K35, the alteration being merely lengthening the bottom stroke of the Pahl. b. M14 substitutes barâ yehevûnêd for bûdô gân bûdô, which gives the following meaning: 'through the drinking of which, in the experiment, *it is* seen that he becomes thoroughly worse.'

is not manifest, in this *way*, that he drinks as much wine as *was* tried by him when he became no worse *by drinking it*. 10. It is necessary to consider *him* whose religion is unseen, whose religion is wrong, and him who is a child furnished even with the realities of religion, in this *way*, that he becomes worse through *having* drunk wine. 11. When *apart* from the decision there is no assignable (bangisnġk) reason as regards *it*, the share of wine which they gave not authorisedly who themselves drank wine, *one* considers as *some of* the wine on *its being* given more authorisedly ¹.

CHAPTER LII.

1. *As to* the fifty-first question *and* reply, that *which* you ask is thus: *There is* a man who hands over a dirham ² as regards five bushels (kaftz) of

¹ The meaning appears to be that, when there is no special reason to the contrary, the quantity of wine one may have already drunk elsewhere is to be considered as part of one's allowance.

² The dirham (δραχμή) is a weight, and also a silver coin of that weight, but its amount is rather uncertain. According to the Pers. MS. M5 (fol. 55), written A.D. 1723, the proper dowry for a 'privileged' wife is 2000 dirhams of white silver, or 2300 rūpīs, and 2 dirhams of red gold, or 2½ tolas. The rūpīs formerly current in Gugarât were less in value than the present Indian coinage, but the tola, which is the weight of the present rūpī, was probably much the same as it is now, or 180 grains; the statement in M5 is, therefore, equivalent to saying that the dirham contained 202 grains of pure silver. This is so much more than the amount deducible from other authorities that it might be supposed that the stīr (στῆρ) or tetradrachm was meant, if it were not confirmed, to some extent, by the Pers. Rivâyats, which state the dowry at 2000 dirhams of pure white silver and 2 dīnārs of red gold of the Nishâpūr currency; the dīnār being a gold coin containing a dirham weight of pure

wheat, thus: 'I give this to thee as an instalment (bôn-ae)¹ of five bushels of wheat at the end of a month;' and during the month, *and* at *its* end, those five bushels of wheat become five *times* the price; would they authorisedly seize the five bushels of wheat *when* winnowed (pêkhtō kar dō) by him, through that instalment which he handed over, or not?

2. The reply is this, that when they who shall take his dirham *have* to intrust the five bushels of wheat, unsuspectingly *and* by their own will, *to him* to winnow, even so as *they* are advisedly *and* unsuspectingly winnowed by him they should take *them* just as winnowed; *this* is the decision authorisedly given. 3. But when *it* is winnowed by him on account of very grievous necessity for payment, *it* is more suitable for the soul to beg the giver of the money, who is the purchasing payer², for *some* of that excess of undivided (apâr) profit. 4. For *he* *has* to consider the profit of *his* successors as among the profit of money on the spot³—*when* more than

gold. It is safer, however, to rely upon the average weight of the Sasanian dirham coins, which, according to Dr. Mordtmann's statement in ZDMG. vol. xii, pp. 44, 45, is about 63 grains, or 5½ annas' worth of silver; so that the stîr would be 252 grains or 22½ annas. But the actual value of such coins of former times can be ascertained only from the quantity of corn, or other well-defined necessary of life, which they would purchase.

¹ K35 has vaban twice in this sentence, but bôn in § 4. M14 alters this word and others, so as to make the chapter unintelligible. The money is supposed to be given merely as a deposit, in acknowledgment of a bargain to be carried out after the corn is ready for delivery.

² Reading zednunand dûkhtâr, but, perhaps, this is a corruption of zednûnîniđâr, 'a causer of purchase, a broker.'

³ That is, 'ready money.'

such instalment demanded—and not as a fresh carrying off of a gift¹.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. *As to the fifty-second question and reply, that which you ask is thus: If people of the good religion, in their country or out of their country, shall buy and sell with those of a different religion as regards cattle, or shall lay hold of traders (vanîkgarân) and shall sell to them, what is then the decision about it?* 2. *When those of the good religion shall not buy, as they have not come up to the price, but the orthodox dealers shall sell to traders and those of a different religion, what is then the decision about it?* 3. *And about him, of whom the means of existence (zivisnô mindavam) are such, what is then the decision?*

4. The reply is this, that it would be very grievously sinful, and it would be an evil occupation to transact such business through the influence of opportunity, and to seek profit unauthorisedly in that manner.

5. But if *it be* the means of existence of those of the good religion of whom you have written, and they are not able to seek *it* in any other business and proper occupation which *would be* a less sinful means of existence, complete² purchasers who have acquired

¹ That is, having made a bargain, he is not to be aggrieved at any unexpected excess of profit made in good faith by the other parties to the bargain; a rather high standard of commercial morality.

² The word is pûr, but it may be suspected of being a blunder, as tôrâ, 'ox,' would be a more likely word.

the good religion shall sell unto those of the good religion¹; because it is possible for him *to be* less sinful *to* whom *it* is allowable to beg the life of a comrade, for still the rule *of* a righteous man, with the righteous who are in his guardianship, is to live. 6. So it is possible, when they shall sell cattle for slaughter *and* foreign eating, many cattle—amounting even to a diminution of the maintenance of Irân—are more wretched than a righteous man forced to kill *them* through a living becoming unobtainable *and* the fear of death.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. *As to* the fifty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: A man whose wife, daughters, sisters, and relations are many, and *who* is the master of much wealth, becomes sick, *and* during the sickness *has* given this hoard of wealth unto one daughter. 2. And his other sisters and daughters are not contented therewith, *and* speak thus: 'This wealth ought *to have been* given during health and consciousness, not during sickness; and now it should not be allowable to give anything whatever unto any one during sickness, for if anything happens² the wealth all comes back for division amongst *us*.' 3. Would it be allowable to give anything whatever of that wealth to any one, during sickness, or not?

¹ Who would not be likely to kill the animal, and with whom they could come to an understanding as to its good treatment, so as to avoid the sin of *bôdyôzêdîh* (see Chap. XLIX, 5 n).

² M₁₄ has 'if he gives anything.'

4. Is it necessary¹ *for* one of such wife, daughters, and sisters as *there* happen *to be* to appoint an adopted son for that man, because of that wealth, or not?

5. Are the wife, daughters, and sisters who shall take their share of the wealth responsible for² the religious rites of every kind, and is it necessary for them to order the annual ceremonies for that man at the daily and yearly *periods*, or not³?

6. The reply is this, that, when there is nothing therein on account of which I *should* so deem *him* otherwise than a man in sickness *and* nearly passing away, *it* is not allowable to give *it* up, except when *it* is for his debts, or his wife *and* children, or an aged *person* (zarmân) or father who is in *his* guardianship—whom it is indispensably necessary to maintain—and is such as, or as much as, is discreetly requisite for payment of the debt, or *for* the food, maintenance, *and* protection of those that I *have* written *about*; then, *however*, *it* is allowable to give it up away (bîrûnô) from those of whom *you* *have* written, as much as during his consciousness.

7. In other sickness, not while passing away, whatever is given up by him himself during consciousness is allowable; when *he* is not conscious *it* is not allowable. 8. And on that which he says during unconsciousness *one* is not reliant and *it* is not credible (vâvar); *but* that which *he* says during

¹ K₃₅ has 'is it not necessary,' by using lâ, 'not,' instead of râi, 'for,' which latter reading is adopted in the text from M₁₄, but it is doubtful which reading is the better one. The same variation occurs in § 5.

² Literally 'are the rites on their necks.'

³ Ceremonies for the dead have to be performed on the first four days, the tenth day, and then at the end of a month and a year from the time of death (see Sls. XVII, 5).

consciousness, and that, too, which the same man gave unto a daughter when he was ill, if given by him consciously, are even then proceedings to be granted; if given by him during unconsciousness it is just as though he died without an opportunity of speaking (*avâng-pîrûz*)¹.

9. Of the property left by will², one share is needful for each separate daughter for whom a husband is not provided, *and* two shares for a wife *who* may be a privileged *one*³; *and* so long as the wife is living *she* exists as the house-mistress of the family; moreover, it is not needful to appoint an

¹ For this uncommon word M₁₄ substitutes *avik-andarz*, 'intestate;' but the meaning is that the gift is as invalid as if he had been unable to make a declaration of his intentions.

² *Levatman andarz* in K₃₅, but M₁₄ has *avik andarz*, 'without a will,' which, at first sight, appears the more plausible reading (especially as *avîk*, 'without,' is written very much like *avâk*, 'with,' the Pâz. synonym of *levatman*). But on further consideration it seems equally probable that this section is intended to limit the power of a testator, so as to prevent him from dividing so much of his property as he leaves to his family in any unfair manner. The rule here laid down would, of course, also apply in cases of intestacy when the testator has no son; and is that given in the Persian *Rivâyats*.

³ This does not imply that a man might have more wives than one, but that wives are of five classes, according to the circumstances of the marriage. A *pâdakhshah* or 'privileged' wife is one who was a maiden married with the consent of her parents who have another child. A *yûkan* or 'only-child' wife differs from the last merely by being an only child, and having, therefore, to give up her first child to her parents. A *satar* or 'adopted' wife is one who was a maiden enabled to marry by receiving a dowry from the relatives of a man who has died unmarried, on condition that half of her children shall belong to the deceased. A *kakar* or 'serving' wife is a widow who marries again. A *khûd-sarâi* or 'self-disposing' wife is one who marries without her parents' consent (see Bd. XXXII, 6 n).

adopted son (satôr), for the adopted son's duty (satôrîh) remains with her, *and* she manages to claim guardianship for the family from some man out of the relatives most nearly allied. 10. Out of the portion of the property for food and maintenance the wife should provide the daughters with husbands; and to keep going the necessities in the guardianship, the nurture which the *deceased* man afforded, *and* the ceremonies *and* good works imposed upon the family, *and* thereby become indispensable, *she* herself is to take lapfuls and armfuls¹ out of the income (bar).

11. *As to* the sisters of that man, if they have been necessarily in his guardianship, even as to nourishment, and there is no property for them in *any* other way, their food and maintenance are also needful to be out of the income of the property, unless² that man *has otherwise* devised, or the appointment of a husband is not provided on account of the non-subjection (lôftö aîrîh) *in which* they have been unto the guardianship of that man, or anything else opposed to it, so that nothing whatever of the property of that man is needful for them.

12. He who is a husband of *one of* the daughters is a leader in the management (dastôbarîh) of the family, *but with* the concurrence of the house-mistress of the family, and *even* so when the action *is one* which they should not do, and his son is not born, *or* becomes passing *away*³.

¹ Literally 'the bosom size and arm size,' a Pahlavi idiom for 'plenty.'

² In the Pahlavi text this latter half of the section precedes the foregoing provisional clauses.

³ The meaning seems to be that so long as he has no son (who

13. *As to* a daughter not provided with a husband, should the one whose husband is not provided be an only *child*¹, to keep *her* subject also to the house-mistress of the family it is needful *for her that there* should be an adopted son in it; *and* when they shall appoint *her* husband unto the adopted-sonship the property then comes over into his possession.

14. When the house-mistress of the family passes *away*, and the daughters are provided with husbands, the adopted-sonship is to be appointed.

CHAPTER LV.

1. *As to* the fifty-fourth question *and* reply, that *which* you ask is thus: What is the occupation and capacity (giriftârîh) of the person *that has* to preserve those who are in their three nights' *trials*², *and* who is he?

2. The reply is this, that it is said a husband (gabrâ) is indispensable for preservation through the three nights' *trials* which shall be *for* a privileged wife, a father *for* those of a child, *and* a master *for* those of a servant.

would be a member of the family in direct descent through his mother) he can only assist and advise the widow, but on the birth of his son he can act more authoritatively, as the representative of the child.

¹ Written aêvôk-aê in Pâzand. She becomes a yûkan or 'only-child' wife (see § 9 n) until she has given up her first child to her mother, after which she is a 'privileged' wife.

² The three nights after death (see Chap. XXIV).

CHAPTER LVI.

1. *As to* the fifty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this adopted-sonship *and* guardianship of the family, and what does it become; *in* what manner is it necessary to appoint *it*, whence is it necessary to provide food and clothing for it, and how is it necessary to be *for* it?

2. The reply is this, that the adopted-sonship is thus:—It is requisite whenever a man of the good religion is passing *away*, while *he is* a complete ruler of a numerous household¹, who has no wife and child that may be privileged² and acknowledged, *nor* associating brother, *nor* son by adoption, and his property is sixty stlrs³ of income. 3. The controlling (khûdâyî-nag) of the property is to be publicly provided *out* of the kindred of the deceased, and is called the adopted-sonship; and he is to be appointed to it who is the nearest of the same lineage (min ham-nâfân), who *will* manage *and* keep the property united in its entirety.

¹ Reading vad marak khân shah bundakö, but the phrase can also be read vad malkâân shah bandakö, 'while *he is* a servant of the king of kings (that is, a subject of the Irânian sovereign),' which is evidently the reading adopted by M14 in Chap. LVII, 2, where it substitutes the Huz. synonym malkâ for shah, but here the word shah is uncertain. This ambiguous phrase can also be read vad mark-âhangihâ bundakö, 'while the agonies of death are complete.'

² See Chap. LIV, 9.

³ About 84 rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n); but the actual value of such an income depends upon the value of silver at that time, or, in other words, upon the prices of the necessities of life.

4. The guardianship of a family is that when a guardian *has* to be appointed in that manner over the family of a man whose wife¹, or daughter, or infant son is not fit for their own guardianship, so it is necessary to appoint *some one*. 5. And it is necessary to appoint the adopted son *and* the family guardianship at *such* time as may be convenient to them; and when the man passes *away* as *I have* written it is necessary to appoint at such period as *I have* written, and to neglect *it* temporarily, even the length of a year, would not be authorised.

6. *Fit* for adoption is a grown-up sister who is not adopted in another family², then a brother's daughter, then a brother's son, *and* then the other nearest relatives. 7. *Fit* for the family guardianship is first the father of the serving wife (*kagar*)³, then a brother, then a daughter, and then the other nearest relations; among brothers he who is the eldest (*mas*) among *them* is the fittest.

8. The food *and* clothing of a wife that may be privileged—who is the house-mistress of the family, and is one kind of adopted son—*of* a living infant son till he becomes grown up, *and of* a daughter of the family while she is in the guardianship of the family guardians⁴, are out of the property of the family so long as it exists for the purpose.

9. *It has* become the custom *that* the lapfuls *and*

¹ Because she is not a privileged wife, but a serving one (see Chap. LIV, 9), as appears from § 7.

² A woman or child cannot be adopted by more than one family (see Chap. LVII, 3). The case under consideration is that mentioned in § 2, when the deceased leaves no wife, child, or brother.

³ Referring to the case assumed in § 4.

⁴ That is, till she is married.

armfuls¹ of the family guardian are every month four stîrs of, it may be, sixteen², which is the disbursement (andâzi snö), for food, clothing, medicine, *and* shelter, out of the income (bar), or out of the capital (bûn), of the property which remains in the family, by a perfect³ wife when she is capable—such as the former house-mistress—so as want of nourishment (atafdâdö) may not come nakedly and unlawfully upon them.

CHAPTER LVII.

1. *As to* the fifty-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Who is suitable *for* adoption, *and* who is not suitable?

2. The reply is this, that a grown-up man of the good religion who is intelligent, a complete ruler of a numerous household⁴, expecting offspring, *and* not *having sins* worthy of death is suitable for adoption; even when he has accepted either one adoption, or many adoptions, he is then still suitable for another adoption. 3. And a grown-up woman, *or* even a child, is suitable for one adoption, *but* when adopted in one family she is not suitable for another adoption.

¹ That is, an ample remuneration (see Chap. LIV, 10).

² So the sentence may be literally translated, but it is not quite certain that this is the meaning intended, as the language used is very involved. This would imply that the family guardian is entitled to one-fourth of the family expenditure.

³ It is doubtful what noun is to be connected with the adjective pûr; perhaps we should read 'full disbursement' in the foregoing part of the sentence, and omit the word 'perfect' here.

⁴ M14 has malkâânö malkâ bôndak, 'a servant of the king of kings;' but see Chap. LVI, 2.

4. A woman requiring a husband—though a complete worshipper—or a foreigner, or an infidel, or *one* having *sins* worthy of death, is unfit for adoption ; so also those who are demon-worshippers, she who is a concubine (shûsar nêšman) *or* courtesan, *and* she who is menstruous are unfit.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The fifty-seventh question is that which you ask thus: How many kinds of family guardianship and adoption are *there* ?

2. The reply is this, that it is said *there* are three kinds, which are the existent, the provided, and the appointed. 3. An adopted son who is existent is such as a wife who may be privileged, *or* an only daughter is a kind of adopted son owing to confidence in herself, such as happens when there is no wife, *and* a daughter for whom there is no husband, *and* none is provided, is the one *that* has remained.

4. An adopted son *who* is provided is such as a son that is acknowledged, who is accepted by one's self¹, and *free* from *being* appointed, or *from* necessity².

5. And an adopted son who is appointed is he who is to be appointed among the relations who are suitable for adoption—and are nearest to him who is to be appointed *as* adopted son—and the ministers (padân) of religion, *and* he performs the duty of

¹ That is, adopted during the man's lifetime.

² Reading ayûf nîyâzô, but it may be ayûfô êyâvô, 'or from discovery.'

family guardianship¹; he who is the appointed *one* is he who is appointed by the men *who are* the nearest relations (na bâ nazdistân ð) on account of proximity.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. *As to* the fifty-eighth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: For how much property is it then necessary to appoint an adopted son?

2. The reply is this, that when the property which *has* remained his for whom it is necessary to appoint an adopted son is as much as sixty stîrs² of income, *it* is then indispensable to appoint an adopted son for him. 3. Even when *it* is less they should recognise him whose adoption is needful, *and who* conducts an adopted son's duty; and, similarly, an adoption is to be appointed for him, though it may not come as a possession unto him who is fittest for adoption.

CHAPTER LX.

1. *As to* the fifty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the sin owing to not appointing *an adopted son*?

2. The reply is this, that *for the man* himself *it* is allowable when he gives up all the property in

¹ M14 has 'an existent family guardianship is *in* the son of him appointed, and a provided *one* is that when he himself performs the duty in the guardianship;' but the phrase interpolated is hardly grammatical.

² About 84 rûpîs (see Chap. LVI, 2).

righteous gifts, *and* when he has no property they should not provide an adopted-sonship for him, *and* his relations are innocent as regards it. 3. But should they recognise him who has the adopted-sonship of the deceased, or has accepted the position of his adopted-sonship¹, *or* should they have seized the property for the adopted-sonship *in order* to appoint an acting adopted son (satôrgar), *and* he conducts the adopted-sonship, and throws away *both* the portion (bôn) provided for disbursement (vi-shôpö) and the entirety, and quite destroys the property, and thoroughly ruins the adopted-sonship, though, on account of not restraining him, it is said *to be* a sin worthy of death for *every* single dirham, it is not said *they are* killed outright².

CHAPTER LXI.

1. *As to* the sixtieth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the propriety *and* impropriety, the merit *and* demerit, of family guardianship?

2. The reply is this, that the merit is the appointment *and* recognition of him who accomplishes more worthily the greater benefit; the demerit is *as to*

¹ M14 'has 'or any one who has accepted the adoption as an adoption.'

² The meaning appears to be that, though, owing to their misplaced confidence and neglect, they have been guilty of many mortal sins, they are not liable to capital punishment. It is evident that the writer had no apprehension that any property would lie neglected through want of administration, but that he had considerable doubts of the prudence and honesty of administrators.

him who is unworthy, or him whose worthiness is not appointed to avert a lesser benefit and the ruining of a worthy adoption. 3. Nearer details (*khûrdakö*) of the family guardianship which is proper *and* which is not proper for an adopted son's duty, of the child of good religion with whose business *it* is connected, *and* of the fathers for whom a family guardian is to be appointed, are *in* the recital of five chapters (*fragardö*) of the Hûspârûm *Nask*¹, and *in* the abstracts (*giriftaköthâ*) of the good ideas in various scriptures (*naskö*) in which many decisions are together.

CHAPTER LXII.

1. *As to* the sixty-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: How stand the shares in the inheritance (*mîrâtö*) of property among those of the good religion, and how is it necessary for them to stand therein?

2. The reply is this, that in the possession of wealth the wealth reaches higher *or* lower, just like water when it goes in a stream on a declivity, but when the passage shall be closed at the bottom it goes back on the running water (*pûy-âvö*), *and* then it does not go to its after-course².

¹ The seventeenth book of the complete *Mazda*-worshipping literature, whose sixty-four sections are described in detail in the *Dînkard* (see Sls. X, 21). The five chapters here mentioned were evidently in that one of the last fourteen sections which is said to have consisted of six chapters on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c.

² This metaphor seems to mean that property, like water, always

3. When there is nothing *otherwise* in the will and private¹, property *goes* to a wife *or* daughter² who is privileged; if *one* gives her anything by will then she does not obtain the share (dâs) *pertaining* to her³. 4. Whenever⁴ a share for a son is not provided by it, every one *has* so much and the wife who may be a privileged *one has* twice as much; and the share of that *one* of the sons⁵, *or* even the wife of a son, who is blind in both eyes, or crippled⁶ in both feet, or maimed in both his hands, is twice as much as that *of one* who is sound.

5. And *it* is needful *that* he who *was* in the father's guardianship *shall* remain in guardianship, as when a father or mother is decrepit and causing awe (kagarīn), or *of* a nurture different from that of the guardian⁷—or a child of his brother or sister, or a father, or *one*⁸ without nurture apart from him, is

descends until it meets with an obstruction to its downward progress in the shape of the nearest descendants, but, when once in their possession, it can again ascend (like the dammed stream) for the support of the survivors of an older generation (see § 5).

¹ Or, it may be 'in the provisions (vūyagān) of the will;' or, by omitting two strokes, we have simply 'otherwise (hân) in the will.'

² That is, they have a share of the property when there are other next of kin. M14 adds, 'and they should provide a living son as father and husband unless privileged,' referring to the necessity of adoption when there is no son and the wife is not a privileged one.

³ It being assumed that the will provides as much as is intended for any one whom it mentions.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who,' which words are often confounded because their Pâz. equivalents are nearly identical.

⁵ M14 has 'daughters.'

⁶ Armêst probably means literally 'most immovable.'

⁷ M14 omits this last clause.

⁸ M14 has 'mother.'

without a guardian—the ready guardianship of a capable man, and the shelter *and* nourishment *that have* become inadequate¹ are as indispensably forthcoming² from the possessors of wealth, of those who *have* taken the property, as that *taking* was indispensable³.

6. If *there* be no son of that *man*, but there be a daughter or wife of his, and if *some* of the *affairs*⁴ of the man are such as render a woman not suitable for the guardianship, it is necessary to appoint a family guardian; if there be, moreover, no wife *or* daughter of his it is necessary to appoint an adopted son. 7. This—that is, when it is necessary to appoint a family guardian *and* who is the fittest, *and* when it is necessary to appoint an adopted son *and* which is the fittest—is written in the chapters *on* the question⁵.

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sixty-second question is that which you ask thus: Would they authorisedly carry off any property whatever from foreigners and infidels, or not?

2. The reply is this, that wealth and property and anything that foreigners (an-aîrânö) possess and is carried off by them from the good with violence, *and which through* obstinacy they do not give back

¹ Literally 'not issuing.'

² M14 has 'are thus forthcoming.'

³ M14 has 'or *have* become indispensable to it.'

⁴ Or, it may be '*dependents*;' the text is merely *va hatö min zak-î gabrâ*.

⁵ See Chaps. LVI-LIX.

when it is proper, it is well allowable in that case *that* they should seize from the foreigners. 3. So long as *it* is the lawful order of the procurator of its owners¹ *it* is allowable for a just decider to consider properly, and to demand authoritatively the sending of interest (sûdö) thereon for himself. 4. But *if* they proceed in their obstinacy *he* is sent to come *up* with them in obstinacy, not to dissemble with them².

5. *It is* the custom to give an infidel (ak-dîñö), who is not a foreigner, food, clothing, *and* medicine, when his renunciation (vâz) has come, for keeping away matters (êisânö) of death and sickness owing to hunger *and* thirst, cold and heat; but wealth, horses, accoutrements, wine, *and* land are not given authorisedly, it is said, unto foreigners *and* idolators³.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. *As to* the sixty-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Whence *was* the first creation of mankind, and how was the formation of the original race of men? 2. What issued from Gâyô-mard⁴, *and* what did it really become; *and* from what have Mashyâih *and* Mashyâyôih⁵ arisen?

3. The reply is this, that Aûharmazd, the all-

¹ Reading vad zak amatas khûdâyân ayâvî-aîtâr far-mân-î dâdîk. The form of ayâvî-aîtâr has not yet been met with elsewhere, but it seems to mean 'one who holds the obtainment,' though whether as agent or officer of justice is uncertain.

² M14 has merely 'but should they proceed in their obstinacy, to come with them is not to dissemble.'

³ Literally 'demon-worshippers.'

⁴ See Chap. II, 10.

⁵ The same as the Marhayâ and Marhâyôih of Chap. XXXVII, 82.

ruling, produced from the endless light the shape of a fire-priest (âsrûkô) whose name *was* that of Aûhar-mazd, and *its* brilliance that of fire; *its* incombustibility was like *that* inside the light, *and its* expansion like the western (khûrbarag) land. 4. And in the shape of the fire-priest *was* created by him the material existence (stih) *that* is called man, *and for* three thousand years¹, when it did not progress and did not eat, it did not speak; likewise, it did not utter, but it thought of, the righteousness of the perfect *and* true religion, the desire for the pure glorification of the creator.

5. Afterwards, the contentious promise-breaker² injured the life of it, *and* produced a burdensome mortality; and the mortality is *clear* from the appellation, Gâyômar³, of the nature produced. 6. The seed which *was* the essence of the life of the leader (mîrakô) of life, who *was* Gâyômar⁴, flowed forth on *his* passing away, came on to the earth of the beneficent angel⁴, *and* is preserved in the earth until, through the protection of the angels, a brother and

¹ This is the second of the four periods of three thousand years of which time is said to be composed (see Chap. XXXVII, 11 n). The 'shape of the fire-priest' is one of the spiritual creations of the first period, in which shape man was created during the second period, and this primeval man became Gâyômar³ (that is, 'a living mortal') through the persecution of the evil spirit (see § 5) at the commencement of the third period. The first two steps of this creation are not described in the text of the Bundahis known to Europeans.

² The evil spirit, who is said to be the origin of falsehood (see Chap. XXXVII, 11).

³ Which means 'the living mortal,' or 'the mortal living one.'

⁴ The female archangel Spendarmad, who has special charge of the earth. Or the phrase may be 'came on to the earth which the beneficent *spirit* produced.'

sister of mankind¹, connected together, have grown from it, *have* attained to movement *and* walking upon the earth, *and* have advanced even to intercourse and also procreation.

7. The ground where the life of Gâyômarđ departed is gold, *and* from the other land, where the dissolution of *his* various members occurred, as many kinds of decorative metals flowed forth it is said².

CHAPTER LXV.

1. *As to* the sixty-fourth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Where *and* from what did the origin of race, *which* they say *was* next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûdâd'ö)³, arise; and from what place did it arise?

¹ The Mashyâih and Mashyâyôîh, or man and woman, of § 2, who are said to have grown up, in the course of forty years, connected together in the shape of a plant; but, after a breathing soul had entered them, they became human beings, and fifty years later they began to be the progenitors of mankind (see Bd. XV, 1-30).

² Zs. X, 2 states that eight kinds of metal arose from the various members of the dead Gâyômarđ, namely, gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver, and adamant.

³ Usually written khvêtûk-das (Av. *hvaêtvadatha*, 'a giving of, or to, one's own'). It is a term applied to marriages between near relations, and is extolled as specially meritorious. For centuries past the Parsis have understood it to refer to marriages between first cousins, and all allusions to marriage between nearer relations they attribute to the practices of heretics (see Sls. XVIII, 4 n); though, like the professors of all other religions, they must admit the necessity of such a practice in the first family of mankind, as detailed in the text. Translations of other passages relating to the subject will be found in Appendix III, and it is also mentioned in Chaps. XXXVII, 82, LXXVII, 6, and LXXVIII, 19.

2. The reply is this, that the first consummation of next-of-kin marriage was owing to that *which* Mashyâih *and* Mashyâyôih¹ did, who were brother and sister together, and their consummation of intercourse produced a son² as a consummation of the first next-of-kin marriage. 3. So that they effected the first intercourse of man with woman, *and* the entire progress of the races of every kind of lineage of men arose from that, *and* all the men *of* the world are of that race.

4. It is truly said, that it was the joy of the lord *and* creator after the creation of the creatures, and, owing to that, its consummation, which *was* his complete accomplishment of the existence of the creatures (dâmânîh), was owing to him. 5. And its occurrence, too, is in evidence that the creator, who is so with unflinching (atôrâk) will, is as much *the cause of* the begetting and entire progress of his own perfect creatures³, in whom begetting is by destiny, as Hôshâng⁴ by whom two-thirds⁵ of the demons *were* smitten, Tâkhmôrup⁶ who overturned Aharman through the power of the angels, Yim by

¹ See Chap. LXIV, 2. The names are here written Mashyêih and Mashyâyôih.

² Twins, according to Bd. XV, 22, 24.

³ That is, he is not only the original creator, but also the perpetual promoter of the increase and progress of the creation, as much as those who appear to be such promoters, though merely acting as his agents.

⁴ Here written Hôshyâng. For the Av. names of these four primeval monarchs, see Chap. II, 10 n.

⁵ K35 has 'three-thirds,' but see Âbân Yt. 22, Râm Yt. 8, Zam-yâd Yt. 26.

⁶ He is said to have subjugated the evil spirit, and to have used him as a steed for thirty years (see Chaps. II, 10, XXXVII, 35).

whom order *was* arranged and death *was* driven away (avakâldö)¹, Frêdûn *who* fettered Az-î Dahâk² and stripped his blaspheming (nîrangâk) from the world, and the many princes (kayân) and high-priests of grave spirit *who* were, *and* are, *and will* be.

CHAPTER LXVI.

1. *As to* the sixty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *There is* a man of wealth of the good religion who fully intends to order a *celebration of all the rites* of his religion; and a priest of it, to whom the five chapters (fragardö) of the Avesta ('text') of the correct law of the Nîrangistân ('religious-formula code')³ are easy through the Zand ('commentary'), is ever progressing in priestly manhood (magôî-gabrâth). 2. And he (the man) goes unto him, and he (the priest) speaks thus: 'All the religious rites are *performed* for 350 *dirhams*⁴, as a gift always given beforehand by them *who* give the order unto me, so that I *may* come to *them*.'

3. A man of the disciples⁵, to whom the five

¹ He is said to have kept away cold and heat, decay and death, and other evils from the earth (see Râm Yt. 16, Zamyâd Yt. 33).

² See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

³ This was the name of one of the first thirty sections of the Hûspârûm Nask (see Chap. LXI, 3), and a portion of it, containing the Pahlavi commentary (or Zand) of three chapters, with many Avesta quotations, is still extant.

⁴ The word *gûganö*, 'dirham,' is here omitted, but occurs in §§ 16, 20. The sum of 350 dirhams would be about 122½ rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

⁵ That is, those who are still learning their priestly duties (see Chap. XLV).

sections (vîdag) of the Avesta are easy, and nothing whatever of its Zand is easy¹, then says unto him—unto that man who intends to order all the religious rites—thus: ‘For this gift I will conduct all the religious rites for thee twice, with the appliances in the land of Pârs², shouldst thou give the order unto me. 4. For it is quite possible for me to pray so many sections through my own exertion (dastö), *but* for him³ it is necessary to order again of an officiating priest (pavan zôtakö), who is himself not able to pray any section, *or* does not himself pray; and it is not necessary for him to go for the control (parvâr)⁴ of all the religious rites when a stipend (bâhar) is the one consideration within him, *and* the matter is *that* he⁵ *may* receive again. 5. *He* who *has* always himself prayed is better than he who shall accept readily *and* orders *the work* again, and is not able to pray it himself, when a fulfilment is tedious to him; when *it* is I who⁶ receive, I always pray myself better than he who would accept readily *and* orders again, and it brings on my business to a *closing point*.’

6. The priestly man speaks thus: ‘The considera-

¹ It being far easier to learn the Avesta by heart than to understand its meaning by aid of the Pahlavi commentary; a competent knowledge of the latter being sought only by advanced disciples, and rarely attained by any but the most learned priests.

² Reading pavan bûm-î Pârs, as in § 15; K35 has here pavan bûn-frâs, ‘for opening the beginning,’ which might be understood to refer to the preliminary ceremonies for preparing the ceremonial apparatus, if the phrase were not otherwise written elsewhere. In § 21 K35 has pavan bûn-î Pârs.

³ K35 omits the last letter of valman.

⁴ Or, it may be ‘to the precincts.’

⁵ Literally ‘I.’

⁶ Reading li mûn, instead of lanman, ‘we.’

tion of stipend is more necessary to arise *with* me than¹ other men, owing to the position of religion, not the other portion (*sânö*) of all religious rites; therefore, it is more authorisedly received *and* conducted by me when I accept readily and again intrust *the work*; but I direct so that they pray thoroughly, and it brings on much business to its *closing* point; moreover, *if* I seize upon it, even then I should be authorised, for this is the stipend of religion.'

7. Should they seize this that is authorisedly theirs, or not? *And* is *it* the custom of a man who is frequently ordering all the religious rites to reduce his gift for the ceremonial, or not?

8. Order *some one* to decide for us clearly, when they do not dispute the gift *for* the ceremonial, or *when* they do dispute *it*, how is then its great advantage; *and* the harmfulness that exists therein, in many ways *and* many modes, when they give an insufficient gift for the ceremonial. 9. Is the property which is given up as a gift for the ceremonial—so long as it thus becomes the remuneration which *one* gives to a receiver of remuneration (*mozdô-bar*)—that property which they can seize? 10. And is the work which is done, *or* deputed, and its great advantage, more than they would perform when, in the period of the evil millenniums², they diminish the gift for the ceremonial; *and* in how many modes

¹ Reading *li min*, instead of the imperfect word *lanm*.

² Of the twelve millenniums of time, mentioned in Chap. XXXVII, 11 n, the most evil one is said to have been that in which the author lived, the millennium of *Hûshêdar* (about A.D. 600-1600 according to the chronology of *Bund. and Byt.*), for 'mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time' (see *Byt.* II, 62, 63), a period of great tribulation for the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers.

does its harm then proceed therefrom? 11. Of whom are all the religious rites always more authorisely ordered, of that priestly man, or of that disciple? 12. *For* what reason, also, is it proper to diminish the gift for all the religious rites of him who is a priestly man, or to give *it* in excess? 13. When they do not diminish the gift for the ceremonial, and *it* is given in excess, in what manner does its great advantage then arise therefrom; *and* why *and* through what source (bêkh) is it possible *for* advantage to arise therefrom? 14. When they diminish the gift what harm to it (the ceremonial) is then possible to arise therefrom, *and* how is *it* better when they give the gift for the ceremonial?

15. For when the family householders, with those of the good religion of Irân, are early (pêš) *with* every single *celebration of* all the religious rites with holy-water, in the land of Pârs, unless they are in distress, their gift is then 400 dirhams¹; and we have given more than this, *even* 450 dirhams², for it. 16. And now should it be needful, when we diminish anything from the 400 dirhams, or from the 450³ dirhams, of their gift, they would then not accept *it* from us, *and* they speak thus: 'For 400 dirhams, or *at* least for 350 dirhams⁴; nothing less do we

¹ About 140 rūpîs (see Chap. LII, 1 n). M14 has 300 dirhams.

² About 157½ rūpîs. M14 has 350 dirhams. The actual value of all these sums depends upon the cost of the necessities of life in Pârs in the ninth century.

³ M14 has '350.'

⁴ About 122½ rūpîs. K35 has ângûn, 'so,' instead of gûganô, 'dirham' (the two words being nearly alike in Pahl. letters); this would alter the phrase as follows:—'or less; as to 350, so paltry a thing we do not accept.'

accept.' 17. *But* there are needy *men*¹ who always come to us *and* speak thus: 'For 350 dirhams we will twice conduct all the religious rites with holy-water², as you have always ordered us before for 400 dirhams; order *it* only of us, *for* shouldst thou have *it* managed by priestly men, they always say that they should always perform a curtailment (kâs-târîh) of the religious rites and ceremonies of the sacred beings, *and* that all the religious rites are not authorisedly ordered except of them.'

18. Although a priest (aêrpatō) who becomes a ruler of the ceremonial should be doubly a decider, yet order *some one* to explain to us clearly concerning these questions, as asked by us.

19. The reply is this, that the *man* of the good religion who intended to order all the religious rites is he whose desire is goodness, and he should be a decider of questions about it.

20. *As to* the priest who spoke thus:—'Thou shouldst order *it* of me for 350³ dirhams, as you have always given before your business *was arranged*; *and* it becomes your own non-religious share of the duty, to be authorisedly given, because you have proceeded with the alleged demeanour of the country *and* for the purpose of intercession; and all the

¹ The disciples, who are represented as applicants for employment.

² That is, in the most solemn manner, and with all appliances. It appears from Chap. LXXXVIII, 9, that the religious rites without holy-water were then performed for 120 to 150 dirhams, or little more than one-third the fee demanded for those with holy-water; whereas the merit of some rites with holy-water is said to be a hundred times as great as that of the same rites without holy-water (see Sls. XVI, 6).

³ M14 has '400' here, but see § 2.

religious rites with holy-water are such as they solemnize repeatedly (pavan dôr), among which there are many in which¹ I *act* and *am* very well performing'—the gift of 350 dirhams is then not excessive remuneration for him.

21. *As to* the disciple who spoke thus:—'For 350 dirhams I will *twice*² conduct all the religious rites in the land³ of Pârs'—such of them as they then conduct repeatedly are not many in the aggregate (kînakð), and they certainly damage his (the man's) property, and all the religious rites of fire, through that deficiency. 22. And they would accept it on this account, that through a love of righteousness they might cause an advantage (khangînakð) unto all those religious rites by their own inferior eminence⁴. 23. And he extends *and* impels the ceremonial of the sacred beings into much progress who promotes it through that eminence which is owing to his own wealth, *and* which is thus more possessed of a share (bôn) of the ceremonial of the sacred beings and of the good work of praise—except, indeed, a like good work of praise of his—when they shall cause that manifestation of eminence⁵. 24. So that the orderer of the good work understands that that which is diminished by him⁶ is the eminence

¹ Reading mûn, 'which,' instead of amat, 'when' (see Chap. LXII, 4 n).

² The cipher '2' is omitted in the Pahl. text here, but see §§ 3, 17.

³ K35 has bûn, instead of bûm (see § 3).

⁴ Or, it may be 'by the eminence of their own wealth,' as aîr, 'inferior,' and khêl, 'wealth, property,' are alike in Pahlavi; but neither reading is quite satisfactory here.

⁵ By a proper disbursement of wealth.

⁶ When he diminishes his payment.

of the disciple, which his own wealth *has* to order for those who are not able to give wealth which is their own property for it; *and* he makes no curtailment (bangisnǝ) of those scanty remunerations.

25. And if that disciple should accept as remuneration less than is the custom *for* all the religious rites, *the orderer* is not undiminished in wealth¹, for the reason that the good effect owing to the advantage of holy-water is such as *when* they conduct *them* repeatedly, unless it be necessary to conduct *them* in a manner as *if* unpaid (pavan agazıd).

26. That curtailment of the good effect is not afterwards demandable (pasın-sakhunıkdǝ), if it *has* to be accepted by him; *and* if that acceptance of less remuneration by him be an opposing of him to the malice and ill-temper (vushât) of the priests, this also is not *the way* that they should cause progress as regards their own *business*.

27. And the proximity (nazdıtı) of a master of the house² *who* keeps away from all the religious rites requested *and* accepted—more particularly when the accepter accepts all the religious rites of the requester for that remuneration—is itself necessary; he may not be of a religious disposition, but it is yet requisite *for him* to be where this is requested

¹ M14 has '*it* is not eminence in wealth;' but the meaning is evidently that there is no real saving when the expenditure is reduced, because the good effect of the rites is also diminished when they are insufficiently paid for.

² Or, khânǝpânǝ may mean 'a keeper of the sacred table,' or low stone platform on which the ceremonial vessels are placed, which is often called khân. In either case the orderer of the ceremony is meant, and the author evidently contemplates the probability of the order being given as a mere formal matter of duty, without any really religious feeling.

and accepted for that scanty remuneration of his, owing to the extent and impetus of *his* share of the duty.

28. Moreover, it is perceived by us in Pârs *that* they who would accept the work for half the remuneration which was requisite as profit for it formerly would seize the remuneration. 29. And the reason of it is this :—The peasants relied upon the corn of the field (khânö) *which* has not come, *and they* said : ‘We are hurried ; we never obtain *anything* even on a single one of various debts, and by this payment we *shall* save *our* lives for the time ; so we calculate that whatever we seize in the manner of a debt or two, when the corn arrives *and* we sell the corn, we *shall* make *as* profit on that business¹ ;’—and it seemed to me very desirable *for* such a man.

30. If, also, they should approve that scanty remuneration of that disciple, it is an injury of all the religious rites, of which the forgivers² *have* to cast the consideration of the unequally-shared advantage out of the body³. 31. All the religious rites ordered of him who is a better performer, owing to not diminishing the proper remuneration, *having* proceeded unaltered, the remuneration of righteousness *one* does not approve is important as regards such as they solemnize and conduct in the period⁴.

¹ This parable justifies the taking of religious stipends by force, in cases of necessity, by a practical appeal to the sympathies of the enquirers ; but it really evades the question proposed in § 7, which refers to seizures not justified by necessity.

² Probably the priests who appoint atonements for sins confessed and renounced (see Sls. VIII, 1, 2, 5, 6).

³ Of those who have obtained a disproportionate share of the profit of the good works by not paying properly for them.

⁴ There are several doubtful points in the construction of this section.

32. Since, for the 350 dirhams, all the religious rites which they conduct once with holy-water are, it is affirmed, all the religious rites caused to be conducted twice with holy-water in that same place *and with* the same good effect, it is more important to order of *them* who shall allow all the religious rites twice; for, with as much wealth, as much efficiency, and as much good effect, more ceremonial is good.

33. The worthiness of the disciple, which is owing to himself, is the preparation; *and* the priest is worthy, of whose performance in the religion *you have* spoken¹; therefore, supreme worthiness is unattainable by either of them; so it is more significant when the disciple is the preparer, *and* the priest, *as* director, becomes a demander of good effect; both strive for good progress, *and* through many kinds of participation they may be worthy. 34. And both of them, praising together—whereby the participation is brought *to* an end—may authorisedly seize²; but that worthiness of theirs is owing to the duty and the praise therein—this *one* in preparing, *and* this *one* in superintendence (*avar-madīh*) of the recital—*and* the after discourse and petitioning, *and* other good done.

¹ See § 1.

² Probably the remuneration, if it be withheld; provided always they do their duty thoroughly, as mentioned in the concluding clause.

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. *As to* the sixty-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this appearance¹ which is girded on the sky?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* a mingling of the brilliance of the sun with mist and cloud that is seen, of which *it is at* all times and seasons, moreover, a characteristic appearance, whereby *it has* become their sign above from spiritual to earthly beings.

3. That which is earthly is the water above to which its brilliance is acceptable; and the many brilliant colours (gunakân) which are formed from that much mingling² of brilliance and water, and are depicted (mânâkî-âftö), are the one portion for appearing³.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. *As to* the sixty-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is this which, when the sun and moon *have* both come up, is something⁴

¹ Reading dîdanöñh; but the word can also be read sad-vânñh, which might stand for sad-gûññh, 'a hundred-coloured existence,' a possible term for the rainbow, but the Persian dictionaries give no nearer term than sadkas, or sadkês.

² M14 has 'that mingling of many portions and few portions.'

³ Reading dîdanökö; but it can also be read sad-vanakö, a similar alternative to that in § 1.

⁴ The only probable reading for this word is mindavam, 'a thing;' it occurs three times in this question, but is a very vague term for the phases of the moon, probably referring to a supposed body covering the dark part of the moon's disc.

come, *and* comes on as *it were* anew when it (the moon) becomes new, *and* men want the thing to go down from the place *where it* is becoming apparent?

2. When it *has* been several times, what is then the thing *which* comes up *and* exists, and how is its motion by night and day?

3. The reply is this, that the sun and moon are always seen¹ there where they stand, and they exist for men and the creatures. 4. The sun is swifter-moving² than the moon, *and* every day becomes a little in advance; at the new moon the sun is shining, and the moon owing to diminution backwards, on account of the slenderness of the moon by much travelling³, and on account of the brilliance of the sun, is not apparent. 5. As the sun goes down a light which is not very apparent is the moon, and not *having* gone down the moon is seen⁴; and each day the moon increases, comes up more behind the sun, *and* goes down more behind, *and* is, therefore, more seen. 6. When increased to the utmost, which is approaching a likeness of the sun, it comes spherical (aspiharakö), and is seen the whole night; to diminish anew it comes back to the companionship of the sun, and goes into the splendour of the sun.

¹ The MSS. have *astî-hênd*, 'have remained,' instead of *khadî-tunî-hênd*, 'are seen;' but the difference between these words in Pahlavi letters is merely a medial stroke.

² Apparently so, as the moon rises and sets about 48 minutes later every day, on the average.

³ A very anthropomorphic mode of accounting for the waning of the moon into a slender crescent.

⁴ Most Orientals consider the day of the new moon to be that in the evening of which it is first possible to see the moon; this is usually the first, but sometimes the second, day after the actual change of the moon according to European ideas.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. *As to the sixty-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: When something takes hold of the moon or sun what is then its residence (khânö), and whence does it always seize upon it?*

2. The reply is this, that two dark progeny of the *primeval* ox¹ move and are made to revolve from far below the sun and moon, and whenever, during the revolution of the *celestial* sphere, they make *one* pass below the sun, or below the moon, it becomes a covering which is spun (*ta d*) over the sun, *and* it is so when the sun or moon is not seen. 3. Of each of those two progeny of the *primeval* ox—one of which is called 'the head,' and one 'the tail'—the motion is specified among astronomers²; but *in* remaining upon those luminaries, and producing that covering, they do not attain unto those luminaries

¹ Supposing the reading should be 2-ân gôkîhar-î târ here, and 2-ân gôkîharân in § 3. Gôkîhar is a supposed planetary (and, therefore, malevolent) body, connected with the sun and moon and having a head and tail, which falls on to the earth at the resurrection (see Bd. V, 1, XXVIII, 44, XXX, 18), and is here described as the cause of eclipses. Its name implies that it sprang from, or contained, the seed of the primeval ox, the supposed source of animal life (see Bd. XIV, 3), and in its Av. form, gao-kîthra, it is a common epithet of the moon; in Pers. it has become gôzihr or gavazkîhr. As the words stand in K35 they look more like 2 andôg dâlan-î târ, 'two dark store-lobbies,' or 2 andôg gâl-î târ, 'two clusters of dark spiders;' and in § 3 the word han-kîfînö is substituted for the nearly synonymous andôg. In M14 the words seem to be 2 ângûn kîharânö-î târ, 'two such dark faces.'

² M14 has 'in the calculations of astronomers.'

within that covering. 4. *There* occurs no difference whatever of the descending *rays*¹ from those luminaries into a place of purity and freedom from disturbance far below those luminaries, except this, that the light which they divert to the world, and their activity as regards the *celestial* spheres are not complete *for* so much time, *nor* the coming² of the light to the earth.

CHAPTER LXX.

1. *As to* the sixty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What are these river-beds³, and what is the cause of them; whence do they always arise, *and* why is *there* not a river-bed everywhere *and in* every place where *there* is no mountain?

2. The reply is this, that any place where a mountain is not discernible and a river-bed exists *it* is a fissure (*askûpö*); and it is declared as clear that, even before the growth of the mountains, when the earth was all a plain, *by* the shaking of the world the whole world became rent (*zandakö*)⁴. 3. Even

¹ Literally 'fallers.'

² Assuming that *mâdârîh* stands for *madârîh*. The meaning is that an eclipse produces no harm beyond a short interruption of the descent of the sun's or moon's rays to the earth.

³ There is some doubt as to whether the word should be read *zôgakö* (comp. Pers. *zôgêh*, 'a river'), or *zandakö* (comp. Pers. *zandah*, 'fissured'), but the meaning is tolerably certain from the context.

⁴ When the evil spirit rushed into the earth it is said to have shaken, and the mountains began to grow (see Bd. VIII, 1-5); and at the resurrection it is expected that the earth will recover its original perfect state of a level plain (see Bd. XXX, 33).

Frâsiyâv of Tûr¹ *was* specially mighty by causing the construction of channels (vidarg) there where *it* is mountainous, *and* also *in* low-lands², in which there is no mountain, and the shaking in its creation *was* the formation of great sunken³ springs and river-beds. 4. And if it *has* been prepared *in*, or if *it be* in a ravine (sikaftö) of, the mountains, the cause, too, of the contraction, thundering, and tearing of a river, if *its* confinement *be* in the earth, is the resistance which it *meets* in seeking a passage; and as it is a spring of the waters of the earth, so also it is in the earth, whose contraction *and* panting are mighty *and* full of strength. 5. And when *it is* a time that they would make a constructed channel at the outside of its ravine, as regards the contraction which is within it, the resistance by which it is contracted at the outside of the ravine is the ground⁴.

CHAPTER LXXI.

1. *As to* the seventieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Is anything which happens

¹ Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, in the Avesta; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah (see Bd. XXXI, 14). He is often mentioned as constructing canals (see Bd. XX, 17, 34, XXI, 6), but being a foreign conqueror he was considered as specially wicked by the Irânians.

² Assuming that sîtan is a miswriting of sîpöân, occasioned by joining two of the letters, just as harvispö, 'all,' is often written harvist.

³ Or, perhaps, 'hidden.'

⁴ That is, a watercourse which is confined by its natural rocky channel in the mountains, when carried across the plain in a canal, is confined only by softer soil.

unto men through fate or through action, is exertion destiny *or* without destiny, *and* does anything devoid of destiny happen unto men, or what way is it? 2. *As to* that which they say, that, when a man turns unto sinfulness, they ordain anew a new death¹; *as to* that which they say, *that* anything which happens unto men is a work of the moon², and every benefit is connected with the moon, and the moon bestows *it* upon worldly beings; and *as to* what way the moon *does* this, and bestows all benefits, order *some one* to decide the literal explanation of how and what way it is, by the will of the sacred beings.

3. The reply is this, that the high-priests³ have said thus, that there are *some* things through destiny, and there are *some* through action; and *it* is thus fully decided by them, that life, wife, and child, authority and wealth are through destiny, and the righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry are through action. 4. And this, too, is thus said by them, that that which is not

¹ This reference is to a phrase in the Pahl. commentary on Vend. V, 33, which commentary contains a good many of the statements made in this chapter, excepting those relating to the moon. The reading aôsh, 'death,' given by K35, is probably more correct than aûbas, 'for him,' given by our modern MSS. of the Vendidâd; but M14 has amended it, and states 'then many new *things* are ordained by it for him.'

² Assuming that vidanâg, 'time,' stands for bidanâg, the Huz. of mâh, which means both 'month' and 'moon.' In the following phrases the word mâh is used.

³ It may be noted that most Pahlavi writers, when quoting the Pahlavi commentaries on the Vendidâd (as the author is doing here) or any other Nask, speak of them merely as the utterances of the high-priests, and reserve the term dînô, 'revelation,' for the Avesta itself; thus showing that belief in the inspiration of the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta is a very modern idea.

destined for a man in the world does not happen ; *and* that which is destined, be it owing to exertion, will come forward, be it through sinfulness *or* slothfulness he is injured by it. 5. That which will come forward owing to exertion is such as *his* who goes to a meeting of happiness, or the sickness of a mortal who, owing to sickness, dies early¹ ; *and* he who through sinfulness and slothfulness is thereby injured is such as *he* who would wed no wife, *and* is certain that no child of his is born, *or* such as *he* who gives *his* body unto slaughter, and life is injured by his living.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1. *As to* the seventy-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus : What are the heinous sins of committing unnatural intercourse, is it proper to order *or* perform the *sacred* ceremony for him who shall commit unnatural intercourse, *and* is it then proper to practise sitting together and eating together with him who shall commit *it*, and shall commit *it with* a longing for it, or not ?

2. The reply is this, that of the evil Mazda-worshippers²—who *were* the seven evil-doers of sin of a heinous kind³, whose practice of Aharman's *will was* as much as an approximation to *that of*

¹ M14 has 'which comes forward owing to sickness.'

² M14 has 'of a like evil practice, in inclination for sins, *were* the very heinous in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers.'

³ Reading girâi van vinâs, and assuming that van is a mis-writing of gûn.

Aharman *himself*—two are those whom you have mentioned, who are defiled with mutual sin. 3. For, of those seven evil-doers, one *was* Az-ī Dahāk¹, by whom witchcraft *was* first glorified; he exercised the sovereignty of misgovernment, and desired a life of the unintellectual (ahangân khayâ) for the world. 4. One *was* Azī Sruvar², by whom infesting the highway *in* terrible modes, frightful watchfulness (vīmag-bīdârīh)³ of the road, and devouring of horse *and* man *were* perpetrated. 5. One *was* Vadak⁴ the mother of Dahāk, by whom adultery *was* first committed, and by it all lineage is disturbed, control is put an end to, and without the authority of the husband an intermingling of son with son⁵ occurs. 6. One *was* the Vīptak⁶ ('pathic')

¹ See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

² A personification of Av. azi srvara, a serpent or dragon thus described in the Hōm Yt. (Yas. IX, 34-39):—'(Keresâspa) who slew the serpent Sruvara which devoured horses and men, which was poisonous and yellow, over which yellow poison flowed a hand's-breadth (spear's-length?) high. On which Keresâspa cooked a beverage in a caldron at the mid-day hour, and the serpent scorched, hissed, sprang forth, away from the caldron, and upset the boiling water; Keresâspa Naremanau fled aside frightened' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 178, 179). The same account is given in Zamyâd Yt. 40.

³ M14 has bīmīnīdârīh, 'terrifying.'

⁴ See Chap. LXXVIII, 2. There is possibly some connection between this name and the Av. epithet, Vadhaghana, which is thus mentioned by the evil spirit, speaking to Zaratûst, in Vend. XIX, 23:—'Curse the good Mazda-worshipping religion! and thou shalt obtain fortune such as the Vadhaghana sovereign obtained;' and Mkh. LVII, 25 calls him 'the Vadagân sovereign Dahāk.' The Pahlavi writers seem to have taken this epithet as a matronymic, owing to its form, but whether the mother's name be really traditional, or merely manufactured from the epithet, is doubtful.

⁵ Reading levatman barman barman, instead of levatman bûm barman. M14 omits bûm.

⁶ Av. vīptô (p. p. of vip, 'to sow, to fecundate'), used in the

in the intercourse of males, the infecundity of which is the desire of men ; and by him the intercourse of males *and* the way of destroying the seed *were* first shown unto males. 7. One *was* the Vîptîndak¹ ('pæderast'), the male by whom the use of females *was* first brought among the errors (khazdag) of the male, and *was* despised (dûkhtō) by him ; he who is a cherisher of seed is delivering *it* to females, and that which is destroying the seed is the flowing of stench into the prescribed vessels² for it, the delivering *it* to males by a demoniacal process, and carrying on a practice which effaces (âhangêdō) *and* conceals the race³ of the living. 8. One *was* Tûr-î Brâdar-vakhsh⁴, the Karap *and* heterodox wizard, by whom the best of men *was* put to death. 9. And one *was* he by whom the religions of apostates⁵ *were* preferred—through the deceitfulness of the perverted text and interpretation⁶ which they themselves utter—to the law which the righteous

sense of 'a pathic' in Vend. VIII, 102. This name, as well as the next one, is used here more as representing a class than an individual.

¹ The p. p. of the causal form of vîptanō, 'to fecundate,' used as an equivalent of the Av. vaêpayō of Vend. VIII, 102.

² Assuming that pavan pavan pavan mûdragânō stands for pavan farmûd ragânō ; but there is some doubt as to the correct reading of several words in this section.

³ Or 'seed.'

⁴ The eldest of five brothers who were wizards of the Karap race or caste, and deadly enemies of Zarâtûst (see Byt. II, 3). He is said to have slain Zarâtûst in the end.

⁵ Aharmôkô, Av. ashemaogha, means literally 'disturbing the right,' and is a term applied to an ungodly man specially under the influence of the evil spirit, as an apostate is naturally supposed to be.

⁶ The Avesta and Zand.

has praised, that existence *which* would have procured a complete remedy, *and* would have become the eternity of the records which bestow salvation, through the good righteousness which is owing to the pure religion, the best of knowledge.

10. And they who are defiled by a propensity to stench are thereby welcoming the demons *and* fiends¹, *and* are far from good thought² through vexing *it*; and a distance from them is *to be maintained* of necessity in sitting and eating with *them*, except so far as *it may be* opportune for the giving of incitement *by* words for withdrawing (padâlisnô) from *their* sinfulness, while converting *them* from that propensity. 11. *Should one* die, to order a ceremonial for him is indecorous, and to perform *it* would be unauthorised; but if *he were* to do so penitently *one* would then be authorised to perform his ceremonial after the three *nights*³, for it is the remedy for atonement of sin. 12. And so long as *he* is living *he* is in the contingencies (vakhtagânô) owing to the sickness through which *he* is in that way an infamous *one* (akhamîdâr), and *there* are no preventives (bôndagânô) and medicinal powder for it; these are teachings also for the duty and good works of a ceremonial for the soul⁴.

¹ Who are supposed to seize upon them and pervade them; hence the necessity of shunning such men, to avoid contamination from the demons who possess them.

² That is, from what is personified in the archangel Vohûman.

³ During which the soul is supposed to remain on earth, hovering about the body, after death (see Chaps. XX, 2, XXIV, 2, XXV, 2).

⁴ That is, they are warnings to him to repent.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1. *As to* the seventy-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Does the stench of him, stinking withal, who commits unnatural intercourse proceed to the sky, or not; and to what place does the wind of that stench go *when* it goes *anywhere*?

2. The reply is this, that the material stench goes as far and in such proportion as there are filthiness and fetidness in the stinking existences, and the spiritual stench goes unto there where there are appliances (sâmânǎ) for acquiring stench, a miserable place; on account of the separation (gardîh) of the sky, everywhere where it goes in the direction of the sky it does not reach to the undisturbed existences¹. 3. Information about the stench is manifest in the omniscient creator, whose omniscience is among the luminaries, *but* that persistent creator *and* the primeval angels *and* archangels are *free* from its attack; and *his* information about the deception which is *practised* upon that labourer *for* hell and mind *allied* with the demons² is certain.

¹ The sky being divided into three parts, and the uppermost part being inaccessible to evil (see Chap. XXXVII, 24, 25).

² Reading avâ-sêdâ-mînîsnôîh, but it is possible that avâ may have originally been khavdak, for the Av. khavzô, 'male paramour,' of Vend. VIII, 99, 103 (trans. D.).

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1. *As to* the seventy-third question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Is *there any* discomfiture (*vântdârth*) of the archangels from that stench, or not?

2. The reply is this, that the archangels are immortal and undistressed; their place, also, is in that best existence of light, all-glorious, all-delightful, *and* undisturbed; and the strength of the stench due to the demons¹ does not reach unto *anything* pertaining to the archangels. 3. The archangels are omniscient², friendly to the creatures, persistent, *and* procure forgiveness; they know that heinous practice which is the heinous practice³ of that wretched dupe (*friftakö*) who *has* become defiled in that most filthy manner (*zisttûm ârang*), which is like that which is provided *and* which is applied to him even in the terrible punishment⁴ that *has* come upon him from the demons; and then, on account of *their* friendliness to the creatures, it *has*

¹ Reading *az-sêdâikö*, but it may be *âz-sêdâikö*, 'of the demon of greediness,' or it may stand for *khaṽdak-sêdâikö*, 'of a male paramour of the demons,' as mentioned in the last note.

² Omniscience with regard to what is taking place in the world being an indispensable characteristic of any being to whom prayers are addressed, or whose intercession is implored.

³ These words are thus repeated in K35, and the repetition may be correct.

⁴ Referring probably to the punishment of such a sinner, detailed in AV. XIX, 1-3, as follows:—'I saw the soul of a man, through the fundament of which soul, as it were, a snake, like a beam, went in, and came forth out of the mouth; and many other snakes ever seized all the limbs.'

seemed to them severe, and thereby arises their forgiveness which is according to whatever anguish is owing to the torment which galls him.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1. *As to* the seventy-fourth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Do the angels have *his* dead *body* restored, or not?

2. The reply is this, that *there* was a high-priest who said that the angels do not have *his* dead *body* restored, because of the sin of the mutually-polluting, full of stench, and inglorious victims (khvâ-plâdân)¹, the terrible kind of means for the exculpation of creatures², and that practice when males keep specially imperfect in *their* duty; it *being* then suitable for mankind to become *free* from him who—like Az-î Dahâk³, who wanted many most powerful demons—resists *and* struggles, and is not possessing the perception to extract (patkasistanö) a pardon, owing to the course of many demoniacal causes.

3. But innumerable multitudes (amarakânthâ), happily persevering⁴ in diligence, have with united observation, unanimously, *and* with mutual assistance (ham-bangisnâhâ) insisted upon this, that they have the dead *bodies* of all men restored; for

¹ Victims of the deceptions practised by the demons (see Chaps. LXXIII, 3, LXXIV, 3); but the reading is uncertain.

² Probably the punishment of the wicked in hell.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 97.

⁴ Reading farukhvö-tûshisn, but it may be perkhûntö dahisn, 'having begged the boon;' and M14 has pôryôdke-shânö, 'of those of the primitive faith.'

the good creator, granting forgiveness *and* full of goodness, would not abandon any creature to the fiend¹. 4. In revelation (dñnð) it is said that every dead *body* is raised up, both of the righteous and of the wicked²; *there* is none whom they shall abandon to the fiend.

5. And this, also, is thus decided by them³, that even *as to* him *who* is most grievously sinful, when he becomes mentally *seeking* pardon *and* repentant of the sin, *and, being* as much an atoner as *he* is well able, *has* delivered *up his* body *and* wealth for retribution *and* punishment, in reliance upon the atonement for sin of the good religion, then it is possible *for* his soul, also, to come to the place of the righteous⁴.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1. *As to* the seventy-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* him who shall slay those who shall commit unnatural intercourse, how is then his account as to good works and crime?

2. The reply is this, that the high-priests, in *their* decision, *have* thus specially said, that all worthy of death are *so* by the decision of judges and the

¹ Except for temporary punishment in hell. All ideas of the vindictiveness of implacable justice are foreign to the Mazda-worshipper's notion of the good creator.

² Compare Bd. XXX, 7.

³ Probably by the 'multitudes' of § 3.

⁴ By delivering up his body and wealth to the will of the high-priest, as an atonement, and mentally renouncing his sins, he is saved from hell, and the beneficial effect of any good works he may have performed returns to him (see Sls.VIII, 5).

command of kings, whose business is execution. 3. Whoever shall slay him who *has* heinous sins¹ after controversies three times with him, about the decision of those acquainted with the religion *and about* the command of kings, when he *has* thus remained in the sin in defiance of his own relations—and not inimically to the man *and* injuriously to the religion, but inimically to the sin *and* in order to keep away intercourse with demons—is to consider *it* as a great good work. 4. No command is given about the decision of *what one* is to do *in* the same matter, more heedfully and more authorisedly in *cases of* doubtful attention, for the good work exists undoubtedly more *and* more abundantly².

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1. *As to* the seventy-sixth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Will you direct *some one* then to make the heinousness of this sin of unnatural intercourse clear to us?

2. The reply is this, that the first material creature *was* the righteous man, the smiter of the fiend, the righteous propitiator; so, also, in the world *he* is more recognising the sacred beings, more completely (*hamâktar*) for the production of creatures,

¹ Reading *vinâsânô*, as in M14, instead of the doubtful word *vashkîsn*, which might perhaps be compared with Pers. *buzhis*, 'opposition.'

² The meaning is that no one is bound to put such sinners to death until they are condemned by the authorities, but should one do so upon his own responsibility, entirely for the good of the faith, and certain of the impenitence of the sinners, he is not only free from blame, but has done a meritorious deed.

and with more provision for the creatures¹. 3. And with the manifestation of knowledge the best duty is that which *exists* in lawfully practising procreation, *and* the complete progression of righteous men arose therefrom.

4. In like manner he who is the omniscient creator formed mankind in the first pair, who were brother and sister, *and* became Mashyâth and Mashyâyôth², and all races of material life *exist* by means of acquiring sons and *his* omnisciently causing procreation. 5. The man and woman *were* also made to lust (gâmîntdö) by him, and thereby *became* the father and mother of material men; and he naturalized among primitive man the qualities of a desire (âlûdanö) for acquiring sons together through glorifying. 6. And the law *and* religion authorised it as a proper wish, so long as *they proceed* from those who are their own *relations*, not from those who are not their own; and with those whom next-of-kin marriages³, original duties, and desires for other sons have formed, complete progress in the world is connected, and even unto the time of the renovation *of the universe*⁴, it is to arise therefrom. 7. And the birth of many glorious practisers of the religion, those confident in spirit, organizers of the realm, arrangers of the country, *and* even accom-

¹ Reading val-dâm-nîvârisnôîhâtar; the syllables -âtar being written separately M₁₄ has val dâm-nîvârisnîh aîyyâd-tar, 'more remembering the provision for the creatures.' Promoting the increase of, and providing maintenance for, good creatures are considered to be important good works.

² Here written Mashyâ and Mashyâyâôth, but see Chaps. XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 2.

³ See Chap. LXV.

⁴ See Chap. II, 8.

plishers of the renovation of the universe, which arises from those same to whom that practice shall be law—and when it occurs lawfully—is a miracle and benefit of the world, the will of the sacred beings and the utmost good work discernible, because the complete progress of the righteous arises therefrom, and the great female faculty (nakedth) is manifested.

8. So when the opponent of the same, by whom the source of seed and procreation is spoiled, is intent upon a way for the death of progeny—and the intention is certain—its annihilation is owing to him¹; and he is the devastating fiend², whose will is a desire of depopulation and ruin, and by the power of his Ntyâz (*demon of 'want'*)³ he turns imperceptibly the esteem of the very indispensable production of men from the position of wishing for sons to a creature⁴ who is opposed to it, through whom have arisen its ruin and corruption. 9. And the nature and power which are his cherishing of progeny are not suitable for receiving seed, and misrepresented (drôkîniðö) by him is the accompanying evil intercourse, so that emitting the seed (shûdak), in delivering it at that time into that burning place, full of stench, is to produce its death, and no procreation occurs.

10. The dupes⁵ turn the living seed from mingling with women and seeking for births, just as in the like vice of any demon, connected with a longing

¹ A free translation of *agas lôîtö*, which phrase is placed at the end of the section in the Pahl. original.

² The evil spirit.

³ See Chap. XXXVII, 52.

⁴ M14 has 'to a member.'

⁵ Of the fiend.

for the dupes¹, they shall abandon that advantage of the world, the delights (vâyagânö) of a son². 11. He who is wasting seed makes a practice of causing the death of progeny; when the custom is completely continuous, which produces an evil³ stoppage of the progress of the race, the creatures *have* become annihilated; *and* certainly, that action, from which, when it is universally proceeding, the depopulation of the world must arise, *has* become and furthered (frârâstö) the greatest wish of Aharman⁴. 12. Such a practiser is the greatest wish of Aharman, through the demon's excretion⁵ of doubt *in* the practice, owing to intercourse with the emitter, *which* is most filthy and most fetid, and the emitting member, which is causing death; and the demoniacal practice⁶ is perceptible even from the same practice, and whatever is the heinousness *of* the sinfulness is clear to observers of the dead *body*.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1. *As to* the seventy-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* the nature of the heinousness *and* sinfulness of committing adultery, *and* the worldly retribution specified *for it* in revela-

¹ Such men are said to become paramours of the demons (see Vend. VIII, 102-106), as further alluded to in § 12.

² M14 has 'seeking a son.'

³ Reading dahêd vad, but M14 has yâityûntö, 'brought a,' and may be right.

⁴ See Chap. XXXVII, 10.

⁵ Reading rîkhîh, but M14 has râsîh, 'course.'

⁶ In hell.

tion, *will* you then direct *some one* to point out to us the modes¹ of retribution for it?

2. The reply is this, that it is adultery, heinous *and* vicious, which first Dahâk *used* to commit, and *he* is known by the illicit intercourse which *was* his desire with Vadak², who *was his* mother, in the lifetime of Aûrvadâsp³, who *was* his father, without⁴ the authority of Aûrvadâsp, who was the husband of Vadak whose practising of sin, unauthorisedly *and* injudiciously, *was* itself heinous *and* very frequent.

3. And its modes *of* theft or spoliation are just as much more heinous than other theft *and* spoliation as a man *and* that which arises from his procreation of man are greater than the position of property.

4. One is this, that *it* is important to consider with steadfastness the courtesan life of the adulteress *and* the bad disposition assuredly *and* undoubtedly therein; she causes pillage unauthorisedly, and in *her* practice, also, intercourse during menstruation, owing to *its* resembling the burning of seed, is a frightful kind of handiwork (dastô).

¹ M₁₄ has 'the various modes.'

² This is evidently the name written Udaî in Pâz. in Bd. XXXI, 6, who was, therefore, the *daughter* of Bayak; the fact of her being the mother of Dahâk is more clearly expressed in the Pahlavi text of Chap. LXXII, 5.

³ This is the name written Khrûtâsp in Bd. XXXI, 6, which is a Pâz. reading, though confirmed by the Pahl. form in TD (as Udaî is, to some extent, by the Pahl. Aûd of TD). This Aûrvadâsp, whose name can also be read Khûrûtâsp, must be distinguished from his namesake, the father of Vistâsp, whose name became corrupted into Lôharâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 28, 29).

⁴ K₃₅ omits *avik*, 'without,' here, but has it in Chap. LXXII, 5. Without this particle the meaning would be 'who *was* the high-priest of his father, Aûrvadâsp.'

5. One is this, that it may be *that* she becomes pregnant by that intercourse, *and has* to commit on her child¹ the murdering of progeny.

6. One is this, that it may be in pregnancy, *by* her coming to intercourse *with* another man, *that* the living child which is in her womb has died through that intercourse.

7. One is this, that it may be that she becomes pregnant by that intercourse, *and* the pregnancy *having* given indications, through shame or fear she swallows a drug² [and seeks a remedy, and murders the child in *her* womb.

8. One is this, that it may] be that a woman who is foreign or infidel, and becomes pregnant by that intercourse, gives birth to a child, *and* it has grown up with the child which is known *to belong to* the husband of the woman, *and* remains in foreign habits (an-aīrīh) or infidelity. 9. The committer of the illicit intercourse is as unobservant and grievously sinful as *he* who shall lead his own child from *his* native habits (aīrīh) and the good religion into foreign habits and infidelity; as to the sin which that child may commit in childhood *he* is the sinner, and as to that which it may commit in manhood *he* is equally sinful with it. 10. Also, if that child be put to death in childhood, *and* be passed through water, rain, *or* fire, *or* be buried in the well-yielding earth³, *he* is an equally vicious murderer, *and* is defiled thereby through *being* the invisible causer.

¹ M14 has '*and* with the assistance of another man *she has* so to commit on her child of that pregnancy.' The interpolation is clumsy, and does not make the sentence easier to translate.

² The passage which follows, in brackets, is from M14; there being evidently something omitted from K35 at this point.

³ The contamination of water, rain, fire, or earth, by contact with

11. Likewise, if he who is a man of the good religion accustoms a woman to illicit intercourse, *and* through adultery a child is born and grows up, even then to practise undutifully that which undutifulness committed is to make a wretched *and* clandestine connection. 12. On account of the birth *having* occurred through illicit intercourse *it* is grievously sinful; through propriety *it* is praiseworthy, and through falsity *it* is sinful¹, *and* it is said that a bastard is not appointed in superintendence over *any one*. 13. *If* it be done so that pregnancy does not occur, even then every single time—not to mention the text (avistâk) *as to* the matter regarding the destruction of his own living seed²—*it is a sin of* two Tanâpûhars, which are six hundred stîrs³; *and* regarding that emission *it* is inexpressible (atanâpûhar)⁴.

a corpse, being considered a heinous sin (see Sls. II, 9, 50, 76, XIII, 19).

¹ That is, procuring the birth of a legitimate child is highly meritorious, but an illegitimate birth is sinful.

² Referring probably to Vend. VIII, 77–82, which states that the voluntary waste of seed is an inexpressible sin, as mentioned at the end of this section.

³ A Tanâpûhar (Av. tanuperetha) sin was originally one that required the sinner to place his body at the disposal of the high-priest, in order to atone for it; but it was not necessarily a sin worthy of death, or mortal sin. At the time when the Vendidâd was written, such a sin was punished by two hundred lashes of a horse-whip or scourge (see Vend. IV, 72). Subsequently, when the Vendidâd scale of punishments was converted into a scale of weights, for estimating the amounts of sins and good works, a Tanâpûhar sin was estimated at three hundred stîrs (σταιήρ) of four dirhams (δραχμή) each (see Sls. I, 1, 2). The weight of 600 stîrs was probably about that of 840 rūpîs, or 21½ lbs. (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

⁴ That is, a sin which cannot be atoned for even by giving up one's body for execution. Anâpûhar in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 82.

14. As much on account of the conversation as on account of the companionship *of* the man who goes unto various women, for the sake of a man's sin, and is unatoning, *should* his own body be also defiled with bodily refuse (hīgar-hômōnd)¹, or *should* those kinds of harm be not *kept* away from another², even then every single time of the bodily refuse bringing harm to his own body is *a sin of sixty stīrs*³, and through making his own body defiled with bodily refuse is each *time a sin of sixty stīrs*; and if he washes with water that defilement with his own bodily refuse, or that which is harmed *thereby*, every single time *it is a sin of six hundred*⁴ stīrs.

15. And if it be a foreign or infidel woman, apart from the sinfulness *about* which *I have* written, *it* is a sin of sixty stīrs on account of not controlling the sins *and* vicious enjoyment of the foreign woman.

16. And, finally, the other various sins which are owing to *this* sin are very numerous, *and* grievous to thousands of connections, and *it* is thereby contaminating to them *in* a fearful manner.

17. The retribution is renunciation *of sin* in procuring pardon; and the renunciation in his turning from equally grievous disobedience⁵, every single

¹ See Chap. XLVIII, 19.

² M14 has 'or he does not wash those harmful kinds of bodily refuse,' which is inconsistent with what follows.

³ This is the estimated weight of a Khôr sin, originally the crime of inflicting a severe hurt, ranging from a bruise to a wound or broken bone not endangering life (see Sls. I, 1, 2). The weight was probably equal to that of 84 rūpīs.

⁴ M14 has 'three hundred.'

⁵ Reading asrûstīh as in M14, instead of the aītrôistôih of K35. Possibly the latter word might be read 3-trôistôih, 'the

time that *he turns* from similar viciousness, and as an atonement for the sin, is to arrange, or order, four (arbâ) marriages of the next of kin to his own wife, lawfully, authorisedly, and most hopeful of offspring. 18. Through fear of the grievous sinfulness which *I have* recounted, *in case of* a child of those of the good religion who has no giver of shame¹, and to keep lawfully in subjection a child who is under control, he who is unnurtured is lawfully given nurture, *and* is nominated for lawfully bringing up. 19. And to turn a man *or* woman of bad disposition, by eulogy and entreaty, or ² *by* distress (fangîm) and fear and other representations, from that bad disposition *and* vicious habit; to order next-of-kin marriage³ and all the religious rites (hamâk dînô), the Dvâzdah-hômâst⁴, the ceremony *in honour* of the waters⁵, and the *presentation of* holy-water to the fires⁶; to remove the burden of offspring⁷ which is distressing those of the good religion, and to force them from the infidelity acquired, which is a very atoning atonement for such sins, are extremely proper proceedings (avîr-farhakhtîkîh).

passing away of the three *nights*,’ referring to the Av. phrase thrityau khshapô thraosta, ‘on the passing away of the third night,’ in Hn. II, 18; the three nights are those immediately after death, while the soul is supposed to remain hovering about the body, thinking over its sins, and dreading the approaching judgment of the angel Rashnu; but previous renunciation of sin would relieve it from much of this dread.

¹ That is, one not born in shame, but a legitimate child. M14 has shîr, ‘milk,’ substituted for sharm, ‘shame.’

² M14 has ‘woman of family with extending sins or bad disposition.’

³ See Chap. LXV.

⁴ Probably the Âbân Nyâyis.

⁵ By assisting in their support.

⁶ See Chap. XLVIII, 25.

⁷ Probably the Âtas Nyâyis.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1. *As to the seventy-eighth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the decision about water with the word Ithâ¹ and him who shall drink it?* 2. When a man *has performed his ritual and does not take the prayer (vâgð) inwardly, but drinks water with the word Ithâ, what is the decision about this efficacy² of which he takes up one half and abandons one half, how is it necessary, or not, to consider it, and what is the sin of it?* 3. *As to him who performs half, or less than half, of the efficacy, and drinks water with the word Ithâ, what is the retribution for this sin when he shall commit it occasionally, and what is good in order that this sin, when he shall commit it, may depart from its source?*

¹ The first word of Yas. V, 1, 2 which forms the first portion (after the invocation) of the inward prayer, or grace, to be muttered before eating or drinking. This first portion may be translated as follows: 'Here then we praise Ahura-mazda, who gave (or created) both cattle and righteousness, he gave both water and good plants, he gave both the luminaries and the earth, and everything good.' This is followed by three Ashem-vohûs, each meaning as follows: 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to the angel of perfect rectitude.' After muttering these formulas, or 'taking' them inwardly as a protective spell, the mutterer can eat or drink, and after washing his mouth he 'speaks out' the spell or vâg by reciting certain other formulas aloud. This chapter refers to those who mutilate the vâg by muttering only its first word or words, which matter is also treated in Sls. V.

² Supposing that this word, which may be twice read mâânâê and four times mâênâê, represents the Ar. ma'hni, but this is by no means certain.

4. *As to him* who has performed his Nâbar¹ ritual, and drinks water with the word Ithâ, not muttering (andâkô) the *inward* prayer (vâgô), and performs a ceremony (yastô), though he does not order a ceremony of Gêtô-kharid² for himself, is the decision then *about* him anything better, or not; and does the good work of this ceremony of Gêtô-kharid become just the same as *that* of the Nâbar ceremony, or not? 5. *As to him* who orders a ceremony of Gêtô-kharid for³ himself, what is then his good work, and what is the value⁴ of his worthiness when he does not himself perform because he orders that they should perform for him? 6. And *as to him* who has not performed his ceremony, and is fifteen years *old*, what is then the decision *about* him?

7. The reply is this:—When a man *who has* chanted the Gâthas ('hymns')⁵ drinks water with the word Ithâ, if, moreover, *being* preservable from suffering⁶, he be not a righteous *one* overwhelmed by impotence, it is thus said that, when *in order* to consecrate the sacred cake (drônô)⁷ it is not possible

¹ The initiatory ceremony of a young priest, written nâfbar or nâgbar in this chapter, and sometimes nônâbar (Pahl. navak nâfbar).

² This ceremony, which means 'the world-purchased,' and by which, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven,' lasts three days, and is performed by two priests; the first day's ceremonies are those of the Nônâbar, those of the second are of the angel Srôsh, and those of the third are of the Sîrôzah, or angels of the thirty days of the month (see Bd. XXX, 28 n).

³ Reading râf instead of lâ, 'not.'

⁴ Reading var-kâ, instead of va naked, 'female,' which is much like it in Pahl. letters.

⁵ And is, therefore, an initiated priest.

⁶ M₁₄ has 'from impotent suffering.'

⁷ See Chap. XXX, 1.

to take the prayer *inwardly*, and *there* are no presentations of it for the tasting of the virtuous *with inward* prayer¹, or for the sake of relieving the sickness of a righteous person, which has come severely, when it is possible for him *to say* 'Ithâ' and one 'Ashem-vohû²', or it is possible for him to say 'Ashem,' *he* is to recite that which it is possible for him to speak, and *he* is to drink or eat³ the water, or food, or medicine which is discreetly his, and may be the custom of his body and life⁴.

8. But the sinfulness of *him* who *has* drunk water with the *word* Ithâ, not owing to suffering, is much the most sinful, except this efficacy of which *you have* written that, *having* taken up⁵ one half, they shall abandon one half; for, when in eating the efficacy is possessed in that manner, *it* is then a chattering meal which is a very grievous sin⁶. 9. Every single drop (pashan)⁷ which in that manner comes to the

¹ Reading *vâgõ atôfdâdagân-î nadûgânõ*, which M14 has altered to mean 'and if in his state of hunger and thirst.'

² Merely the first words of the two formulas which constitute the inward prayer, or *vâg* (see § 1 n).

³ M14 has only '*he* is to eat.'

⁴ M14 has 'and is authorisedly to preserve his own body.'

⁵ Reading *frâg*, as in M14 and § 2, instead of *pavan*, 'in;,' though the reading 'in taking up' is quite possible.

⁶ The sin of *drâyân-gûyisnîh*, 'eagerness for chattering,' which arises from talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (*vâg*) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out. The sin arises from breaking the spell of the inward prayer (see Sl. V).

⁷ Comp. Av. *parshuya* and Pers. *pashang*, *bashang*. This word has been misread *yazisn*, 'ceremony,' in Sl. V, 3, 4, which ought to stand as follows:—'It is unseasonable chatter for every single drop; *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâ-pûhar *sin*; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less,

mouth *as* a new taste is *a sin* of three stirs¹, and every single *thing* which is spoken like that word² is a sin of three stirs, which is mentioned as the minimum.

10. The retribution is that way well perfected when, in renunciation of that sin which attacks, a proper efficacy is prepared *and* becomes a vestige (vûnakö) of the sin of the performer. 11. Whoever is not able to arrange it in this manner is to entreat the prayers of three men with a donation of wealth, and is to solemnize his Nônâbar *ceremony*³, or he is to consecrate a sacred cake every day in the ceremonial place, to eat food lawfully, *and* to order the proper maintenance of the efficacy. 12. The assistance of performing the proper rituals through ordering the Nâbar *ceremony*, and the helping existence of discharging the burden of the trouble of a populous household seem to me suitable for the atonement of such-like sin, through the will of the sacred beings.

some *have* said three Srôshô-karanâms. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; this is where every single drop, or every single morsel, or every single taste is not completed.'

¹ The stir is evidently taken here as equivalent to the Srôshô-karanâm of Sls. V, 3 (see the last note). A sin of three Srôshô-karanâms, 'lashes with a scourge,' is called a Farmân, and is usually the least degree of sin of which notice is taken; its amount is variously estimated (see Sls. IV, 14, X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 1, 5), but the value given here, in the text, is very likely correct, and is equivalent to about 4½ rūpîs, either in weight or amount (see Chap. LII, 1 n).

² The word Ithâ. M14 has 'every single time it is spoken in tasting with an efficacy like that word,' but the meaning of this is not clear.

³ See § 4.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1. *As to* the seventy-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Concerning him who does not order *ceremonies* what is then the decision?

2. The reply is this, that, excepting those among which is specially the selected religious rite (dînô) of him whose ceremony is not performed—who, even though *having* many good works, does not afterwards attain unto the supreme heaven, which is determined¹—this, moreover, is thus said, that he who is not able to perform his ritual himself, when he orders a Gêtd-kharid² *ceremony* and they shall perform *it*, can become *fit* for the supreme heaven (garôdmânfkô); this is greatly to be commended.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. *As to* the eightieth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: What is the purpose of this *ceremony for* the living soul³, *and* why⁴ is it necessary

¹ It is the general opinion that if the proper ceremonies are not performed during the three days after a death (see Chap. XXVIII) the deceased cannot attain to the highest grade of heaven; this is, however, denied by some of the commentators (see Sls. VI, 3-6).

² See Chap. LXXIX, 4 n.

³ Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji, the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay, informs me that every Parsi is bound to perform, or get performed, every year during his or her lifetime, ceremonies for three days in honour of his or her soul, analogous to those performed during the three days after a death. These Zindah-ravân, or Srôsh, ceremonies are generally ordered on the first three Fravardîgân holidays, extending from the twenty-sixth to the twenty-eighth day of the last month of the Parsi year.

⁴ Reading maman râf, as in M14; K35 has lâ 'not,' instead of râf, 'for.'

to order *it*? 2. And, whenever *one* orders it, how is it necessary then to order it, how is it best when they celebrate *it*, and what is its great advantage as a good work?

3. The reply is this, that worship with the ceremonial *for* those newly passed away, *during* the three days which *they spend* in the account¹, is suitable for the discreet, just as the protection with nourishment of those newly born, in their infancy, is also much more suitable for the discreet. 4. He is a truly discreet man through whom *there* is ceremonial for the three *days*, on account of his own father, and privileged wife, and infant child, *and* well-behaved servant, on *their* passing away; and it is indispensable to order the triple ceremonial of the three days.

5. This, too, is said: where it is not possible to solemnize his three *days*, or they solemnize *them* afterwards, when information *of the death* arrives², three days are to be solemnized as a substitute *for* those three. 6. For the good work of the ceremonial which is ordered by him himself, or bequeathed by him, or is his *through* consenting to it by design³, exists—even though it is thus possible that it will be conducted afterwards—whenever it comes into progress; therefore he is exalted for it at his account

¹ See Chaps. XXIV, XXV.

² M14 has 'or they do not solemnize *them*, after which the information arrives,' which is clearly inconsistent with the context. When a person dies away from home, and the ceremonies are not performed on the spot, they must be performed at his home immediately after information of his death arrives, and the three succeeding days are considered as representing the three days after the death (see Sls. XVII, 6).

³ Comp. Chap. VIII, 5.

in the three *days*, and it comes on for his *being* exalted. 7. When that which is conducted afterwards comes on for aiding *his being* exalted in the three *days* of the account, that which *was* conducted by him himself beforehand is more hopeful *and* more certain of being exalted in that position.

8. On account of there being also a diminution (altö-*k* gahtdârlh) of risk about their own souls, in the event of (min zak algh hat) their children not ordering the three *days' ceremonial*, or it not being possible to solemnize *it* at that time, it is desirable to order, in their own lifetime and *at* their own convenience, *the ceremony for* their own living souls, advisedly, without doubt, and *having* appointed the *mode of* life of the three *days*, and also to appoint by will him who is to conduct *it* in the end. 9. And when both are conducted, the increase of good works and exaltation, though the end is not possible, or is not proceeded *with*—and the previous good works are commendable, and, therefore, preservatory—*has* reached even unto the most lordly wishes.

10. *As to* the man *with* great *and* powerful children, to whom the ceremonial of the three *days* for himself *at* the final day, *and* also the progress of many good works *have* seemed certain, *but* on account of yet another way to freedom from doubt effectually (frârâstlhâ) existing, he *has* bequeathed the conduct of the three *days' ceremonial*, and also other good works, unto *his* children, in order that *the ceremony for* the living soul *may be* conducted *at* the final day, with him the angels are in triumph, the glory of the religion in the most lordly glory, *and* the solemnizers of ceremonial worship are many.

11. Then, moreover, owing to the contest of the

demons—so unjust that *on* the day of his passing *away* it is due to the uncleanness (apâdyâvîh) which *has* attained unto *its full* extent¹—all the solemnizers *in* the country, of the acts of worship solemnized, *may have* become thoroughly doubtful of the worship, and until it goes on to the disciples, and the ceremony is prepared, it is not proper to perform the whole ceremonial; in that way is manifested the great advantage *and* commendableness which *arises* from that ceremony *for* his living soul.

12. The nature of *the ceremony* ordered *for* the living soul is a counterpart of the three *days*, so *it* is needful that *at* all times of the three days *and* nights, successively emancipative (avadîgtînisnik), a ceremonial *in honour* of Srôsh² *be* always conducted, and *that* it proceed; and a fire is lighted in the ceremonial, and the clean ligature of the limbs is to be tied. 13. As a rule it is so considered that³ in the three days *there* are fifteen⁴ ceremonies (yastanô) *in honour* of Srôsh, and three sacred cakes (drôn)⁵ which are consecrated in each dawn (bâm-1) with various dedications; and the fourth day they solemnize the Visparad⁶, the portion⁷ of the righteous guardian spirits (ardât fravardô). 14. And there

¹ The corpse being considered utterly unclean.

² See Chap. XIV, 4.

³ The following clause, about the three days, is omitted in M14, which skips from 'that' to 'the fourth day.'

⁴ The Pers. Rivâyats merely say that four priests are employed, two at a time, so as to relieve each other in the continuous series of ceremonies for three days and nights.

⁵ See Chap. XXX, 1.

⁶ Here written Visparêdô (see Chap. XLV, 6).

⁷ Reading bôn, instead of nûb; M14 omits the word.

are fugitives of families of the period, *and* other still further diminishers¹ of good works, who *have* wished to produce the wealth which is necessary to perform advantageously, as a custom of the soul in those three days, one *celebration* of all the religious rites (hamâk dînô) *in honour* of Srôsh, *and* the consecration of three sacred cakes for Srôsh every day; and the third night, at dawn², the consecration of a sacred cake *dedicated in* three modes. 15. In accomplishing the *consecration of the* sacred cake specially for the righteous guardian spirits, *on* the fourth day, *one* is supposed to order a Dvâzdah-hômâst³ *in honour* of the righteous guardian spirits, *and* the rest of the ceremonial.

16. And *he* who *has* intended much more laudably is declared *as* the more devout and more judicious of worshippers; and for the sake of the ceremonial he is cleansed by the Bareshnûm ceremony⁴, *and* is to practise other descriptions of cleanliness as regards *his* body and clothing. 17. While in the performance of the ceremonial, bread *made* from corn which is ground *by* those of the good

¹ M14 has 'there are ghostly observers of the families of the period, *and* many other teachers.' But the original meaning was, no doubt as in K35, that there were many persons at that period who would have been glad to possess the means of ordering even a small portion of the proper rites for the dead.

² That is, at dawn on the fourth day. The rites here mentioned seem to have been considered as the minimum that could be approved.

³ See Chap. XLVIII, 25.

⁴ A tedious ceremony of purification, lasting nine nights and detailed in Vend. IX, 1-145 (see App. IV). Its name is the Av. word which commences the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person (Vend. IX, 48), and means 'the top' of the head.

religion, wine from that made *by* those of the good religion, *and* meat from the animal¹ which is slaughtered in the ceremonial are eaten; *and one* is to proceed into the abode of fires² and of the good, *and* to abstain from the rest of the other places which are dubious³ *and* food which is dubious. 18. And with that thorough heedfulness *one* is to conduct and order that ceremonial in the abode of the ever-growing fire, or other fire of Varahrân⁴; whereby his numerous good works are effectual, *and* the path of good works⁵ is very broad. 19. Concerning⁶ the suffering of *him* whose capability in that which is his preserving efficacy⁷ is less, it is thus revealed, that not he who is righteous is overwhelmed, as *it were* unwilling, by incapability⁸.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1. *As* to the eighty-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As* to a man who shall order a ceremonial *and* shall give the money (diram), and the man who shall undertake his ceremonial

¹ A goat or sheep is meant by gôspend here.

² The fire temple, in, or near, which the priests ('the good') reside.

³ Or, var-hômand may mean 'open to choice,' but it is generally used as the opposite of aêvar, 'certain.'

⁴ Sacred fire (see Chap. XXXI, 7).

⁵ Over the Kinvad bridge (see Chap. XXI, 5).

⁶ Reading râf, instead of lâ, 'not,' here, and *vice versa* further on in the sentence, as in M14.

⁷ That is, in good works. M14 omits the word 'less.'

⁸ The construction of this quotation is suggestive of its being a literal translation from the Avesta.

and shall take his money, *but has* not performed the ceremonial, what is then the decision; and what is then the decision *about* the man who ordered the ceremonial?

2. The reply is this, that the merit of a ceremonial not performed is not set going, and does not come to the soul of the undertaker who shall take money for it, *nor* even *to* that of the orderer who gave money for it. 3. But, *as to* him who is the orderer, since his mental meritoriousness is so steadfast that he gave his money, the efficacy (tûbân) of the good work, mentally his own, *has* not stayed *away* from him, because he gave money authorisedly for the good work; the decision, then, *about* him is such as *about him* to whom harm occurs in performing a good work for the religion. 4. It is said that the angels so recompense him that he does not consider it as *any* other harm; and as much as the good money given¹ for the sacred feast² *and* ceremonial is then the pleasure *which* comes unto his soul, as much as would have been possible to arise in the world from that money.

5. And he who shall take his money, and did not perform his ceremonial, is just as though he had abstracted from the angels³ and the righteous guardian spirits, *and* destroyed, as much propitiation as would have been possible from that ceremonial; and he is, therefore, overwhelmed by it⁴, and expiates *it* in the soul.

¹ M14 has 'the money given by him,' which may be correct.

² See Chap. XLVII, 1.

³ K35 has 'the good.'

⁴ Or, we might perhaps read 'thereby it is his overwhelming (astarîdô),' supposing astarîdô to be a technical term implying a

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1. *As to* the eighty-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus : Is it necessary for a priestly man ¹ *that* he should undertake all the religious rites and other ceremonials, or in what way is it ?

2. The reply is this, that a priestly man should necessarily undertake all the religious rites *and* other ceremonials, because the deciding and advising performers of the ceremonial, *these* same priestlymen, well understand the merit *or* demerit, the propriety *or* impropriety, of the ceremonial. 3. When the undertaker *and* conductor of all the religious rites is a priestly man, *one* is more hopeful of *their* progress in merit.

4. *As to* the priestly man who shall undertake all the religious rites, if *he be* living comfortably (hû-zîvisnô) on a share of our house-rulership²,

flogging, as appears probable from a passage in Farh. Okh. p. 34, ll. 1, 2, which, when restored to its form in the oldest MSS., runs as follows:—Astarîdanô âskârîh astaraspân snas pavan vinâs, which may be translated 'the manifestation of "overwhelming" is the blow of horsewhips for sin;' assuming that astarasp is equivalent to aspô astar, the usual translation of Av. aspahê astraya, 'with a horsewhip.'

¹ The term magavôg-gabrâ probably means strictly 'a man of a priestly family,' as distinguished from a priest appointed from the laity, an appointment that seems to have been occasionally made in former times (see Bd. Introd. p. xxxiii, note 1). According to the Nîrangistân any virtuous man or woman can perform certain priestly duties under certain circumstances (see Sls. X, 35), but would not, of course, be magavôg, 'priestly, or of priestly family.'

² Reading mânpatîh, instead of magôpatîh, 'priesthood,' which words are often confounded in Pahlavi, being written very nearly alike. And assuming that hatôm, 'if my,' stands for hatômân, 'if our;' M14 has atûkshsh, 'without exertion,' but hatôs, 'if his,' would be a more probable emendation, as it occurs in the next section.

village-rulership, tribe-rulership, and province-rulership, and his needful support of religion remain the consideration as to his living comfortably, and he have no need for the stipend of all the religious rites, then the rule for him is to distribute properly that recompense of the sacred feast¹, which is to be given *for* all the religious rites, among the solemnizers². 5. If *it be* needful for him, the priestly man, as he is suitable, is not changed—whereby good management is not attained—and *if it be* needful even for his consideration of all those religious rites, his performance in the duty and ministration is then an approval of worthiness *and* management. 6. When they shall act so, all those religious rites are more meritoriously managed; and one day the solemnizers are brought from the fag-end (sar) into the rank of priestly manhood, which is the stipend for all the religious rites that they shall expressly take authorisedly, and are, therefore, worthy of it³.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

1. *As to* the eighty-third question and reply, that which you ask is thus: Is it desirable to give

¹ See Chap. XLVII, 1.

² That is, if the chief priest has already a sufficient income, he is not to appropriate the fees for such occasional ceremonies, but to distribute them among his assistants, who are the actual solemnizers.

³ That is, when the chief priest requires the fees for his own support, the reward of his assistants must be the fact that they are rendering themselves competent to undertake the responsibility of the chief priest at some future time.

in excess the gift *for* the ceremonial *which* it is not desirable to diminish?

2. The reply is this, that *it* is proper not to diminish a gift where *it is* the gift¹ for a ceremonial, and the reasons for it are many. 3. One is this, that a gift is the money which in another good work suffices for the accomplishment of the good work, *and* the good work of a righteous gift² is a great good work, *and* not to diminish *it* is sure worthiness among the explainers. 4. When the sacred feast³ *and* the gift for the ceremonial are supplied in excess, even that which is an excess of gift is an excess of liberality to the performers of the ceremonial, *and has* realized (frârâstö) an excess of good works that is commendable.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

1. *As to* the eighty-fourth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: *As to* a gift for the ceremonial *which* they do not reduce, and while they give *it* in excess, in what manner is then its great advantage, *and* how *and* in how many modes is it possible to occur?

2. The reply is this, that the advancement of the ceremonial of the sacred beings is by so much as the gift is more fully given; and the great advantage of the good work is more, and its reasons many, therefrom. 3. The desire of this wealth, which *has* come for the sake of the good work, is an experience

¹ M14 omits the repetition of the words aigh dahisnö-î.

² See Chap. XLIV, 19.

³ See Chap. XLVII, 1.

of the comfortable living of the angels, by whom the solemnizers are aggrandized, and is proper apart from *its* great judiciousness; to diminish *it* is improper.

4. When the gift *for* the ceremonial is abundantly given, the performers of the ceremonial, who, with much trouble annoying them, *have* solemnized the Avesta *and* chanted the hymns (Gâthas), and obtain the stipend of their solemnizing from the remuneration *of* the solemnization, are living comfortably, thriving, and blessed. 5. And also the undertakers of all the religious rites who, by means of the hope of rightful religion, render *one* certain as to the way *to* the distant awful place¹, and tempt the longers for righteousness into the religion², undertake all the religious rites *and* ceremonial *of* the sacred beings for the sake of the stipend of proper diligence.

6. And reasoning thought is cognizant as regards the advantageousness due to the undertakers and solemnizers of all the religious rites, and a great stipend is more obtained and observed *for them* than for *any* other profession. 7. The sons, too, of priests and disciples strive for the words prayed³, and are more eager for their prayers; and many, likewise, shall engage for all the religious rites, and become more diffusive of the religion (dīnō bālis-nīktar); and, in like manner, the proper, more attainable, *and* more propitious path of the good for saving the soul becomes wider⁴.

¹ The place of account (see Chap. XX, 3). Or, it may be, 'render one certain, in the course of time, regarding the awful place (hell).'

² M14 adds 'and acquire good works.'

³ That is, they are more diligent in learning the prayers by heart.

⁴ Referring to the *Kinvaḍ* bridge (see Chap. XXI, 5).

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1. *As to* the eighty-fifth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: What is possible to become the harm of a gift *that* is reduced?

2. The reply is this, that since *those things* are to be properly given which are for the religious rites of the ceremonial¹, and are the consideration of the undertakers of all the religious rites, and are also the stipend of some solemnizers, both² are living comfortably *by* the ceremonial. 3. The sons of the disciples *who* wanted approval for the words prayed, become so much the more to be ordered *and* to be accepted; and the ceremonial of all the religious rites becomes more progressive.

4. So, moreover, when they go to undertake the well-operating activity of the ceremonial for a diminution of remuneration *and* gift, and owing to undertaking *and* ordering again³, by way of routine (pavan dôr râs), they do not request so much stipend, *it is* as though they should buy my linen *and* should sell *it* again for their own payment (dâdanö). 5. *As to* the performers of the ceremonial, likewise, who *have* to acquire approval with much trouble and words prayed, and obtain a remuneration which, for the soul even, is as little *for* the ceremonial as though *one were* annoyed—whereby

¹ M14 has merely 'since the proper donation for the ceremonial.'

² That is, both the undertakers and solemnizers, the chief priest and his assistants.

³ Referring to a priest who undertakes ceremonies and then directs inferiors to perform them (see Chap. LXVI, 4, 6).

living is difficult—they become sorry for enduring the trouble, owing to lukewarmness (afsurdö-minisnñ) *in* the same profession. 6. And even the sons of the disciples shall sell linen for wages, and they rejoice *that* it is possible to learn other callings *with* less pains; and thus they make *them* become lukewarm *and* meditating retreat (avâz-âhang) from the words of fresh paragraphs continually prayed¹, from the approval requested of the learned (âzân), *and* from all the religious rites they should undertake *for* the contented.

7. *As to* those, moreover, who, through fervent-minded undertaking of *what* is ordered, request less *for* all the religious rites, *and have* not obtained² even that which is due *to them*, it is not even as though they ordered *of them* for the fiends³. 8. And the disgrace, too, of the orderers of good works of lukewarmness is the exaltation of the profession of the disciples; and its deficient progress becomes the paralysation of the ceremonial of the sacred beings for saving the souls of the good from the deadly *one* (mar).

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1. *As to* the eighty-sixth question and reply, that which you ask is thus: How is it good when they give a gift *for* the ceremonial?

¹ Literally 'prayed *and* prayed.'

² Reading ayâft, instead of the unintelligible ayâdt, as *d* has, no doubt, been written for *f*.

³ Meaning that the orderers would act more liberally if they wanted a ceremony even in honour of the fiends.

2. The reply is this, that as it is necessary, so that the ceremonial of the sacred beings *may* be more advanced, and such wealth *may* more come on to the good work, for the proper stipends of the undertakers *and* solemnizers—*that* they *may* become less lukewarm as regards the accompanying proprieties, and thereby diligent *in* performing *them*—and there is not in *it*¹ an express connection manifested with different work, and with that *which has* proceeded from so many previous good *people*, I deem the introduction *of it*² more expressly better.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1. *As to* the eighty-seventh question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus : *As* family householders we of the good religion of Irân, before each *celebration* of all the religious rites with holy-water³ which they have provided in the land⁴ of Pârs, have then always given for it a gift of 400 dirhams, *or* 350 dirhams⁵ *at* least. 2. And now if *we* should be needy, when we deduct something from the 400 dirhams, or from the 350 dirhams, of the gift for them, they would then not accept *it* from us, and speak thus : 'Less than 400, or than 350, dirhams we do not⁶ accept.' 3. *But* there are needy *men*

¹ The ceremonial. ² The gift. ³ See Chap. LXVI, 17.

⁴ Reading bûm, as in M14, instead of the barmanô, 'son,' of K35.

⁵ About 140 or 122½ rūpīs (see Chap. LII, 1 note). As in Chap. LXVI, the actual value of these sums of money depended upon the price of the necessities of life in the ninth century.

⁶ K35 repeats the negative, but whether this is a blunder, or intended to intensify the negation, is uncertain.

who always come to us themselves and speak thus : ' For 350 dirhams we will always twice conduct all the religious rites *and* ceremonial with holy-water such as *those* which you have always ordered before for 400 ; only order us.' 4. Would a needy *one*, *apart* from the priestly men *who* always say that they are not, be authorised, or not ?

5. The reply is this, that the priest *to whom* *your* predecessors *have* given a gift of 400 or 350 *dirhams*, for all the religious rites with holy-water, it is proper to consider particularly virtuous *and* faithful, when there is nothing else *about* him, on account of which he is otherwise. 6. A *celebration* of all the religious rites with holy-water, in which they shall use four pure animals¹—*and* just according to the teaching of the high-priests they present *to* every single fire from one animal *and* one holy-water—and the offering of holy-water unto the fire whose holy-water *it is*, and bringing it on to another fire *apart* from that holy-water, and the *ceremonial* cleansing of the holy-water they maintain by agreement in thy name, the superiors solemnize with approval, faithfully, and attentively ; *and* the remuneration of 350 dirhams would be a balancing of when they conduct the religious rite *at* the place of undertaking *it*, *and* when *it* is undertaken as regards a distant district².

7. In Artakhshatar-gadman³, within my memory,

¹ Sheep or goats.

² That is, it is a fair average charge.

³ The Huz. form of Ardāshîr-khurrah, the name given by Ardāshîr son of Pâpak, the first Sasanian king, to the city and district of Gôr, subsequently called Pîrûzâbâd (see Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, pp. 11, 19), about seventy miles south of Shîrâz.

they who would accept less than 300 dirhams¹ for it made a memorandum (*farhâng*), to keep in remembrance *that* 350 dirhams for all the religious rites performed *was* to be the rule declared by those of the religion *in* Artakhshatar-gadman. 8. Likewise, the glorified Âtûr-frôbag², *son* of Farâkhûzâd, who was the pre-eminent leader of those of the good religion, decided *in* the same manner.

9. And now, too, they always conduct those *rites* which are without holy-water for 150 dirhams, *or* even for 120 dirhams³; and the reason of it is the neediness of the disciples who, owing to that need, *and* in hope of obtaining more employment, always diminish *their demands*, *and* through deficient remuneration always become more needy, more importunate, and more moderate in desiring remuneration; and, in the course *of* the employment of resources and requesting *the charge* of all the religious rites, the labour and endurance of discipleship are exhausted.

10. And *as to* him who undertakes to conduct all the religious rites twice for 350 dirhams, if *he be* properly working *and* thoroughly reliable *for* the 350 dirhams *which* are always given him for the ceremonial of all the religious rites—just like those who would always undertake *them* once—and all the religious rites are conducted *and* secured twice, on

¹ About 105 rûpîs.

² The name of an early editor of the *Dinkard*, whose selections from various religious writings form the fourth and fifth books of that extensive work in its present form. He lived after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia, and probably in the eighth century of the Christian era.

³ That is, 52½ or 42 rûpîs.

account of the merit due to the continuous ceremonial of the sacred beings it is more authorisedly ordered of those who solemnize all the religious rites twice¹. 11. But *as* to *him* who would undertake all the religious rites twice for 350 dirhams, *but* is not able to conduct *them* unless he puts to it *some* of his own wealth, so that the progress *may be* acceptable to him as they conduct *them* through repetition, he should not undertake *them* owing to the reasons written in another chapter of ours², since *it tends* much more to neediness.

12. And more like unto the ancient sceptics (vimānakō) *have* become the disciples, among whom disagreement *and* enmity are produced, as is written in the same writing (khadû-gûn nâmakō)³; *and*, owing to admonishing words, these *become* enviousness and maliciousness unto the disciples, *and* trouble *and* disagreement less becoming among you and more contentious about you.

13. And at the time *in* which a great stipend existed, *they* contended with him through whose greatness *and* abundance of stipend their conflict was caused, one with the other, through envy; and now, too, they always squabble *about* his deficient stipend, by which they will tempt them, on account of *its* inadequacy, for the sake of a way for preserving life, as was shown by my metaphor in the other chapter⁴. 14. When those who, through need of *employment in the rites of* religion, or the recitations⁵

¹ This is also stated in Chap. LXVI, 32.

² See Chap. LXVI, 24-26.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Chap. LXVI, 28, 29.

⁵ It is uncertain whether these are the correct technical meanings of kêsh and dôr.

which are its wisdom, would at once produce enmity, and the friends of religion, are for each *of* two sides, *it* is important to look to the procuring of forgiveness, kind regards, and the progress of the elect (pasandakânö) in the duty of the faithful.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. *As to* the eighty-eighth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: When a man resolves within himself thus: '*In* the summer¹ time I *will* go into Pârs, and will give so much money for the high-priesthood, on account of the fires *and* other matters which are as greatly advantageous,' though he himself does not come into Pârs, *but* sends the money according to his intention, *or* in excess of it, unto the high-priests—so that he is like the great *who* send in excess of that unto the high-priests²—that, as the benefit is greater which is more maintained, they may provide for the fires of every kind *and* other matters, is then his proceeding of sending to Pârs, for that purpose, a sin, or not?

2. The reply is this, that if his coming be indispensable for the design he would undertake, then it is indispensable for him to accomplish his own mental undertaking; but in suffering which is excited *and* not avoidable, when *there* is really no possibility

¹ Assuming that hâ mân stands for hâ mînô.

² Mr 4 omits this phrase.

of his travelling himself, any one whom he sends in his place, more particularly on *that* account, is not acceptable by the approval of the angels who *have* realized the affliction in *his* good thought, but the good work is to be eagerly well-considered. 3. Good gifts, and every office (gâs) about good works which it is possible to perform, are what are commendable *in* the well-housed *man* that is not able to work *himself*¹; *they are* avoidable by him when not of good race, and are not indispensable for him whenever the good work is not announced. 4. When able to manage *it* himself *it* is better; and when otherwise, his appointment of a faithful *person* over *its* preparation, and *his* accomplishment of the work of selector are expedient.

CHAPTER XC.

1. *As to* the eighty-ninth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Who, and how many are they who are without the religion (adīnôth) *but* are made immortal, and for what purpose is their immortality? 2. Where is the place they, each one, possess sovereignty, and *in* the place where they possess sovereignty are *there* people of the good religion of every kind, or how are they; are *there* sacred fires² and appointed worship, or how is

¹ M₁₄ adds, 'he longs for good giving *and* good consideration; important *and* virtuous is he when able to do it;' but the sentence is hardly grammatical.

² Literally 'fires of Varahrân' (see Chap. XXXI, 7).

it; and for what purpose is each one of their sovereignties?

3. The reply is this, that the immortal rulers of the region of glory, Khvantras¹, are said *to be* seven: one is Yôstô, son of Fryân²; the Avesta name of one is Yakhmâyûsaz³, son of the same Fryân; the name of one is Fradhakhstô, son of the Khumbîks⁴; the name of one is Ashavazang, son of Pôrûdakhstôh⁵; one is the tree opposed to harm⁶;

¹ The central one of the seven regions of the earth, which is supposed to contain all the countries best known to the Irânians, and to be as large as the other six regions put together (see Bd. XI, 2-6). The name is here corrupted into Khvanâîras.

² Av. Yôistô yô Fryananâm of Âbân Yt. 81, Fravarân Yt. 120, who had to explain ninety-nine enigmas propounded to him by the evil Akhtya. In Pâz. this name is corrupted into Gôst-î Fryânô, whose explanation of thirty-three enigmas propounded by Akht the wizard, and proposal of three enigmas in his turn form the subject of a Pahlavi tale published with AV. He is not included among the immortals mentioned in Bd. XXIX, 5, 6, and Dk. (see § 8, note), but is one of those specified in Byt. II, 1.

³ No doubt, the Av. Ashem-yahmâi-usta ('righteousness for which be blessing') who precedes Yôistô in Fravarân Yt. 120. He is the Asâm-î Yamâhust of Bd. XXIX, 5, who is said to reside in the district of the river Nâîvtâk; but he is not mentioned in Dk. The names Yakhmâyûsaz, Fradhakhstô, and Ashavazang are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their irregular spelling.

⁴ Av. Fradhâkhsti Khunbya of Fravarân Yt. 138. In Dk. he is said to be ruler on the Nâîvtâk waters, but in Bd. he is called Parsadgâ Hvembya residing in the plain of Pêsyânsaî.

⁵ Av. Ashavazdang the Pourudhâkhstiyân of Âbân Yt. 72, Fravarân Yt. 112. He is the Ashavazd son of Pourudhâkhst in Bd., and is said to rule in the plain of Pêsyânsaî in Dk.

⁶ The many-seeded tree, said to grow in the wide-formed ocean, and also in Airân-vêg, on which the Saêna bird (simurgh) is supposed to sit and shake off the seeds, which are then conveyed by the bird Kamrôs to the waters gathered by Tistar, who rains them down on the earth with the water; hence the growth of fresh vegetation when the rainy season commences (see Rashnu Yt. 17, Bd. XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5, Mkh. LXII, 37-42).

one is Gôpatshah¹; *and* one is Peshyôtanû², who is called after the Kîtravôkô-mîyânô³.

4. The reign of Gôpatshah is over the land of Gôpatô⁴, coterminous with Aîrân-vêg⁵, on the bank (bâr) of the water of the Dâîtth⁶; *and* he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayâs⁷, through whom occurs the complete perfection of primitive man⁸. 5. The reign of Peshyôtanû is in Kangdez⁹, *and* he resides in the illustrious Kangdez which the noble Siyâvash¹⁰ formed through his glory, *he* who is called the erratic youth¹¹ of the illustrious Kayânians. 6. And through his powerful spirit *arose* increase of cultivation and the ruler Kaî-Khûsrôî¹² among the highest of the mountains in the countries of

¹ Either a title or son of Aghrêrad, brother of Frâsîyâv of Tûr (see Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 20-22). He is a righteous minotaur according to Mkh. LXII, 31-36.

² Here written Patshâyôtanû, but he is the Peshyôtanû of Chap. XXXVII, 36.

³ The Kâtru-mîyân river in Kangdez (see Bd. XX, 31).

⁴ Which is a non-Aryan country according to Dk., but Bd. (XXIX, 5) calls it 'the land of the Saûkavastân,' and Mkh. (XLIV, 24-35, LXII, 31) places Gôpatshah in Aîrân-vêg.

⁵ See Chap. XXI, 2.

⁶ Av. Dâitya, a river which flows out of Aîrân-vêg (see Bd. XX, 13).

⁷ See Chap. XXXVII, 99.

⁸ Referring either to the complete peopling of the earth by emigration on the back of this ox in ancient times, or to the immortality produced at the resurrection by tasting an elixir, of which the fat of this ox is one of the ingredients.

⁹ A settlement east of Persia formed, or fortified, by Siyâvash (see Bd. XXIX, 10, Byt. III, 25).

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXVII, 36.

¹¹ Or kang-î raftâr may mean 'jaunty youth;' but it is evidently an attempt to account for the name Kangdez as 'the fortress of the kang ("youth").'

¹² The son of Siyâvash (see Chap. XXXVI, 3, Bd. XXXI, 25).

Irân *and* Tûrân; the purity of the sacred fire¹ of great glory *and* the recital of the liturgy exist there, *and* the practice of religious rites (dînô) is provided. 7. The custom, also, of him (Peshyôtanû) and *his* companions *and* coadjutors (ham-bâr), in the appointed millenniums, is the great advancement of religion and good works in other quarters likewise².

8. But, secondly, *as to* the whereabouts of the places which are theirs—just like his—of which *there* is no disquisition by me, this also is even owing to *my* not remembering³.

¹ Literally 'fire of Varahrân.'

² He is expected to be summoned by the angels to restore the religious rites to the world, after the conflict of the nations in a future age (see Byt. III, 25-42).

³ In the detailed account of the contents of the Sûdkar (or Stûdgar) Nask, given in the ninth book of the Dînkard, the latter part of its fifteenth fargard is said to have been 'on the seven immortal rulers who are produced in the region of Khvanîras, and also about the determination of their glory, and the goodness, too, of *their* assistants and living sovereignty in both worlds. The tree opposed to harm is on Aîrân-vêg in the place of most excavations (frêh-nigânân?). Gôk-patô is in the non-Aryan countries. Peshyôtanû son of Vistâsp is in Kangdez of the hundred-ribbed shape (sad-dandakô kerpîh?), in which a myriad of the exalted, who wear black marten *fur* (mûn sîyah samûr yakhsenund), are righteous listeners out of the retinue of Peshyôtanû son of Vistâsp. Frâdakhstô son of the mortal Khûmbîks, who is sovereign on the water of Nâivtâk. Ashavazd son of Pôrûdakhstô, who is sovereign over the most manifest among uplands, the plain of Pêrinâs. Barâzd the causer of strife. And of the father-in-law's race (khast-tômagag?) of the famous Vistâsp is *he* who is called Kaî-Khûsrôî, who produces even an advance of *thy* religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *and* also understands about *it*; *and* who gives my good practices further blessings, so that the world maintains my doings with benedictions. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

In this list of the immortal rulers of ancient times, the names of Barâzd and Kaî-Khûsrôî are substituted for those of Yôstô and

CHAPTER XCI.

1. *As to* the ninetyeth question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: From what is the sky made, *and* with what is it prepared?

2. The reply is this, that the sky is a dome (*gardûn*), wide *and* lofty; its inside and whole width and boundaries (*âkhyakîhâ*), besides its material existence, are the stone of light, of all stones the hardest¹ *and* most beautiful; and the grandeur of its spirit *and* even *its* internal bow² are like *those of* mighty warriors arrayed. 3. And that material of the sky reached unto the place *where* promise-breaking words exist³, *and* was without need of preparation; *as* it is said *of* places such as those—where wisdom is a witness about *them*—that *that* which is not even itself a place, and its place does not yet exist, is without need of any preparing⁴.

4. The light is for existing things, and they cherish a faculty (*ntîyûth*) of motion also of two

Yakhmâyûsad in our text. *Barâzd* is the *Ibairaz* of Bd. XXIX, 6, and, possibly, the *Av. Berezvarsti* of *Fravarân Yt.* 101.

¹ The same notion as that indicated in *Genesis* by the word 'firmament.'

² The rainbow.

³ Probably meaning that the sky extends downwards, below the horizon, as far as the second grade of hell, that for 'evil words,' *Dûr-hûkht* (see *Sls.* VI, 3, note).

⁴ The word *dîvâk*, 'place' (*zîvâk* in the Sasanian inscription of *Naqs-i Rostam*, but traditionally pronounced *gînâk*), seems to be here taken in the etymological sense of *zîvâk*, that is, 'a living-place.' The text refers to the period, in the beginning, when the sky was indefinite space unprepared for the residence of creatures and merely a region of light (see Bd. I, 2), the light mentioned in § 4. Its preparation is referred to in §§ 8, 9.

kinds, *that* causing motion *and that* of movables¹; as mobility is mentioned about thought² and immobility about material things. 5. Immovables are not moved, while movables are moved by their power of movement; and those movables, that way causing motion, are afterwards themselves a moving secret cause of motion, and then a cause of motion is not moving the movable, since *it* is not incapable of causing motion secretly by movement of itself. 6. Just as the force (kûnîsnö) of a movement exists *and* does not become a force; only then it is declared by wisdom, that the causers of motion have been the causing of motion by force before movement, *and, being* unmoved, they are subsequently made to move by the force; later on, the causers of motion *have* to cause motion, by their power of causing motion, *in* the non-causers of motion, from which it is certain though the force of a movement exists it does not become a force; but, finally, that *which is* prepared with a source of activity³, before force, becomes unmoved.

7. Natures without need of the trouble of a preparer are distinguished from such; where movement occurs through every force, the championship of a position (gâh) not made to move—except, indeed, *of that* whose force, when it is unmoved by other force, is its own—is unmoving and thirstless⁴. 8. *It*

¹ M14 has 'movables *and* immovables' instead of this clause.

² Perhaps we should read 'the spirits,' by inserting an additional medial stroke in the Pahlavi word.

³ Reading tûkhshînikîhâ, instead of the unintelligible tûkhshîkîhâ. The author has so nearly lost sight of his argument in the mazes of his verbiage that there is some uncertainty about the translation of this paragraph.

⁴ That is, the guardians of a place exposed to all attacks (as

was restored immovably when *there was* an approach to the sky of that actual contender for the place, the fiend, and the sky *was* shaken by him; for connected with the sky *were* arranged so many possessors of all resources, dignified (afrankîd) by their own all-powerful position and that well-operating, mighty, undrawn bow¹, righteous *and* well-discoursing (hû-fravakhsh), and many good spirits, gloriously co-operating for the preparation of the sky. 9. For that which *was* not even itself a place², when *it* is thus henceforth really a place, is *in* want of preparing; *and*, in the preparation *of* that visible³ place, with the material of the sky is mingled that triumphing, powerful spirit who made its existence a seeking for principle *and* seeking for intention, drawing up from below *and* drawing down from above, so that through that seeking for principle it becomes a concord, the resting-place of united champions, and unadmonishable through that power of seeking for intention; such as this *it is* if, indeed, *it be* the will of him, the creator of all goodness.

10. And it is said summarily that the sky *was* shaken in the *period of* disturbance and restored *with* trouble; and, if the guardian spirits are in freedom from disturbance through the glory *of* the creator, when there is not even a place for it prepared by themselves⁴, and *their* nature and own

the sky is supposed to be), unless it is a stronghold in itself, must be always on the alert.

¹ The rainbow; reading atang darûn.

² That is, 'a living-place' (see § 3 n).

³ Reading dîdö, 'seen;' but it may be stô for stî, 'material.'

⁴ That is, while the sky was still indefinite space, the region of light, but no dwelling-place; although the guardian spirits had

strength are approving the trouble of preparation, it is not moved¹, except by the creatures of *his* will, a will which is subduing.

CHAPTER XCII.

1. *As to* the ninety-first question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus: Of waters and rivers, and whatever water is good, is Arekdvisûr² the greatest (mas), or *some* other water or good river; and, again, where is the place of Arekdvisûr?

2. The reply is this, that *it is* the water of Arekdvisûr; and *what has* gushed from Arekdvisûr is as large a mass as all the water in the world³ except the Arvand⁴; within the wide-formed ocean⁵ *it is* dominant over the thousand cascades (pashan) *and* thousand lakes⁶ of the waters, and its place is most *renowned* throughout the spheres. 3. There flows the water of Arekdvisûr in a forest, the source of all seeds, whereby the species *which* plants possess are assimilated (aêdûnagîdô) by it, *and* healing existences of all kinds are mingled *with it* from medicinal plants. 4. The abundant power of the

been created as representatives of the creatures, both spiritual and material, which were to be afterwards produced (see Bd. I, 8).

¹ That is, when afterwards prepared as a dwelling-place the sky remains unmoved by evil beings.

² See Chap. XXXVII, 118.

³ Compare Yas. LXIV, 12, Âbân Yt. 3.

⁴ A name of the river Tigris (see Zs. VI, 20).

⁵ As this ocean is supposed to encircle the world, the whole earth is within it.

⁶ Compare Yas. LXIV, 17, Âbân Yt. 4, 101.

coming of healing to the purifying water is like the nature of the existences which it acquires, *and* then the nature which it thus acquires for its own the water draws up by the power which is drawing water to itself.

5. The water of Arekdvisûr is on Albûrz¹, and flows even to the summit of the star station during the coming of the healing of purification, even unto Hûkhîr the lofty², all-gorgeous *and* brilliant; thence *its* flowing is effected³ into the lake of a summit to Albûrz, Mount Aûs, hindûm⁴, which is in the middle of the wide-formed ocean. 6. And from that flowing of waters that destined river, the utter destruction of every night, comes on in the light of a dawn; by the sprinkling of spray (pash-pashanô) it extends through the seven regions *of the earth*, and from it arise the growth of their plants *and* the coming of the healing of purification; that which is called a drop (srîsk) of the primeval creatures *being* a particle (aham) of water of the bulk of a horse⁵.

¹ The chain of mountains supposed to surround the world and reach to heaven (see Chap. XX, 3, Bd. XII, 1, 3); owing to its height any water from its summit must flow downwards to reach the lowermost grade of heaven, called the star station.

² Av. Hukairyâ berezô, the Hûgar of Bd. XII, 5, XXIV, 17, probably a western summit of the mythic Albûrz.

³ Mr₄ and J have nikûnî-aîtô, 'is precipitated,' instead of kûnî-aît.

⁴ The Av. us Hindvad, 'up the Hindva,' of Tîstar Yt. 32, a mountain summit where the clouds gather; it is the Aûsindôm mountain of Bd. XII, 6, XIII, 5, said to be of the ruby material of the sky. In Bd. XIII, 4 the lake is said to be on the summit of Hûgar.

⁵ Referring to the term aspô-kehrpa applied to waters in Haftân Yt. 13, Tîstar Yt. 8, 46.

CHAPTER XCIII.

1. *As to* the ninety-second question *and* reply, that which you ask is thus : From what place should Tîstar¹ seize the water ? How does it pass into a cloud, and how does he make the cloud move on ? How does it rain upon the world ? How can he carry on a struggle with demons, and with which demon can he carry *it* on ? How does this always happen with the hail and snow, whenever hail and snow occur ? And who can force away that hail and snow ?

2. The reply is this, that the high-priests have thus said, that Tîstar seizes a place *which* is called 'abysmal' (vârûnak)², that is the last place of filtration in the ocean, *and* there are no removal of *any* kind and causing rain from any other place. 3. And the cause of its (the rain's) establishment is spiritually active, more particularly, however, through two kinds of material agency : one is that which is the rule (mang) in the atmosphere of the earth, whereby it is drawn up in atoms similarly to smoke, *and* in larger masses, well-soaring from the rivers ; *and* one is that *which* blows with the power of the well-operating wind, and the blowing of the great united breath (ham-vâê) and strength of the com-

¹ The angel who is supposed to produce rain, being a personification of the star Tîstar or Sirius. His production of rain and conflict with the demons of drought and thunder are detailed in Bd. VII, 1-13.

² Assuming that the word is meant as a translation of Av. vairya, a term which is applied to the depths or depressed basins of the ocean in Yas. LXIV, 17, 18, Âbân Yt. 101, Zamyâd Yt. 51.

munity (*kandġânōth*) of spirits¹, from the fully perfect distillation (*pûr-hû-zûhtġth*) of the mighty ocean to the upper *regions*, and thereby the clouds are blown.

4. Afterwards, it (the rain) speeds in the cloud, through the great strength of the mighty wind, to where *there* is a necessity *for it*, to divert *it* from where *there* is no necessity; and so long as *there* is a necessity *for it* it (the cloud) discharges. 5. And when *there* is a necessity and it causes rain, and the necessity is *for no more* acquisitions of water, and the advantage is the effect of water upon the place, and it distributes *it* to the existing rivers for the use of the sea, and it causes rain *again*, it thereby produces even new water, new flowing, new coming of healing to plants, new growth, new golden colouring to lands, new purification to animals, new procreation, new proper breathings for other creatures, new dawn, and new *things of* that description. 6. The thriving of the world makes the advantage *and* perfection of the good creation increase; and, apart from a great craving for the effect of the glory of the spirits in the operations of cultivation and the performance of spiritual mysteries, *it* is said labours are aided even for *one* gloriously destined.

7. And Tġstar in seizing the water should seize upon the great strength of the wind of whirlwinds (*gardġnâkân*), which is figuratively (*mġnisnġk*) the dragging *and* blowing that follow the whirling; *and* the purified water is expanded *and* carried up aloft to the higher *regions* of the atmosphere, just as that

¹ Altering *mġnisnō*, 'thought,' into 'spirits' by inserting an extra medial stroke, as in M14 and J.

which is seen where it reaches up with the heaviness and weight of earth, and then is discerned in the plain¹ accompanied by the dragging of the whirling wind *which* would carry *it* afar to settle like *that* which is owing to dust ; it (the atmosphere) is called Andarvâê ('the intermediate air'), and the wind is a whirlwind. 8. As the water is lighter, and owing to the more strongly dragging wind on the ocean than that which exists on the plain, so, also, the water from the ocean is much more in proportion, and transportable farther up than the dust² from the plain. 9. And as in the midst of a plain a medium whirlwind of wind is expanded into the wide plain by a medium dragging of the wind, and plenty of much buffeting is the violence of the dragging of winds, a whirlwind of wind which is seen very lofty and large is unknown ; so, also, *one* is ignorant of what is spreading among the movements of the sea. 10. The water of that full and abundant flowing—which is through the power and glory of the heavenly angels and Tîstar's control of the work—is blown up, both by the well-characterised water-drawing power, and also by the force of *various* kinds, the dragging, and upward blowing of the winds, into the atmosphere ; and thence it rains the complete rain, as they *have* recounted from observation and much full evidence.

11. The demon who resists the *doings* of Tîstar—and the glorious Tîstar, meeting him, properly drives back such improper resistance of his—is

¹ Referring to the frequent small whirlwinds, sweeping up the dust, which accompany every complete change of wind in dry climates.

² K35 omits the first two letters of a frâ, 'dust,' by mistake.

a demon *of* the name of Apâôsh¹, which is interpreted *as* 'the destruction of water' (âp-aôsh). 12. He contends, moreover, with the uppermost *and* lowermost water; and desirous of *its* destruction that demon contends at three periods: first, for the non-existence of rain; secondly, for converting *it* *into* a cause of damage to a place; *and* thirdly, at the place of producing *it* with advantage; and the struggling is like a tree (vanô) which is set moving.

13. The seizers of the feminine² pure water are a benefit *for the existences* of the whole world; and the formation of rain, and the triumph and ascendancy of Tîstar over the demon, through that seizing (falânîh) of water, are due to the creator who strengthens him³, the archangels who have him assisted⁴, the religious who reverence him, *and* the worldly beings who glorify him. 14. Very properly do the archangels propitiate *him*, *and* mankind promote the strength and power, which are *engaged* about the business, by glorifying *and* invoking the good spirit who increases them in consequence of glorifying *and* worship, *and* through which

¹ Av. Apaosha, the demon of drought, who, in the form of a black horse, is said in the Tîstar Yast to fight with Tîstar in the ocean. Here his name is written Apâhôsh, but see Bd. VII, 8-12.

² Reading mâđagîk. According to Bd. XVI, 6 the sky, metal, wind, and fire are always male, while water, earth, plants, and fish are always female, and all other creations are of both sexes. Water and earth are also personified as female angels.

³ In his first encounter with Apâôsh, Tîstar is vanquished, and attributes his defeat to his not being invoked by name in the ceremonies, whereupon Aûharmazd invokes him by name so as to give him enormous strength, when he returns to the conflict and conquers the demon (see Tîstar Yt. 20-28, Bd. VII, 8-10).

⁴ Reading âyyârînênd, as in M14 and J; in K35 it is written like âyênd rîvênd, 'they come *and* liberate.'

arises that advantageousness¹ of his—which owing to that benefit is the benefit of every one else—for this advantageous business.

15. And Tistar shall gradually (*padmanîkîhâ*) seize upon the water to distribute *it* liberally, assiduously a similitude *of* that which a learned ruler said, in extolling a wise high-priest, that, 'just as the wind draws the up-flying water from rivers and springs *and* from seas, Tistar, through his own liberality, bestows the prepared apportionments of the whole production for the advantage of the creatures *by* the will of the sacred beings, and makes *it* rain. 16. And through that which he shall purposely seize to distribute suitably he distributes the water purified, he moistens the pleasant *existences* of animals *and* plants and spares² the polluted, he provides for the thirsty³, he causes harm to the dye-like bloody *one*, and he makes the world thrive. 17. When that wide-spread liberality of his, the production of rain, is from the pure, healing water which he shall thus seize gradually and with just apportionment, *and* when through that acquiring of water-seizings the rivers, springs, *and* other existences (*shavandagânö*) are well-expanding, and even the diminution which is owing to the wasting (*âîrîkhtagîh*) of rivers and springs does not occur thereby, *it is* thus, too, the lordly, by a law (*dâdö*) moderate and varied—if the regulation (*gûn*) is to reach *away* from the region—are as much contributing, as

¹ Reading *sûdakîh* instead of *î yûdakîh*, 'which is unity.' M₁₄ has *nadûkîh*, 'benefit.'

² Or 'forgives' (*bakhshêdö*).

³ M₁₄ and J have 'he causes the thirsty to drink.'

Tīstar is by causing rain for the region and the good, to the aggrandizement of the many grades¹ and the replenishment of the region and creatures².

CHAPTER XCIV.

1. And³ those of the primitive faith, the ancients of those acquainted with the religion⁴, thus considered, *that* in the *spirit* of life (ahvô)⁵ there is

¹ Or 'to the great aggrandizement of the grades.'

² Reading dām, as in M14 and J, instead of gadman, 'glory.' The chapter appears to break off here, without any reference to the queries about hail and snow; but it is uncertain if any portion of the work be here omitted (owing to loss of folios in some older MS.) because the author does not always reply to all clauses of the questions, as may be noticed in Chap. XXXVII. One reason, however, for supposing that some of the text is here lost is the allusion, in Chaps. XVII, 20, XVIII, 2, to a chapter no longer extant in Dd.

³ The first eleven sections of this chapter are quoted from the beginning of the sixth book of the *Dīnkar*, which commences as follows:—'The propitiation of the creator *Aθharmazd* is even in the benedictions of the religion of *Mazda*-worship; this, too, *was* the settled decision of those of the primitive faith. The sixth *book* is on a compendium (*vasang*) which *was* prepared by those of the primitive faith to maintain about the sayings of the religion of *Mazda*-worship;' and then proceeds as in our text, with the variations and additional matter mentioned in the foot-notes. It is hardly probable that these quotations were intended as a conclusion to any reply, the beginning of which may be lost, as they refer to a variety of subjects; but they may have been selected by the author as authoritative opinions sufficiently comprehensive for his general peroration. At any rate they show that the *Dīnkar* must have been in existence in its present form before the *Dādistān-i Dīnik* was written. All the MSS. have this peroration written continuously with the preceding chapter, without stop or break of any kind to indicate a change of subject.

⁴ Dk. has 'the ancients of the wise.'

⁵ Dk. adds 'of men.'

a thought and one appointed who¹ holds the position (gâs), *and* there is a fiend who stops² the way; and in the thought there is a word appointed which holds the position, *and* there is a fiend who stops the way³. 2. In the *spirit of life*⁴ is a thought *and* Spendarmad⁵ ('bountiful devotion') holds the position, *and* the fiend Tarômat⁶ ('scornful thought') stops the way; in the thought is a word *and* Ard⁷ ('the righteous') holds the position, and Varenô⁸ ('lust') stops the way; in the word is a deed *and* Dînô⁹ ('religion'), the good, holds the position, and self-conceit

¹ Dk. has 'which is appointed and,' &c.

² Literally 'holds.'

³ It is evident from the context that something is omitted here, and Dk. supplies the following:—'and in the word there is a deed *for* the appointed position, *and* there is a fiend who stops the way. And in the *spirit of life* is a heart (vâlôm) *and* Vohûman ("good thought") holds the position, and Akômanô ("evil thought") stops the way; and in the heart is a will *and* Srôsh ("attention") holds the position, and Aeshm ("wrath") stops the way.' It seems probable that the author did not mean to quote the latter sentence of this passage.

⁴ Dk. has 'and in the will.'

⁵ The female archangel, who is a personification of Av. spenta ârmaiti, and has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 20-24).

⁶ Here written Tarôkmatô (Av. tarômaiti); he is the archdemon of disobedience, also called Nâûnghas (see Bd. XXVIII, 14, XXX, 29).

⁷ Av. areta, a title of the female angel Arshirang or Ashirang (Av. ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude'), whose name is given to the 25th day of the Parsi month (see Bd. XXII, 4, XXVII, 24, Sls. XXII, 25, XXIII, 4).

⁸ Av. varena, 'desire,' personified as a demon (see Bd. XXVIII, 25).

⁹ Av. daêna personified as an angel whose name is given to the tenth month and 24th day of the month of the Parsi year, and is also coupled with the names of other angels to form appellations

(khûd-dôshagth) stops the way. 3. We men of all descriptions¹ have to become very² cautious that, while we do not desist from that way³, we do not go on to the way of the demons *and* fiends⁴. 4. For the struggling of men⁵ is *in* these three⁶ ways and paths; *and* whoever is saved in these three⁶ ways and paths is saved from every place, and whoever is misled there comes into the hands of the demons *and* fiends⁷, and is thenceforth not master (salitâ) of himself, except when he shall do that which the fiends order him⁸.

5. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that that nature only is good when it⁹ shall not do unto another whatever is not good for its own self¹⁰; and that wisdom only is good when it thoroughly¹¹ understands *how* to utilize the advantage¹² of that happiness which has occurred, *and* shall¹³ not suffer vexation *on account of* harm which has not occurred; and that intellect only is good which

for the 8th, 15th, and 23rd days (see Bd. XXV, 3, 11, 20, Sls. XXII, 8, 15, 23, 24, XXIII, 4). Dk. omits the epithet 'good.'

¹ Dk. omits the words 'of all descriptions;' it also places § 3 after § 4.

² Dk. omits 'very.' ³ Dk. has 'from the way of the angels.'

⁴ Dk. has 'go after the fiends.'

⁵ Dk. has 'and the struggling of the fiend with men,' and places this section after § 2.

⁶ Dk. has 'such' instead of 'three' in both places.

⁷ Dk. has 'comes then to the hands of the fiends.'

⁸ Dk. then proceeds with § 3, 'and we men have to become cautious,' &c.

⁹ Dk. has 'which,' instead of 'when it,' both here and in the next clause.

¹⁰ Dk. has 'for itself.'

¹¹ Dk. omits 'thoroughly.'

¹² Literally 'to eat the fruit.'

¹³ Dk. has 'does.'

understands that it does not understand that which it does not understand.

6. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that *one* is to become¹ a friend of every one, and this is thy nature²; also, bring them on into³ goodness, and this is thy wisdom; also, consider them as thine own, and this is thy religion; also, through them it shall produce⁴ happiness, and this is thy soul⁵.

7. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that, when⁶ *one* shall do even that which he knows to be sin⁷, that is disobedience, *and* disobedience is the nature of the adversary; when *one* shall not do even that which he knows to be a good work, that is cupidity (*varenôîkîh*), *and* cupidity is the wisdom of the adversary⁸; *and* when *one* shall do⁹ even that which he does not know *to be* a good work or a sin, until it comes fully to¹⁰ *his* knowledge,

¹ Dk. has 'it is the becoming.'

² Dk. has 'wisdom.'

³ Or 'through.' Dk. omits this clause, substituting 'and this, too, *was* thus considered by them.'

⁴ Dk. has 'do thou produce.'

⁵ Dk. continues as follows:—'And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that nature is that which deceives no one, wisdom is that which does not deceive itself, and religion is that which is whatever knows where *one* should perform good works.'

⁶ Reading *amat*, instead of *mûn*, 'which,' in all three clauses (see Chap. LXII, 4 n); Dk. omits the word altogether.

⁷ Dk. has 'shall not do even that which he knows to be a good work,' as in the second clause which it omits.

⁸ This clause is omitted by M14, J, BK, and the oldest MS. of Dk.; later MSS. of Dk. give it as follows: 'should they do even that they know to be a sin, that is lustful (*varenôîk*), and lustful is the wisdom of the adversary.'

⁹ Dk. has 'does.'

¹⁰ Dk. has 'before it comes unto.'

that is self-conceit, and self-conceit is the religion of the adversary¹.

8. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that Aharman² would do everything for the injury of Aûharmazd, *but* when it is done by him³ *it* is then an injury of him himself, *and* an advantage of Aûharmazd; and Aûharmazd would do everything for his own advantage, *and* when it is done by him *it* is then, indeed⁴, an advantage of him himself, *but* an injury of Aharman⁵.

¹ In Dk. the following is here inserted:—‘And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that in *one’s* nature there is no wisdom, *but* in wisdom *there* is nature, and in religion are both wisdom *and* nature. It is known *how* to manage the affairs of the spirit by the nature, they are preserved by wisdom, and the soul is preserved by a union of both. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that shame is that which should not allow *one* to commit sin, and disgrace is that it would not allow to cause. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that the essential thing of the primitive faith is freedom from sin. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that *one* becomes diligent about that *with* which *he* is conversant. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that the good thoughts that are in the records of the religion of every kind *one should* always put fully into practice, so far as he understands *them*. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that Aûharmazd, the lord, produced these creatures through *his* nature, maintains *them* through wisdom, and forces them back to himself through religion.’

² The evil spirit (see Chaps. II, 11, XIX, 1).

³ Or ‘when he has done it,’ which would be expressed by the same words.

⁴ Dk. omits ‘indeed.’

⁵ In Dk. the following is here inserted:—‘And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that people are to keep an eye most diligently on the world *for* these three things: that which is realisable *by* a sinner through sin, a follower made famous, *and* to beg the recompense of good works from the spirits: and keeping their eye on the world is said *to be* this, that *it is he* who observes himself, so that *a part* of whatever he really desires he should always perform. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that three

9. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that a person of whatever description is to be kept¹ in remembrance of the affairs of the spirit at every period and time, and *of* the happiness of heaven *and* misery of hell at that period when comfort, happiness, and pleasure have come to him.

10. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them², that happiness, indeed, would be there, in the heaven of light³, when even here *it* is so happy, though, owing to many *things*⁴, Aharman—with whom the happiness there is not connected—is even here so happy at the time when distress, vexation, *and* misery have come hereto; *and* this, too, *was* thus considered, that evils, indeed, would be there, in hell, when here is such misery, though even here much *of* the earthly happiness *of* Aûhar-

things which are very difficult to do are even such as these: one is not to render the sinfulness famous by the sin; one is not to exalt the opinions of the fiend, and the various sovereignties of the evil one, for the sake of wealth; and one is to beg the recompense of good works from the spirits, *and* not from the world.'

¹ Dk. has merely 'keeps.'

² Dk. has 'this, too, is to be considered,' as a continuation of the preceding section.

³ Dk. omits 'of light.'

⁴ The oldest MS. of Dk. has 'though *some* of the much happiness of Aûharmazd,' &c., as in the latter part of the section, omitting the passage referring to Aharman and hell; later MSS., however, insert a modified version of the omitted passage, and read as follows: 'When even here *it* is so happy at the period when it should be distressing *and* the mischievous vexation, of much pain has come; this, too, is to be considered, that misery, indeed, is the calamity (âfatô) there, in hell, when even here *it* is so, though *some* of the much happiness of Aûharmazd,' &c., as before. This interpolation in Dk. is evidently modern (as the word âfatô is Arabic and not Pahlavi), and was probably composed by a copyist in India who was acquainted with the text of Dk.

mazd—with whom the misery there is not connected—is here so evil.

11. And this, too, *was* thus considered by them, that that person is the more fortunate¹, in whom are soundness of body, happiness, and energy (*râynisnō*)²; *who* has done those things *about* which the last wish of him who departs from the world is then thus: 'I *will* strive to do more;' *and who* shall have exercised much complete abstinence from those things *about* which his last wish, when he departs from the world, is then such as 'I *will* strive to do less, and it would have occurred more comfortably for my soul³.'

12. Do you good people of those of the good religion of these countries of Irân keep in use the laws appointed *by* those of the primitive faith who *were* high-priests, so that your bodies *may* become more renowned, *and your* souls more perfect, in the radiant supreme heaven which⁴ is the seat of Aûharmazd and the archangels, *of* the angels *and* all the guardian spirits of the righteous. 13. So these are so many answers of the questions provided, and are given explanatorily from the exposition of the religion *and* the statements of the high-priests *of*

¹ Dk. has 'that a person is most fortunate in that.'

² M14 and J have 'are the appearance of health of body and pleasure;' Dk. has 'is the appearance of perfection.'

³ Dk. concludes as follows: '*who* has done those things which are done, *about* which *on his* last day—when the things of the world depart—his wish is then thus, that 'more endeavour should be made by me;' *and has exercised* much abstinence from those things *about* which his last day's wish is this, that the endeavour made should not be made.' The quotations from Dk. end at this point.

⁴ Reading mûn, as in M14 and J, instead of amât, 'when,' (see Chap. LXII, 4 n.)

those of the primitive faith, and *are* the nature of the teachings *that* Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim¹, pontiff (radö) of Pârs and Kirmân², and director (farmâdâr)³ of the profession of priests, ordered to write.

14. Steadfast in the propitiation and praise of the creator Aûharmazd is the righteousness of obtainments of prayers, perfect is Zaratûst, *and* one *only* is the way⁴ which righteousness obtains, the others are no ways; homage to the exalted pontiff *sent* from the creator Aûharmazd, the heavenly, most righteous Zaratûst the Spitamân.

15. Completed in peace and pleasure, joy *and* delight; happy for him who reads, *and* happier for him who keeps *it* in use and shall take his duty therefrom⁵, if they exist unto time eternal.

¹ See p. 3, note 2.

² The two southern provinces of Persia, bordering on the Persian Gulf.

³ This title seems to be always spelt in Pahlavi with â in the middle syllable, so that the form framadhâr in Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 9, must be looked upon as an Arabic corruption, and the idea that it means 'a pre-ceder or one who has precedence' can hardly be maintained. It probably stands for farmâfâr, 'a director or commander,' not in a military sense. It occurs also in Bd. XXXIII, 2, where the title 'great farmâdâr' is evidently equivalent to 'prime minister, or grand vazîr,' but applied to a priest, as farmâdâr is here and in Chap. XLV, 5.

⁴ Reading râs, as in M₁₄, instead of ra, which is merely an imperfect word. This clause of the sentence is a slight modification of a well-known quotation (said to be taken from the lost part of the Hâdökht Nask) which is often used in perorations.

⁵ Or 'who keeps to duty and shall do his duty thereby.'

EPISTLES
OF
MÂNÛSKÎHAR.

- I. TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF SÎRKÂN.
II. TO HIS BROTHER, ZÂD-SPARAM.
III. TO ALL OF THE GOOD RELIGION IN IRÂN.
-

A. D. 881.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the manuscripts are written continuously, with very few stops marked, and even those are often misplaced.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are:—

BK, an old imperfect copy of K35 written in Kirmân, but now in Bombay.

J (about 60 years old), belonging to Dastâr Jâmâspji Minochi-harji in Bombay.

K35 (probably written A. D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which this translation is based.

M10 (about 150 years old), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 10 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

EPISTLES OF MÂNÛSKÎHAR.

EPISTLE I.

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF SÎRKÂN.

THROUGH the name and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd and the whole of the sacred beings, all the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences*.

A copy of the epistle of the priest Mânûskîhar¹, son of Yûdân-Yim, which *was* composed by him for the good *people* of Sîrkân², on the contents of the precepts (*vigîr-kardö*) which the priest Zâd-sparam³, son of Yûdân-Yim, prepared.

CHAPTER I.

1. *In* the name of the sacred beings, who sent you a soul with long life, with provision for proper progress, *and* with the protection of increase of righteousness and wisdom, may such works and

¹ The high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân (see the heading to Dd., p. 3).

² Written Sîrkân once, Sîrkânö twice, and Sîrgânö four times, in these epistles. It was a town of considerable importance in former times (see Onseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138-145), about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân.

³ He was high-priest of Sîrkân and brother of Mânûskîhar (as expressly stated in the heading to Ep. II), both being sons of the same father.

mysterious dignity, encompassed with¹ happiness, now possess increasing prosperity and a complete share of pre-eminent welfare and great exaltation in both worlds.

2. The epistle² which *was* wisely, properly, and with religious demeanour ordered by you, *and* sent by a courier (paṭkō), *has* come, and *has* enveloped *and* assailed (gastō) me, indeed, with appalling intelligence on other subjects; and if even a portion³ of the vast importance and great value, as regards your heavenly *concerns*, arrangements, and natural *and* unpremeditated (avarīk) prodigies⁴, which are for my knowledge, for the sake of courteous (drūḍīk) information, *be* owing to intelligence for which the courteousness *and* proper courageousness are among you, special pleasure is received *therewith*. 3. And praise is, thereupon, recited by me to the sacred beings, as regards the conflicting affairs even of this disordered (gūmē zisntkō) existence; worldly possessions, as much as are suitable for the assistance of wisdom, are proper⁵, and the gift of virtuous pleasure is the gain of the undeserving good work *or* prayer they (the sacred beings) shall accept; it causes aggrandizement *and* is as deserving as even that which the decision of

¹ Or, 'sent down in,' according as we read parvastō or frōstō.

² An epistle complaining of certain heretical teachings of their high-priest, Zād-spāram, which is no longer extant.

³ Reading va hat vāhar-iḥ.

⁴ The epistle which he had received from his brother, Zād-spāram, some time before, seems also to have mentioned certain omens (see Ep. II, i, 3).

⁵ J omits shāyedō, 'are proper,' because it follows the other shāyed, 'are suitable;' but it is not always safe to assume that the repetition of a word is a blunder.

the wise has said about *it*, that even from the management of disordered possessions which are impaired *there* is advantage through the power of wisdom; *and* they (the sacred beings) select and cleanse and uplift the good works *in* such manner as a precious stone (sag khêl) from the water, and gold brocade¹ from the dust.

4. My pleasure, also, is as much increased through the information due to the same courtesy, *and I have* a new *and* great desire for the arrival of information, continuously from henceforth, about the perfect courageousness, enduring humility, good works, worshipping, favouring position, and eagerness of soul of you who *have* recounted *your* great thoughtfulness for religion *and have* provided good works.

5. On account of the universal renown (aspôh-rakânîh) of the good *people* of Khvanîras², which is yours, owing to the favour that is your complete happiness, ardently *and* joyfully most desired, and constantly *so*, when *there* are opportunities of seeing you—though it is supposed *to be* the advantage of your own religion, joy of soul, courteousness, *and* proper constancy—since my will *resides* among you, you make known *and* command my actions, through the will of the sacred beings.

¹ Reading dîpakô-î zahabâ.

² The central region of the earth, containing all the lands best known to the Iranians (see Dd. XC, 3).

CHAPTER II.

1. Then comes that itself¹ which is dictated *in* the middle of your epistle, *and*, thereupon, it lays hold of me, and, owing to its hellish gloom, pallid appearance, *and* hellish effect, benediction is perplexedly dispensed by me in terror for *my* heart *and* mind; I *have*, also, grievously repented, as regards my own former arrangements in my warfare of violence—which *were* undeceptive in the balance pertaining to Rashnū²—of any real falsity of the co-existent *one*³ I *may* have produced.

2. *Responsible* for the malice *and* annoyance of unjust kinds which are encountering *us* is the fiend of great strength, who is unobserving, seductive, astute in evil, eager for causing annihilation (*gastō-kûn-varen*), *and* full of deceit, so that *it* is possible for him to render doubtful, *when* so deceived, even him who is most a listener to essential righteousness, most desirous of steadfast truth, most performing proper religious customs, most acquainted with good ideas, most amazingly careful of *his* soul, most approved in the most wounding hell-brought conflict, *and* most at home (*khânagîktûm*) in truth of all kinds, *and* to show him a semblance of reality in unreality, *and* of unreality in reality. 3. Just as even that similitude which is mentioned in revelation thus: 'He intends righteousness *and* considers

¹ J has 'the writing.'

² See Dd. XIV, 4.

³ The evil spirit who is supposed to be, for a time, co-existent with the beneficent spirit of Aûharmazd.

about it thus: "A good work is done by me," and he acquires fiendishness—that is, it becomes a source of sin for him—who shall bring forth water without holy-water to *one* contaminated by dead matter (nas-hômand), or who shall bring *it* forth without holy-water on a concealed *or* dark *place* in the night¹.

4. And about this I *have* no doubt, that the wish of that spirit is not coincident with righteousness, for it is realised, understood, *and* known that, as regards his own *creatures*, *he* is not careful for the proper movement of body and for the long living of life; so that the furtherance *and* continuance of these, which are his original resources of body and activities (khapârânô) of life, become, for him who is among them (the fiend's creatures), an increase of the propitiation of the sacred beings, of the practice of religion, and of the advancement and benediction of the teachings of just high-priests².

5. *It* is also manifest from the constantly-operating arrangement of manuscripts and synodical statements, about which Afarg³ *wrote* without falsifying the religion *and* apart from controversies; because among them (the fiend's creatures) is *he* who *has* said they are like unto that which is now written

¹ Quoted from Pahl. Vend. VII, 194-196, with some slight variations from the existing text. The meaning is that it is quite possible to commit sin by doing a good action in an improper manner.

² That is, even the wicked, when they seek welfare, have to take to religious practices.

³ A commentator whose opinions are frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta (see Sls. I, 3). J has 'about which the splendour (afrand) of the religion is without falsehood.'

by him himself about it, and it has arranged much deliverance *from sin* ¹.

6. Of this, too, I am aware, that, except there where a purifier is in no way reached, his great duty—which is just the purification *in* which there is a washer who is cleansed (mast'dō) in the religious mode for the profession of the priesthood—is then a means which the high-priests should allow ². 7. A washing which is not religiously ritualistic is ranked as an operation among the useless *ones*; *it is* vicious *and* grievously criminal, because the special means which, by preserving the soul ³, is the perfect happiness of men, is the puri-

¹ That is, any one who explains the scriptures in a new fashion to suit his own purposes, which he thereby represents as beneficial, is merely carrying out the wishes of the fiend. The author is here, referring to the heretical teachings of his brother, regarding purification, which are further described in the sequel.

² That is, whenever a properly-qualified purifier is procurable, the priests should require him to purify any one who happens to be defiled by contact with dead matter by means of the Bareshnūm ceremony (see App. IV). It appears from the sequel, and from Eps. II and III, that the heresy of Zâd-sparam consisted chiefly of a misinterpretation of Vend. VIII, 278-299 (see App. V), which passage directs that a man in the fields, who has touched a corpse not yet eaten by dogs or birds, shall wash himself fifteen times with bull's urine, that he shall then run to some village, asking three different men on the way to cleanse him with the proper ceremony, and if they decline they each take upon themselves a share of the sin; when arrived at the village he shall ask a fourth time to be cleansed, and if no one will perform the ceremony he must wash himself with bull's urine and water in the ordinary manner, and shall be clean. The erroneous teaching of Zâd-sparam was that the fifteen times' washing was sufficient, without the subsequent ceremonial cleansing; and the object of these epistles was to combat that view of the law.

³ The ceremonial purification is supposed to cleanse the soul,

fication of men. 8. *It* is said¹: 'The purification of men cleansingly is a something (aitō) for the soul that should be after perfect birth; when they have been fully born the purification of others is the one thing which is good for the soul.'

9. And it is shown *in* another place that it is possible to obtain possession of purification also for the soul through purification of the body, even as it is said that a purifier is requested by him. 10. And it is necessary for him to speak thus: 'I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed; which is the reason—that is, on account of pollution—it is not possible to seek good works by thought, word, *or* deed, *and* it demands purification for me, that is, wash me thoroughly²!' 11. As it is thereby declared that when he whose body is not purified, until they thoroughly wash him, is not able to seek good works by thought, word, *or* deed, and is not able to purify his soul, it is then a matter for the truly wise *to seek* even for purification of the soul by the purification of the body, *for* whose religious purification are those *things* which are unsubdued (asikand) in the religious ritual.

12. When these are thus the statements of former upholders of the religion *and* high-priests of the religion, he who is more intelligent *and* more active

whereas ordinary washing cleanses the body only, and is spiritually useless.

¹ In Pahl. Vend. V, 65, X, 35, being a translation of a quotation from the Gāthas or sacred hymns (Yas. XLVII, 5, c).

² Quoted, with some variation, from Pahl. Vend. VIII, 283, 284 (see App. V).

in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers in every house, village, tribe, and province—*and*, very much more the man who is righteous, of fluent speech, speaking the truth, who *has* chanted the *sacred* hymns, acquainted with the ritual, trained for the work, of renowned disposition, and a friend of the soul—is *competent* for the purification which *it* is very important to prepare, to think of, *and* to promote.

13. When the period is so unworthy, the fiend so abundantly contentious, and the hasty preparer of holy-water of such base origin (dûs-vêkh)¹—which *happens*, moreover, when the good are equally low-minded (ham-bâstō-mñisnō)—we strive for *what* encourages the preparation of that even which is a collectively virtuous profession. 14. Then, too, *there* remains such rising in strength of many new *things* from very many countries, which is particularly grievous distress and danger to us; they deliver tokens *of them* to us applaudingly, *and* the expansibility of the words of the delivering diffuser of these and also other religious customs, as the sacred beings' own persistency and complete glory, is a great *and* powerful capability.

CHAPTER III.

1. This, too, I am begging of you, that *you* may be desiring the truth, and *that* Vohûman², who,

¹ This seems to be an allusion to the unworthiness of some of the priests of the period (compare Ep. II, i, 13; v, 14).

² The archangel personifying 'good thought' (see Dd. III, 13).

when a ruler (shah) of yours, is an interpreter (pâkûkô) about the writing which¹ I write, *may* as regardfully *and* accommodately observe *and* direct as the variety of dispositions *permits*. 2. For you are of like opinion with me, to inform again the most initiated²; so that I am more steadfastly-determined (aûstîkânô-minîsntar) thereon. 3. And if there be *anything* that seems to you otherwise, direct *some one* to point *it* out again, with the reason *for* maintaining *it* which occurs to you, just as a household companion is a responder *and* has spoken again for the sake of pointing out again; for there are many reasons, on account of which your kindly-regardful observation is needful, which are to be written about.

4. The first is this, that the penmanship of the spirits is not the profession of me and others³; *and as to* him by whom a theory (farhâng) not universally operating is disseminated, which is *distinct* from his more indispensable occupation, *there is* then no command for his teaching *and* apostleship therein. 5. On that account, too, the wise *and* the seekers for truth uphold the body of opinion about the statements of the writing of the spirits⁴, and, therefore, direct less of the ingenuity of preparing again the penmanship of various tidings.

6. The second is this, that, in the distress (dahyakô) of this grievous time, he to whom

¹ Reading † instead of va, 'and.'

² That is, to severely admonish their high-priest, as he does in Ep. II.

³ That is, he disclaims all pretensions to inspiration on the part of himself and his contemporaries.

⁴ The inspired scriptures.

adherence *and* much indebtedness even as to his forefathers *have* remained, is well-lamenting, owing to the proposals (dādanō) of the unfriendly, and much harm has occurred through the conflicting (ārđlkō) offer of remedies *and* lawful provision of means, full of trouble, except, indeed, to the upholder of religion who is more worldly-managing; and investigation by opponents is grievous danger, full of things inopportune *and* unnecessary for accomplishment¹.

7. The third is this, that a wise *man* who is a high-priest of the spirit-retaining² religion *and* acquainted with opinions, when also himself properly humble, fearless, and benedictive in the world, is then even, owing to his estimating³ pardonings *and* long-continued dexterity (dēr zīvakakīh), united with the good creations in affliction *and* vexation. 8. And, on account of information about the worldly *and* spiritual misery of former evils of many kinds—always as much in the religion, *and* in the thoughts of others⁴, as *one* delivers up his heart to ingenious verbiage and for the preparation of phrases—he speaks as in the question *in* revelation, thus⁵: “Who in the bodily existence

¹ Referring to the risk of unfriendly and destructive criticism of the scriptures.

² J has ‘spirit-observing,’ by changing gīrisnō into nigīrisnō.

³ Reading andasīh; the reference being to the sympathy acquired by a high-priest through performing his duty of appointing atonements for sins confessed to him.

⁴ Assuming that aīranō stands for aīrānō.

⁵ J has only ‘as *one* speaks out his heart for ingenious verbiage and phrases, thus.’ The question and reply here quoted seem to be no longer extant in the Avesta.

is more quickly fortunate?" *and* it is answered thus : "The youth who is observant *and* humble, O Zaratûst! who, as regards both that which has happened and that *which* happens, also sees that which is evil and good with gratitude, just like that also which *happens* unto another;" because he knows this, that from this is a benefit, for he knows happiness and also misery¹. 9. The glorified leader of those of the good religion, Hêr-Frôvag², son of Farukhû-zâd, wrote: 'It is he understands the consequence of his own action; and *it* is his great household attendant, and the worldly desire provided at the *Kinvad* bridge³ becomes less watchful.'

10. The fourth is this, that I *am* more universally hoping about the property of the profession *and* the much duty fit for the truly wise, *in* such manner as even that *in* which the glorified and greatly-learned leader of those of the good religion, Yûdân-Yim⁴, son of Shahpûhar, always urged on a priestly man with many sons *and* equally clever⁵ discourse.

¹ It is doubtful whether this last clause be a portion of the quotation, or not.

² This name is corrupted into Hê-Fôrvag in the MSS., but Âtûr-Frôbag is probably intended. He was the compiler of a great part of the *Dinkard*, and is also mentioned in Dd. LXXXVIII, 8. The names Âtûr and Hêr are synonymous, both meaning 'fire.' The passage quoted in the text has the same form (beginning with the word *hômandô*, 'it is') as nearly all the sections of the third book of the *Dinkard*, but it has not yet been discovered among them.

³ Here written *Kîs-vidarg* (see Dd. XX, 3).

⁴ So written in J, but K₃₅ and BK have the syllable *dân* somewhat corrupted. The person meant, both here and in Chap. VII, 5, was probably the author's father, though Bd. XXXIII, 11 seems to make Yûdân-Yim the son of Vâhrâm-shâz.

⁵ Reading *ham-gôkô*, but J has *ham-dûdakô*, 'of the same family;' it also omits several other words by mistake.

11. That *was* through my instigation, alone and with little assistance, in the beginning; and, on account of the deficiency of warriors¹, the abundance of opponents, the very rapid arrival of disturbance, *and* the fourfold supplication for keeping away the ruin *or* hasty unlawful maintenance of the fires of the Mazda-worshippers, my constant distress is such that most of my time speaks of the same subject².

12. They may leave the abundance of despondency and thoughtfulness of the bodily existence to such remedial writing of his, unto whom the pleasantly comfortable thought of an evaded (vīrikhtô) seizure is requisite, but *there* is little worldly leisure for me for writing more *in* this direction (hanâ-runtar).

13. And specially in this passing *time*—when, alike limited by the coming of the period of giving daily *supplies* to the performers of worship, *and by* the ever-triumphant fire and *its* produce³, it was necessary for me to go to Shirâz⁴ on account of some indispensable provision of means—the work was much *and* the leisure little.

¹ From this and Ep. II, v, 14 it would appear that the priests at that time maintained a body of troops for the protection of their followers.

² That is, regarding the proper maintenance of the priesthood, which had already engaged his anxious attention during the lifetime of his father.

³ The word var may either mean 'ashes' (see Sls. II, 49), alluding to clearing out the fire, or it may mean 'ordeal' (see Sls. XIII, 17).

⁴ See Dd. I, 17. This name is written Shirâsô once, Sîrâsô thrice, and Sirâsô four times in K35. Mânûskîhar appears to have come to Shirâz on this occasion to hold a general assembly of the priests and leading members of the community, and he wrote this epistle from that city (see Ep. II, i, 11; v, 10).

14. The fifth is this, that the custom of providing for all the duties even of the *sacred* fire (â tûr) by me, and my own desire¹, trained hand², unhardened mind, and unhardened heart *for* managing many *things* should have become the joy of *my* mind.

15. Then, too, from *having* read such writing *and* such news the healer of distress would be thoroughly connected with my heart and mind, *owing* to which my intellect would have become quickly fatigued (mândakö) by a limited preparation of phrases.

16. The sixth is this, that even he who is a rescued³ *and* better-operating (hû-dâgtar) man—when, owing to the writing of a learned *man* of the realm who is desiring the truth, *he* is so perplexed⁴ on account of a doubt of increasing the after-tearing of the same perplexity—*has* no doubt of the falsity *and* little training existent in the worldly.

17. The seventh is this, that if none of these six *of* which I *have* written should exist, even then your approved cleverness (stvagdârth), extolled freedom from strife, hereafter-discerning and complete mind-

¹ Reading kâmakö, instead of the unintelligible kâmûn.

² The MSS. omit the last letter of yadman.

³ That is, delivered from contamination or sin; vîrikhtô is probably to be traced to Av. vi+irikhta, rather than to vi+rikhta (Pers. gurêkht).

⁴ K35 has a blank space here, and again a few words further on, but it is doubtful if any words be missing. The spaces are filled up in J and BK, apparently by guess, as follows: J has 'he sees so perplexing a chance, concerning which, owing to the increase of after-tearing of the same perplexity and the arrival of evil, *he* is doubtful, *has* no doubt,' &c. And BK has '*he* is so perplexed on account of no doubt of the falsity *and* little training *that* existed in the worldly for increasing the after-tearing of the same perplexity, *has* no doubt, &c.'

fulness, practised¹ attention to the good, and much affection² for the faithful—so kindly regarding, truly judging, *and* with a liking for praising (sr̥t̥danō), as regards whatever I write truly *and* with true conviction—are, I consider, to make provision, and *have* realised a preparation striven for.

CHAPTER IV.

1. I *have* also seen the spiritual life³ in the writing which is in such statements of incompleteness⁴, *and* owing to the same reason they should not cease from the operation⁵ of washing you—whom may the angels protect!—with the Bareshnûm ceremony⁶. 2. Because the ancients have said that, when it shall be discarded from use, every water, fire, plant, righteous man, *and* animal, and all the creatures of Aûharmazd are afflicted, diminished, and made to leap *away*. 3. As it is said in revelation that, *as to* him *who* stands *by* a dead body upon which the Nasûs⁷ has rushed⁸, ‘anusô zî, Spitama Zara-

¹ J has bûr̥šîdakō, ‘extolled,’ instead of var̥šîdakō, ‘practised.’

² Reading dûkhsharmîh as in J; the other MSS. have m instead of û.

³ Reading dîd̥ ahvôîh; but it can also be read stihânôîh, in which case the translation would be:—‘And my worldly condition.’

⁴ Meaning the incomplete kind of purification which their statements complained of, or his referred to.

⁵ K35 and BK omit the *r* in kardakō.

⁶ See App. IV.

⁷ The fiend of corruption (see Dd. XVII, 7).

⁸ The three Avesta passages here quoted, with their Zand (Pahlavi translation), are from Vend. IX, 161–163, and are freely translated (trans. D) thus:—‘It grieves the sun, indeed, O Spitama

thustra! aêsha yâ¹ paiti-irista avad² hvare â-tâpayêiti³, anusô hâu mau, anusô avê stârô⁴—discontentedly, moreover, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! does the sun shine upon him who *has been* by the dead, so discontentedly [does the moon]⁵, thus discontentedly do the stars—khshnâvayêiti zî, Spitama Zarathustra! aêshô nâ yô yaozdâ-thryô, yad aêtem⁶ paiti-iristem frâ-nasûm kere-naoiti—the man who is purifying propitiates *them*, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! when *he operates* on him *who has been* by the dead, on whom the Nasûs is put forth, *and* he has become *parted* from the sacred twigs⁷—he propitiates fire, he propitiates

Zarathustra! to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars. That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra! who cleanses from the Nasu those whom she has defiled; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.' The Avesta text is given according to the standard edition of Westergaard (IX, 41, 42), and all variants of any importance, in the three MSS. here used, are mentioned in the notes. These passages are also referred to in Ep. II, iii, 5.

¹ K35 and BK insert the last three words, anusô âvâ stârô, here.

² J inserts yâ here.

³ J has â-tâpayaêta, but K35 and BK omit the word.

⁴ K35 and BK have khshathrô-chinanghô, 'of a desire of authority' (which occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 112 as the name of a man) instead of avê stârô, which they have inserted earlier. They also leave a blank space for the words maman akhûrsandîhâ, 'moreover, discontentedly' (which begin the Pahlavi translation), as if they were descended from a damaged original.

⁵ All three MSS. omit the words in brackets, which are necessary to complete the Pahlavi version.

⁶ K35 and BK omit aêtem.

⁷ J has 'who has become polluted,' which separation from the sacred twigs (see Dd. XLIII, 5), or other ceremonial apparatus, implies. The phrase is omitted in Pahl. Vend. IX, 162.

water, he propitiates animals *and* plants¹, he propitiates the righteous man², he propitiates the righteous woman, both *of them*,³ as *in* the Avesta⁴ of it:—khshnâvayêiti âtareṃ, &c.

4. When *there* is no purifier all the angels of the worldly *existence* become afflicted *and* dissatisfied; and religious purifiers who are intelligent are even now not to keep backward the work of purification, just as *it has* come to them by practice from those of the primitive faith, and are not to diminish it.

5. To change a good work properly appointed they shall not accept a law which is not right, a good work not properly appointed⁴; not to do the work thereof is accounted very sagacious *and* perfectly wise; and through your freedom from inferiority⁵ the glorifying, commendation, praise, and blessing are your own. 6. For it is said that in all the work of forming and maintaining the law (dâdistânō) those of the primitive faith *were* very greatly particular about every single thing; and *as to* the whole operation of that proceeding into which they *have* entered, those of the primitive faith have become aware of the power which *resides* in true authority. 7. But, otherwise⁶, the routine which is brought out

¹ J has 'he propitiates plants,' as in Pahl. Vend. IX, 163.

² Literally 'male.'

³ The initial words of which here follow their Pahlavi translation, instead of preceding it.

⁴ J omits these six words.

⁵ Reading afrôtarîh, as in BK; K35 had originally avartarih, 'pre-eminence,' as in J, but the copyist wrote afrô (=aparva) over the avarta, as a correction, leaving it doubtful whether he meant afrôtarîh or aparvarîh, 'want of education.'

⁶ That is, unless confirmed by the decisions of the ancients.

from revelation¹ and the teaching of the high-priests is then not authorisedly changed by that priestly man whose decree of the fifteen² *washings* is written in *your* epistle³; because, on account of the whole and any perversion (*gastakth*) of the same writing, not of similar utterance with revelation, before which the custom did not exist, I am without doubt as to that decree.

8. And in it⁴, moreover, is written, declared, *and* contained (*vangldō*) that once *washing* is mentioned⁵, until a purifier comes who is acquainted with the ritual, who washes just as declared in revelation. 9. *To be* so washed I consider just as a thing for which he is even now as *it were* a purifier who is a good washer⁶, that of which *it* is written below *and* clearly realised that it should not be decreed; *and* through the scanty deliverance written therein⁷ *it* is manifest it would not be the statement above⁸.

¹ J has 'which is brought out with knowledge of the *purifying* cup (*tāstlk*), with preservation of faith, *and* with manifestation from revelation.'

² All three MSS. have 'sixteen' in ciphers, but it is evident that Zād-spāram and his erroneous teaching of the sufficiency of fifteen washings (see Ep. III, 1, 2) are here referred to.

³ Reading *semag*, a Huz. hybrid for *nâmak*.

⁴ The decree of Zād-spāram, apparently.

⁵ Referring probably to Vend. VIII, 299, which provides a washing for the polluted person by himself, if he can find no one willing to purify him (see App. V).

⁶ That is, for such a purpose any ordinary washer would be sufficient.

⁷ In Pahl. Vend. VIII, 299, which states that, although pure enough for ordinary purposes, he must still abstain from engaging in ceremonies for others (see App. V).

⁸ That is, it is very different from the propitiation mentioned in § 3.

10. If learned knowledge, *relating* both to that about inferior matters (*agīrtarīhâ*) and that about superior matters, *be*¹ true authority praised *and* declared by the great primitive faith, former high-priests *and* those newly arisen (*navakgandakânō*) would be *and* would have been similarly forward; then, too, it would exist not so much with the priestly men *of* the time *as with* the learned officiating priests (*magôpatân*) of *Aûharmazd* *who* have been before. 11. And when, moreover, all the Avesta and Zand are easy *to* a priest², pre-eminently acquainted with the liturgy *and* a supreme *Zaratûst*, *he has* attained *unto*, *and* should remain with, *Aûharmazd* *and*³ the officiating priestship of *Aûharmazd*, and the supreme, world-managing, religion-observing (*hû-dîn-nikah*) sovereignty as to *religious* treatises⁴. 12. To change then their practice in the law would be entirely an outcry apart from deliberation, and a like violation of the unanimity of the spirits who are the heads *and* guardians⁵ of the religion, *and of* the unanimity of the source of opinion of the good themselves, for the sake of *what is* not acceptable.

13. But the statement above⁶ is, was, *and will* be that which remains a good idea well considered by them with the centre of thought, as to *its* well-

¹ J has 'because if even for that about superior matters, acquaintance with religion, and learned knowledge *there be*,' &c.

² That is, when he knows all the scriptures and commentaries by heart.

³ J omits '*Aûharmazd* and.'

⁴ That is, he has full authority to interpret the scriptures.

⁵ Reading *sarân sardârân*, but in K₃₅ the two words overlap, so that *sar-sardârân*, 'head guardians,' might be intended.

⁶ Probably referring to the quotation from the *Vendidad* in § 3.

operating characteristics, just contention, and complete powerfulness. 14. Also from the teaching of just high-priests, through the preservation of much evidence, and ascertained for the members of the assemblies of various provinces (shatrô shatrô), are shown the opinion *and* experience of most priestly men; and to make the various districts (kûstakô kûstakô) thrivingly steadfast, an unperverted *one* should be set up in all four quarters (pâd/kôs) of the same province.

15. And a semblance of it is apparent even from that which the glorified Nîshahpûhar, the supreme officiating priest¹, and also other officiating priests of Aûharmazd *have* said, *that one is* not to change any teaching of theirs thereon after *it is* provided, *and* not to render useless the statements of other authority thereon. 16. But that which they should accept *from* them as a certainty is to maintain the statements of other high-priests as pre-eminent; *and* not to change the operation of statements of another description *has* appeared lawful. 17. Even so it was as that *same* Nîshahpûhar, in the council of the glorified (anôshakô rûbânô) Khûsrô², king of

¹ This mōbad of mōbads is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in the Nîrangistân (see Sls. I, 4 n). His name is spelt in various ways.

² King Khûsrô, son of Kavâd, who is best known by his title Nôshirvân, or Anôshirvân, 'immortal-souled,' reigned A.D. 531-579; and the statement that Nîshahpûhar was one of his counsellors (made little more than three centuries after his death, and, therefore, probably correct) is of considerable importance for fixing a limit to the age of those Pahlavi books in which he is mentioned. These books are the Pahlavi Nîrangistân, a late recension of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, and the Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf, in which last it is

kings *and* son of Kavâd,—by preserving old things (ligânō)—showed that way on whose thoughts they are established, and wrote them unaltered, so that such thoughts thereon became as *it were* decided; and their thoughts thereon, after such decree of his, have so become unanimous. 18. Through the importance *of his* assured rank, and the rest which *was* said by him in the work of sustaining the faithful, he maintains as much as the other statements, one *by* one, from the deliberative teaching of those high-priests.

CHAPTER V.

1. That writing which comes amid the writing of your epistle is a correct fragment¹ as regards the nothing in which *one* is to change the operation properly maintainable, and it is becoming; because, if it be even for him, by whom it is written from the

stated that Virâf was called by the name of Nikhshâpûr by some. From the statements made in our text it seems probable that the council was employed in revising the Pahlavi Vendidâd, in which they were careful not to erase the opinions of older commentators, and thus confirmed their statements by their own authority. It is possible that this council was that mentioned in Byt. I, 7, where the name Nishâpûr also occurs, but whether it refers to a man or a city is not quite certain. This council, which seems to have been summoned for condemning the heresy of Mazdak, was held probably two or three years before Khûsrô came to the throne (see Nöldeke: Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, p. 465).

¹ Reading bangisnîh, but it may be bûgisnîh, 'deliverance from contamination.' The reference is to the decree of Zâd-spâram mentioned in Chap. IV, 7, the 'writing' alluded to in Ep. II, ii, 1; iii, 1.

statements of Mēdyōk-māh, Afarg, and Sōshāns¹, the several statements *and* teachings of the same high-priests, yet then the elaboration *and* publication thereof are not such as that which is sent down by his further elaboration². 2. And thereby it *has* seemed manifest *that it* is sent so that a wish for the spirit *may* proceed from the truth of *its* minister (padō), or *from* his thought for the desired decision; or his understanding *may* be of that kind which is warped (vukūstō), as though he believed it as other than the exposition of the religion *and* the teaching of the high-priests. 3. But until the unparalleled arrival of Sōshāns³ any one not sharing in complete knowledge is not appointed unto a patron spirit (ahvō), *and* the fiend specially contends more experimentally with the thoughts of the high-priests of the religion for a religious decision.

4. And even the recompense of community⁴ of property is that when *one* gladly observes pure thoughts; *and* the swift action of voluble (pūr) speakers and kind regard of religious characters for deliverance⁵ *and* for the noticeable undeceitfulness of the same spirit⁶—which is itself the desire of settled observation that is in it for the sake of the

¹ The names of three of the commentators whose opinions are most frequently quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Sls. I, 3). Each of them appears to have written a complete 'teaching' or dissertation upon the ceremonial laws, from which the quotations are taken (see § 6).

² That is, in collecting the opinions of the ancients, he has twisted them so as to suit his own views.

³ The last of the future apostles (see Dd. II, 10), not the commentator of the same name mentioned in § 1.

⁴ Literally 'fraternity.'

⁵ From pollution or sin.

⁶ See § 2.

same kind of full religious diffusion—are the swift action of the patron spirit, which, for the sake of preparing him for a deliverance that is not falsifying revelation *and is* without disputants, is a kind regard for the deliverance itself of *him* whose spiritual life (hûkō) it is.

5. *As to* that which is thought by him¹ of those deliverances sent down, completed, *and* announced, I consider more particularly about the meaning of one thing, which is their solemnized observance.

6. The solemnized observance of Mêdyôk-mâh is in the teaching² of Mêdyôk-mâh, and those of Afarg and Sôshâns are each one meditated *and* indicated in a teaching; and the pointedly superior position of each one of them is mentioned by him in *his* statement of any teaching and *of* the decision set up. 7. Also with a kind regard for his own choice he *has* thought it (the former teaching) imperfect, and, on account of *what* was not attained by it—which *was* a re-explainer of the same good ideas provided—*its* dissimilarity to it is not unnoticed³.

8. *But* when *one* hears the re-explainers of a true reply he is well protected (hû-zinhartdō) by complete mindfulness⁴, *and* is himself confident that the teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh is not the whole statement of Mêdyôk-mâh, for there are many opinions of

¹ Zād-spāram the writer of the decree mentioned in § 1.

² The word *kâstakō* means usually a written course of teaching or exposition, a commentary, dissertation, or manual of instruction.

³ Implying that Zād-spāram had been more inclined to enforce his own opinions than to examine those of the commentators.

⁴ The Pahl. translation of Av. ârmaiti, 'devotion,' which is usually personified as a female archangel protecting the earth.

Mêdyôk-mâh¹ *which* have decided *in* another manner; not *that* whatever Mêdyôk-mâh said is not good, *but* in the teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh *it* is certain that even *what* is not proper is mentioned many *times* as a possibility².

CHAPTER VI.

1. *As to* that which is written in that epistle, that in the teaching of Sôshâns he thus states, that 'of both the purifiers necessary he is suitable by whom the ritual is performed³,' they have been similarly very unanimous that when one is incapable (at û)⁴ it is the other *that* is suitable, who is written *of* in connection with him; and that, moreover, because the statement of Afarg is in a teaching of his⁵, and, on

¹ J inserts 'rules which are mentioned in the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh.' It appears probable that the author had access to much more complete commentaries than the fragments now extant in the Pahlavi version of the Vendidâd.

² Meaning, probably, that Mêdyôk-mâh was disposed to relax the rigid enforcement of the law in cases of doubt or difficulty, as the Avesta itself does in several cases.

³ Quoted from Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, ð, where it may be read either as an opinion of Afarg (as mentioned in our text), or as a statement of the Pahlavi translator, who would, therefore, appear to have been Sôshâns. A complete translation of the Pahlavi version of Vend. IX, 1-145 and the commentaries relating to the Bare-shnûm ceremony, which are frequently alluded to in these epistles, will be found in App. IV.

⁴ Perhaps 'impotent,' as the Rivâyats (M10, fol. 103 a) provide that a purifier shall be neither aged nor youthful, not less than thirty years of age.

⁵ See note 3, above; from this it appears that Afarg was the earlier commentator.

that account, that declaration of his seemed *to be* from him, which is as though *it were* decided by him. 2. Then, when *one* reaches the eulogistic (afrâsîñâkô) reply of his re-explainer, owing to his just will it is itself well perceived that Afarg comes into account as one of the high-priests; and that which is the special teaching of Sôshâns *has* mentioned that they have been very unanimous that when there is one he would be suitable¹.

3. That evidence, too, which many high-priests, and especially one teaching, are alike diffusing, is stated also in the teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh, that when he who is washing² understands the profession, then one purifier is plenty for him. 4. When it is abundantly declared, in particular by two teachings, *that* when there is one he is suitable, *it* is then not to be rendered quite inoperative through the solitary statement of Afarg; for Afarg only said, as it appeared so to him himself, *that* 'two purifiers are requisite'³. 5. The customs of another high-priest are not declared to exist with like evidence; and this is set aside (spêgtîdô) even by him himself, that another custom is not suitable to exist, because his own view is mentioned as it appeared to him.

6. Those of the primitive faith have been fully⁴ of the custom that other *one* selected, as to this, where *it* is the performance of the Vîkaya ('exorcism')⁵; because its explanation is this, that an

¹ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*, but the earlier part of the section refers to statements no longer extant.

² That is, the person undergoing the purification.

³ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*, Ep. II, ii, 7.

⁴ J inserts 'of the same opinion.'

⁵ That is, they have considered one purifier sufficient for reciting

opinion upon which the priests (*magavôgânö*) are without dispute is that which he says is the custom of a priest, *and* the business of the two priests, of whose other custom he speaks as much, is a performance by those two witnesses indicating the same as the priest.

7. This, too, is evident, that, by confession of Afarg, when there is *only* one purifier *he* is to be considered as being suitable¹; *and* an attainment *to* more evidence is that which is written by you, that Mēdyôk-mâh *has* said that every customary *part* (*pt̥sakö*) is to be washed three times², and now the purifiers *do it* once. 8. That teaching remains *in* the same manner as written by him, but the three-fold washing of Mēdyôk-mâh is not a washing to be striven for, but *one* to be well considered, *of* which he spoke; and this, too, is not said by him, that when *one* shall not wash three times it is not proper³. 9. Afarg said that when *one* shall⁴ wash once it is proper, and about this once the opinion of Mēdyôk-mâh is the after statement, and the opinion of Afarg is the prior statement; *and* since in the life of man the first *thing* to be considered is about purity, not the indispensability of washing, and, further, the

the passages from the Avesta (see Vend. VIII, 49-62, IX, 118) which are supposed to drive away the fiend (comp. Ep. II, ii, 7).

¹ See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b*.

² See Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *j*, where, however, the statement as to three times washing is attributed to Afarg, who is the prior authority quoted (as mentioned in § 9), and that as to once washing is attributed to Mēdyôk-mâh, who is the after authority.

³ Reading *lâ khalelûnêdö-ae lâ shâyedö* instead of *lâ khalelûnêdö a-lâ shâyedö*.

⁴ Reading *aê* instead of *va a*. This statement is attributed to Mēdyôk-mâh in Pahl. Vend. (see note 2, above).

pollution diminishes, about which it speaks in the religious cleansing, during so many times washing *as* is declared, then the consideration of it is a consideration about the one time which is the first computation¹. 10. That which mentions more than once washing is a contradiction of the prior deponent, not a declaration; *and* the consideration of that operation, so long as *it is* declared, is about the statement of him who *has* mentioned once washing with the opinion of a prior deponent², owing to the same reasons. 11. But if it be even that much washing which is the merit of the operation, then the statement of Afarg about these times³ is manifestly very preservative, *and* that of Mēdyôk-mâh is a necessity for declaration.

CHAPTER VII.

1. And *as to* that which is written⁴, that 'in the teaching of Afarg *it* is thus declared, that "for every single person, at the least⁵, one cup of water *and*

¹ In Vend. IX, 48-117 the washings of the several parts of the body are mentioned only once, which is 'the first computation' here mentioned.

² Reading pēsmâl, as equivalent to the pēsmâl or pēsîmal previously used; but the word can also be read pasîmal, 'after deponent,' which would be inconsistent with the context. The two terms are very liable to be confounded in writing Pahlavi, and in Ep. II, ii, 6 they are again written alike, though put in opposition to each other. The 'prior deponent' is Afarg.

³ That is, 'about this one time,' as J has it.

⁴ In the epistle to which he is replying.

⁵ The words pavan kâmistîh, both here and in §§ 5, 6, would be better translated 'as a desideratum, or desired quantity;' but in

one cup of bull's urine, which are well alike (*vêh-mâl*)¹, are requisite;" *and in* the same manner it is said in the teaching of *Mêdyôk-mâh*, that "the water and bull's urine, when it is possible, are all to be thoroughly consecrated; when not—and, at the lowest, one cup of water and one cup of bull's urine, which are well alike, for every single person—*they* are to be set down *in* that place, and are afterwards to be mingled together²." 2. And since two teachings have so stated, are *we* to perform the operation more preservatively³ and according to a more correct opinion than this?'

3. Also, 'a correct apportionment is not understood by us, and clear reasons *have* not come to *our* knowledge that a less measure of the thing is proper.' 4. But I well imagine (*hû-minam*) this is not the operation of the *purifying* cup (*tâstîkô*), where a less thing is not proper, because the information with which they have existed—owing to that information of theirs, of which a former high-priest and deliberator *was* the communicator—is that which *was* heard by me, that there are *some* who, for the sake of diminishing the measure of water *and* bull's urine, speak of this apportionment thus: '*Vîkithrekid*'⁴, in everything the operation

Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *c* the phrase is *pavan kamistîh*, which can mean only 'at the minimum, or least.'

¹ In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *c*, where this statement occurs, the first letter of this word is omitted, which converts it into *shumâr*, 'alike.' Either word may be correct, but *vêh-mâl* occurs twice in this section.

² This statement of *Mêdyôk-mâh* seems no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidâd.

³ That is, in a way more delivering from pollution and sin.

⁴ This word, which probably means 'in whatever is varied,' was

which accomplishes this, that is, when *there is* as much as is discernible from his body¹, is proper.'

5. And the saying is not perceived by me *as* a correct apportioning, because the judgment of the greatly-learned leader of those of the good religion, the glorified Yûdân-Yim², and of other deliberators, the opinion of good thinkers, was thus, that that saying is spoken about that of which the measure is not declared as the least by the high-priests' teaching of revelation. 6. Finally, when it is really of the same origin *and* suitable, then less than the least of that, of which the measure is declared as the least, is not proper, if, owing to much evidence in the teaching which has mentioned *it* as suitable, *it be* more of a blessing, and the operation performed thereby *be* more legitimate; because that teaching is for confessing that the statements of high-priests are most evidence of the practice.

7. This is that which is equally perpetual: it is very important *for* the purifiers to keep the intellect of life in operation, *and for* the good to become mentally a powerful giver of aid to them; and now, too, a purifier is ordered to keep in use his own most universal equal measure. 8. That which is perceived by me, and *has* come to my knowledge, more particularly when washed by myself, is the keeping in use an equal measure³. 9. And even if there be a purifier who does not completely keep in use the

evidently the beginning of an Avesta phrase whose Pahlavi translation concludes the sentence. The phrase does not appear to be extant elsewhere.

¹ That is, just sufficient to wet the body.

² His father (see Chap. III, 10).

³ That is, the two liquids should be provided in equal quantities,

consecrated water and bull's urine, still then *it* is not worse than when it does not really arise *from* the same origin¹, and its religious rite also does not take place.

10. Also the words of both the solemnization of the Vendidad and the recitation of the Avesta are likewise to be uttered by him; because² 'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd *about* it thus: "How *shall* I purify³ where he does not attain unto the Airyemâ⁴—there are *some* who say *where* everything is anusô ('discontented')⁵? 11. How as to the fire, how as to the water, how as to the earth, how as to animals, how as to plants, how as to the righteous man, how as to the righteous woman, how as to the stars, how as to the moon, how as to the sun, how as to the endless light, how as to the independent light⁶, how as to all the prosperity, created by

which differs from the present practice, as stated in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, M10, fol. 104 a, mentions $3\frac{1}{2}$ mans of water and $1\frac{1}{2}$ man of bull's urine as suitable quantities to be provided. This section is omitted in J, probably by mistake.

¹ Apparently deprecating the use of mingled liquids derived from various sources.

² The passage quoted here is from Pahl. Vend. XI, 1-5, with a few variations.

³ Pahl. Vend. inserts 'as to the abode.'

⁴ The Airyemâ (written Airyêmê in the MSS.) is Yas. LIII, which commences with the words 'â airyemâ ishyô,' and is the last of the Gâtha spells mentioned, in Vend. X, 22, as having to be recited four times in order to exorcise the fiend. The meaning of the question in the text, therefore, is: how is the purification to be effected when all the spells are not recited?

⁵ Referring to Vend. IX, 161-163 (see Chap. IV, 3).

⁶ This clause is omitted in Pahl. Vend., being merely a repetition of the preceding one, the Av. anaghra raokau being first translated by asarag rôshanôih, and then partially transliterated by

Aûharmazd¹, which is a manifestation of righteousness?" 12. And Aûharmazd spoke to him thus: "Thou shalt chant the purification *liturgy*, O Zarâtûst!—that is, fully solemnize a Vendidad *service*—then he becomes purified, &c.," as mentioned by me *above*². 13. Where they do not make *them* solemnize a Vendidad so that they keep in operation that which is written of it as a rite, this does not drive *pollution* from any *one*; and then, too, they should abandon the commands of a decree of leaders who are not over *them*³.

14. Keep the Bareshnûm *ceremony*⁴ in operation, so that the consecrated water and bull's urine are in the proportion *which* is taught by the high-priests of the religion, unless a scarcity occurs as regards these. 15. Then *together* with it, also, this is *to be observed*, that what is mentioned in two teachings is certainly more correct; afterwards, too, where a possibility for it is not obtained by them, *there* is *what* is mentioned as suitable by one teaching, and I do not decide *that it* is not an expediency.

16. And *as to* that, also, *which* is written concerning the three hundred pebbles⁵ that, sprinkled

anagrag rôshanô. As sar means 'head, end' in Pahlavi (hardly ever 'beginning'), the only meaning common to the two terms asarag and anagrag seems to be 'without a head or superior, independent,' that is, in this case, independent of the light of other luminaries.

¹ K35 has 'righteousness, created by Aûharmazd,' but this is evidently a mistake, as 'righteousness' does not translate the original Av. vohû.

² That is, as to the fire, &c. mentioned in § 11.

³ Referring to the heretical decree about which he is writing.

⁴ See App. IV.

⁵ See also Ep. II, iii, 12. The word generally used in these

in *ceremonial* ablution (pâdyâvö), are cast into (val) the bull's urine and water, that is taught even *in* the same manner ; the *inward* prayer (vâgö)¹, even for when *one* does not cast *them*, is in the existing teaching, which is proper. 17. Then, too, on account of the cheapness² and harmlessness of the pebbles the purifiers are less curtailing as to them, *and* to drink the thing so is well-curative in performance. 18. In the existing teaching of imperfect purifiers it should be very advantageous to maintain it as easy ; moreover, it is not said of it *that it* is not suitable, and in the teaching of Afarg it is said that it is proper.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. *As to* that which is written³, that it is declared in the Sakâdûm Nask⁴, that the consecrated bull's

epistles is sang, 'stone,' but Chap. IX, 6 has sagtākō, and Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, c mentions sagkāk, 'a pebble,' as being cast into (dên) the consecrated water and bull's urine, without specifying any number. The practice appears not to be mentioned in the Persian Rivâyats, and seems now obsolete ; the addition of a small quantity of the ashes of the sacred fire to the bull's urine, which is tasted at the beginning of the rite, is, however, mentioned in the Rivâyats.

¹ See Dd. LXXIX, 2. The prayer or grace has to be taken inwardly, that is, murmured, before the drinking mentioned in § 17. According to this text provision seems to have been made for not using the pebbles, by means of a special prayer.

² Or 'value,' as argānfh means both.

³ In the epistle to which he is replying.

⁴ This was the eighteenth of the lost books of the Mazda-worshippers (see Sls. X, 25, note). It was one of the seven law books, and treated of many legal matters. Among the contents of its first thirty sections the following items are mentioned by the Dīnkard,

urine, when it becomes fetid, is to be stirred up (*barâ agârdōtnisnō*), *and* they should not carry *it* forth so to the fire, so that the stench extends to the fire; because, if that stench extends to the fire, on account of the moisture *and* through carrying bodily refuse (*hīgar*)¹ on and forth to the fire, it overwhelms it; that is taught *in* like manner lest, and owing to what is said, it then seemed to one that the bodily refuse and pollution of fetid bull's urine is on account of the stench. 2. But it is proper to observe it more fully mindfully, perfectly completely, *and* with better understanding, because that which is said by it, that the carrying of bodily refuse forth to the fire overwhelms *it*, is not on account of the pollution of the bull's urine, but the proportion of the sin through this; so that it becomes the origin of as much sin for him as that pollution of the bull's urine; but the stench, on account of moisture, is like *him* even who shall bring clean *and* purified water into the fire, *and* thereby becomes sinful².

and one of these passages probably contained the statement quoted in our text:—'On carrying forth the holy-water and also the pot (*dīgō-k*) to the fire, that is, *with* purified *and* thoroughly-washed hands; *and* the sin of carrying *them* forth with unpurified *and* imperfectly-washed hands. On preserving the pot and the other *things*, whose use is with the fire, from defilement with bodily refuse; when, through want of care, defilement occurs, *and* any one shall carry *it* unawares to the fire, he who is careless overwhelms *it* thereby. . . . On lawfully warming the bull's urine on the fire, *and* the sin when *it* is not *done* lawfully.'

¹ See Dd. XLVIII, 19, note.

² The argument is that the urine being a consecrated liquid, its corruption is not contaminating (provided it be not occasioned by foreign matter, as alluded to in § 7); but if the stench be sufficient to extinguish or injure the fire, it is as sinful to expose the fire to its influence as it would be to injure the fire with holy-water.

3. This, too, is a saying, that the proportion of the sin is mentioned not on account of the pollution of the bull's urine; it is said *to be* a counterpart even of that *which* is declared of the care of the *flesh of the* ass and pig, so that when they shall now carry unto the fire more than the proportion which is ordered, it overwhelms *it* through carrying bodily refuse forth to the fire, and even then that flesh, investigated as to purity, is mentioned as a supply for the season-festival¹.

4. The fetid bull's urine is itself likewise prepared, so that on this account it is ordered that *it* is to be stirred up, that so long as *it* is stirred up they *may* thereupon order the use of it; if then *it* is to be rendered quite useless, *there* is afterwards no necessity for stirring it. 5. The stirring is declared a purification as regards polluted *things*, where bodily refuse is only such that *it* is not endless, and so pure that it purifies even that of another.

6. When *it* is written of it itself, that *it* is thus declared in the Sakâdûm Nask, that consecrated bull's urine which is fetid is to be stirred up for the fire, *it* is afterwards declared that *it* is not speaking *only* of the bull's urine *which* is provided those three days²; but that, too, which is old *and* consecrated,

¹ So the damage to the fire is not occasioned by any impurity of the flesh of the ass or pig (which could be used for a sacred feast), but by the excessive quantity brought to it. The pig was formerly domesticated by the Parsis (see Sls. II, 58), but they have long since adopted the prejudices of the Hindus and Muhammadans as regards its uncleanness.

² Referring probably to the times of the three washings, subsequent to the chief ceremony, which take place after the third, sixth, and ninth nights, respectively, (see Vend. IX, 136, 140, 144.)

become fetid *and* is stirred again, when they keep it in use, is proper. 7. And that which the Sakādūm *has* declared is, specially, that one of the high-priests *has* individually said: 'That stench is mentioned with reference to the *occasion* when a stench reaches it of a different kind *from that* which exists naturally in it.'

CHAPTER IX.

1. And *as to* that which is written¹, that '*the teachings of Mēdyōk-māh, Afarg, and Sōshāns*² have all three come *and* remained, and, on that account, whoever *has* washed just as they always wash therein is certain that he is worthy.' 2. Also, 'should it have been as *it were* proper to them, would Mēdyōk-māh have said that "not even the purifier is single?"' 3. *And* the rest as written on that subject, which, on account of its acute observation, *has* seemed *to be* from their statements; they, however, *have* not decided it so by the teaching which is in their names, as *was* indicated by me before³.

4. But I do not so understand that 'if those should have been all the particulars of the peculiarity of all three teachings, would *the teachings* of Mēdyōk-māh and Sōshāns have said, concerning any one who should have so washed that the purifier was single, that it is suitable, because the high-priests have been thus very unanimous that when

¹ In the epistle to which he is replying.

² See Chap. V, 1.

³ See Chap. VI, 2-4.

there is one he is unsuitable¹? 5. And when it should be to them as *it were* proper that, apart from the hands, the other² customary *parts* (pîsakō) *should be* washed once by them, would Afarg have said it is proper³, because washing them three times is not mentioned in the Avesta? 6. And when it would have been as *it were* proper that the three hundred pebbles (sang) *should not be* cast into the water and bull's urine, *would* Afarg's *teaching have* said that it is proper⁴, because there is not a single use for a pebble (sagtākakō)? 7. And when it would be as *it were* proper that *he who* is washed at the ablution seats (mak) at which any one *has been* washed *during* the length of a year, is not injured thereby—only they shall take them away *and they* are again deposited⁵—would Mēdyōk-māh's *teaching* have said that it is proper, because, when the stones (sagō) are again deposited by one, *it* is to effect the cleansing (vistarišnō) of some one,

¹ The writer says he does not understand this argument of his correspondents, because it differs from the view he takes in Chap. VI, 2, but it must be confessed that the meaning of the passage in dispute (Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *δ*) is not very clear, as the word *ashâyed*, 'he is unsuitable,' can also be read *ae shâyed*, 'he would be suitable,' both there and in our text.

² K35 has one line blank here, but this was probably owing to the state of the paper, or some inadvertence of the copyist; as it is evident that none of the text is omitted.

³ Compare Chap. VI, 9-11.

⁴ Compare Chap. VII, 16-18.

⁵ This shows that the places for ablution during the Bareshnûm ceremony were, a thousand years ago, the same as now, namely, stones deposited on the ground, not holes dug in the ground, as directed in Vend. IX, 13, 14, 16. They are, in fact, the stones or hard material directed to be deposited at the holes in Vend. IX, 29, 30, but they go by the old name for the holes (*magh*).

and when a *shower of rain* occurs thereon so *that* the whole place shall be thoroughly wetted, inside *and* outside, it is proper? 8. And if some one says that this is the case of a rite by a teaching of authority, and the rule is by a teaching of private authority, is not the whole rite by any teaching proper, that *consists* in this washing which is thoroughly preserved as they keep *it* in practice¹?’

9. The reply is even this, that every rite (nīrông) is to be performed *in* such manner as *that* which is said *to be* most preservative, and most connected with the declaration of revelation *and* the testimony of the high-priests *concerning* it. 10. And not for the reason that Mēdyôk-mâh’s *teaching* is more preservative² as to one rite, and after that something of Afarg is more preservative, is the operation to be performed by the statement of Mēdyôk-mâh; *but* whatever is the more preservative of Mēdyôk-mâh’s is collected from Mēdyôk-mâh, all the more preservative of Afarg from Afarg, *and* that which is the more preservative of *any* other high-priest from that which *has* the most preservative approval of the high-priest. 11. That which those high-priests *have* said, which they decide by just authority, is the commandment of the learned of the realm, which has lawfully arisen over the provinces (shôhârânô); but even that statement opposing it *which* is much testified *and* manifestly more of a deliverance, or which is declared *as* an exposition

¹ This string of arguments appears to be quoted from the epistle to which the writer is replying, but as they are separated from their context it is difficult to understand the exact line of argument, or to be sure that they are translated correctly.

² From pollution or sin.

of the teaching of high-priests of the religion in a dissimilar case, they shall then¹ wholly accept, and *they* are to perform the operation authorisedly and preservatively thereby.

12. This, too, I so consider, *that* even if each separate teaching should be as *it were* proper, it would then not be determined by them as to the impropriety of the *purifying* cup, for Mêdyôk-mâh *has* stated, only as *it was* apparent to him, that every single customary *part* is to be washed for three times², and *has* not specifically determined that when all shall be *so* once it is not proper.

13. By the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh and the washing which is in the law that says—concerning those interpreting revelation—that whoever becomes quite polluted shall thoroughly wash by that law, so that his *being* washed is to be considered as *being* washed, it (the rite) is not performed by me if, also, that other high-priest *has* said, that every one who becomes quite polluted, and washes not by the law of the primitive faith, is not to be considered as washed. 14. Then, too, in the special teaching of Mêdyôk-mâh *it* is not said, *of* that washing which is washed by the law of those of a portion of the religion (pârak-dînôân), that it is not proper.

15. He who washes by the law of those of the primitive faith, which many high-priests maintain as excellent, because it is suitable, and imagines that regarding the threefold washing it should be said that it is not proper, even he—when he also

¹ That is, when the dissimilar case arises, or when it is manifestly more efficient.

² See Chap. VI, 7.

has become of the same opinion as to this, that the statements of the high-priests are on an equality, and the most evidence of the high-priests is the *right* course—would have attained to confidence about this, that in a doubtful matter *there* should be a high-priest¹, and also that *of* which Afarg and Sôshâns *have* alike understood a similar thing is proper.

CHAPTER X.

1. And *as to* the many other *matters to* which an explicit reply is not written by me—be it the determinableness of it, be it the flow of *inward* prayer², be it the pouring of the water, and likewise the rest which is written *to* me—the statements, when deliberation and conjecture about such arrangements become needful, are not *to be made* unto the multitude, but *unto* the priestly at once³. 2. And this much, also, which is written by me is on this account⁴, *that* when a writing has come to you which is the purport of my re-explanation, *and it has* seemed that it is written after *well*-weighed (sakhtakö) observations⁵, even so they *would* cause *some* of those of good desires to understand, who are thoughtful friends of the soul *and* observers of

¹ To consult about the matters in doubt.

² Reading *vâg-rêgisnôih*; but J omits the first letter, and thereby converts the word into *apardazisnôih*, 'want of leisure.'

³ J has merely 'the statements are when deliberation and conjecture become at once needful.'

⁴ Reading *hanâ râi*, as in J; the other MSS. have *hanâ lâ*.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'strict observations' here, and 'strict observers' further on.

well-weighed ideas, in whose heart and mind, owing to that *other* writing¹, the existence of doubtfulness may fully remain; and, owing to that, this much re-explanation *has*, indeed, seemed to me good.

3. And then the desire² to sprinkle³ in many modes is also an incorrect presentation⁴, on which same subject there is this in consideration, that afterwards, peradventure, the same priestly man⁵ by whom it is written *may* come—whose assured wisdom⁶ may the angels make steadfast! *and* whom my approaching causing a purifier to travel for *various* quarters *has* occasioned to write it—so that while they are, therefore, awed by him, and shall provide more completely for use the full measure of water *and* bull's urine, the complete words of the Avesta, *and* other proper rites, they shall proceed more approvably. 4. And if *it be* even not auxiliary for the same purpose (âhanō) *that it was* written by him—except, indeed, through consideration of its details—no reason for a writing of that kind is to be assigned.

5. But if for the reason *it was* written by him *it be* manifest as an existence which is very little threatening, then I consider his opinion, which is in his decree, not so perplexing; and, till⁷ now, the perplexing consideration *was* more particularly as

¹ To which he is replying.

² Reading adfn gām, but this is doubtful.

³ The Huz. verb zerf kûntanō, 'to sprinkle,' is not found in the glossaries, but is readily traceable to Chald. ܣܪܦ.

⁴ Reading arashn f kō-āō-dahisn fh.

⁵ Meaning his brother, Zād-sparam.

⁶ The usual Pahlavi phrase for the Av. âsnô khratus or instinctive wisdom (see Dd. XL, 3).

⁷ Assuming that val stands for va/.

to that, when, owing to the great learning thereof to be seen by me, this was not doubtful, that *as to* the great opinion of the world *about* the existing law of the profession of the priesthood, *and* the practice of all those of the good religion of the realm, they should make a decree only by the deliberation of me and other priestly men *and* religious observers¹. 6. For if even he retorts a further statement² as to the appointed observance, *its* origin is then also a propagation from the diverse teachings of those great high-priests of those of the primitive faith, *who* were they *who* have been formerly great.

7. On account of the depth and much intricacy of the religion they mention many opinions *and* well-considered decrees *which were* likewise formed devoid of uniformity, *and* the utterance of the different opinions of the priests is with the reciters of the Nasks; but even among themselves the most supremely just high-priests were of a different opinion, different judgment, different teaching, different interpretation, and different practice only in the peace, mutual friendship, and affection which they had together. 8. Just as that even which *was* prominent about these chief priests (magôpatânô magôpatô), whose names *were* Âtûrô-Frôbagvindâd and Âtûrô-bûgêd, who have been, each separately, the high-priest of the realm of the true religion and the scholar of the age.

¹ Implying that the more learning there is manifest in an erroneous teaching, the more necessary it is to submit it to careful examination.

² Reading *frâgô vaḥ patô-yekavîmûnêd*, and assuming that the last word stands for *patô-îstêd*.

9. To many, when an opinion is afterwards so obtained, *pertaining* to the high-priests *in* the spiritual *existence*¹, *it* is as is said about Zaratûst the Spítamân, that 'the first time when the arch-angels are seen by him, the Spítamân, *it* is then supposed by him that they are Aîndar, Sârû, Nâkistyyâ, Tâûtrêv, and Zâîrlê², who are most mighty³.'

10. From such as those the decree and its original perversity (bûn-gâstîkôh) and scanty preservative-ness are so written *and* prepared, and afterwards, also, your opinion is that way irritated by the habit of good thinking—of which there is so much manifest⁴ from those of the primitive faith and the high-priests—because even its words and those written with *it*, *and* the completeness of will *and* religion which is written, inclined the mind *away* from the teaching of the high-priests.

11. But as the same decree, *or* that which is resembling the same decree⁵, is appointed (vakhtô)

¹ That is, such as have passed away.

² These are the last five of the arch-demons who are the special opponents of the archangels, being corruptions of the Avesta names Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairika (see Bd. I, 27). The name of the first arch-demon, Akôman, is omitted here, probably by the mistake of some copyist, as six names are wanted to make up the number of the archangels exclusive of Aûharmazd himself.

³ J continues as follows:—"of the demons." 10. Written with the wretchedness (vakhârîh) and savageness of such as those, the oppressiveness and disaster of a decree of that description, and its original perversity,' &c. (as in the text).

⁴ In the decree, which was so written as to appear to be directly derived from the teachings of the commentators, but, at the same time, so warped their statements as to lead astray. Hence, it might be compared to the conversion of an archangel into an arch-fiend through a mental hallucination, as mentioned in § 9.

⁵ J omits these last eight words.

and specially decided, and is not to be accepted *from* him, and the operation is not to be performed thereby, its position is then to be considered, *by* those steadfast *in* the practice of the pre-eminent religion, with the most advanced understanding and discernment, which are the thought of its true station in the religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 12. And other religious decrees, intelligently preservative of the soul, which are made known *and* declared from the teaching of truthful high-priests of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, are to be suitably accepted *and* fulfilled. 13. And since this opinion (dâstakö) of mine is, moreover, from the writing of Afarg, even about the preservation of different interpretations and different teachings, not specially owing to unobtainable statements of this shattered¹ religion of the Mazda-worshippers, nor even *to* distress through simultaneous strife, but owing to the desire of true opinions which *has* existed, there is safety abundantly, but temporarily, from the scribbling of the opposing, partial, and injurious writing of that priestly man².

CHAPTER XI.

1. For completion little is observed by me; and a man of my own, *in* a position of authority (sōng gâh), comes with a second epistle³ for that priestly man, opposing, disputing, showing the harm, making

¹ Reading hanâ giring, but it can also be read ân adarog, 'that undeceitful.'

² Zâd-sparam.

³ Not Ep. II, but one which preceded it (see § 5, note).

aware of the deliverance¹, and applying for arrangement. 2. And the man who comes as a co-operator is announced by me, *and* the rite which is accomplished by him is *so* till further *notice*, which is for my further epistle²; because a double elucidation about that which it is necessary to arrange from afar is a custom more suitable for the discreet.

3. If *that* same priestly *man*³ should have been in the vicinity, then interviews *with* me, with a few words, *would have been* more preservative than *trying* to convert that wretchedness (vakhâr) into that which is customary (pîsakô) even by further writing and much information. 4. And even now my prospect is a well-considering demand for explanation, so that, if the duties which are suitable for the discreet *be* really disposable for it, it is proper so to arrange what it is possible for me to complete *for* three months; *and* I *may* go myself into the presence of *that* same priestly *man* for the arrangement of the indispensable duties, and *may* diffuse this arrangement properly⁴. 5. *But* there are many reasons for private reflection (nâhîdô) on account of which a descent from position is an evil resource; and *this* once a temporary epistle is written by me to him, and comes with this epistle⁵. 6. And Yazdân-

¹ From pollution, by means of the Bareshnûm ceremony.

² Probably referring to Ep. II, till the arrival of which (or that of Ep. III) they were to act as directed by the priest he sends with this epistle.

³ His brother Zâd-sparam.

⁴ This intended visit to Sîrkân is also mentioned in Ep. II, v, 5; vi, 4, 6; vii, 3.

⁵ Being apprehensive that personal interference might lead to altercations derogatory to his dignity, he prefers trying the effect of writing in the first place. The temporary epistle, here referred to,

pânak¹, a man who is instructed², shall come to him, *who* is friendly to custom (âfnag-tyâr), *and* of like rank with his own man who is faithful; *and* I *will* write further *and* more controversially to him, and give the information advisedly with which I *shall* acquaint him, so that *it may be* more explanatory to him.

7. But if through this which is written by me, or *through* myself³, he *should* come immediately (digandyts) unto Pârs, I *shall* then be seeking an opportunity even for the retirement of him himself; I do not abominate *it* (madam lâ mansôm) when it is necessary for them *and* private, as is better.

8. As to these other diffusions of arrangements which are pre-eminently the resources of that priestly *man*, and the acquaintance with revelation which is sought by him, for the sake of the advantage of the religion *they* should not be molested before⁴.

9. May the arrangement and restoration and benediction of the revelation (dînô) of the Mazda-worshipping religion reach a climax! *and* may the

could not have been Ep. II, as that was written after Ep. III, and was the further epistle promised in § 6.

¹ Or, perhaps, Yazdân-pahnak. This was a common Parsi name in former times, as it is found in two of the Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri caves, dated A.D. 1009 (see Indian Antiquary, vol. ix, pp. 266, 267), and the very similar name, Yazd-panâh, occurs as the name of a Parsi convert to Christianity who was put to death about A.D. 541 (see Hoffmann's Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer, p. 87).

² Assuming that dinhârđō stands for zinhârđō.

³ If I should come personally.

⁴ Referring probably to further matters of complaint, which he did not think it advisable to notice seriously until the present controversy was settled.

eminence of you listeners¹ to the primeval religion consist in long-continued, supreme prosperity, through all happiness! then, through such thoughtful friends, the acquaintance *with* its difficult teaching and mighty words, which is to increase that gratitude of yours to me for my decisions, is made a blessing to you, if you observe therein a good idea which seems to you important, when it reaches your sight.

10. The correct writer *and* scribe is ordered that he do not alter *any* of² the words (mârtk), while he writes a fair copy of this epistle of mine, which is written by me to you, and he orders *some one* to give *it* to *that* same man, Yazdân-pânak, *along* with that epistle, so that it *may* come to him³, for there are *times* when I seem aware that *it* is better *so*. 11. And may the angels increase *and* enlarge your many new *things* with full measure and complete exaltation! the pleasure, peace⁴, righteousness, prosperity, commendation, *and* happiness *of* the powerful⁵ who are all-controlling *and* happy-ending.

12. Mânûskêthar, son of Yûdân-Yim, *has* written *it* in the day *and* month *of* Spendarmad⁶, in the

¹ Reading nyôkhshîdârânô, as in J, instead of avakhshîdârânô.

² Reading min, instead of mûn, 'who.'

³ To Zâd-sparam. This copy was that mentioned in Ep. II, vii, 1.

⁴ Reading s/am, as in J; the other MSS. have shnuman, 'pro-
pitation,' the two words being nearly alike in Pahlavi letters.

⁵ Reading patûgânô; J has paðvandânô, 'connections,' by inserting a stroke.

⁶ The fifth day of the twelfth month of the Parsi year; and, as Ep. III (which was evidently written after further consideration) is dated in the third month of A. Y. 250, this must have been written in A. Y. 249. The date of this epistle, therefore, corresponds to the 15th March, 881.

enjoyment of righteousness, the glorification of the religion, trustfulness to the angels, and gratitude unto the creator Aûharmazd, the archangels, *and* all the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences*. 13. Praise to the month (mâh) of like kind which is exalted in its name with this.

EPISTLE II.

TO HIS BROTHER, ZÂD-SPARAM.

Copy of an epistle of the priest Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, which *was* prepared by him for the priest, *his* brother, Zâd-sparam¹.

CHAPTER I.

1. *In* the name of the sacred beings who shall keep exalted the pre-eminent success of *your* priestly lordship, accomplishing *your* wishes in both worlds, I am longing for the children—formerly promoting health of body—and *for* activity, and fully desirous, and in every mode a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings, for the well-abiding *eyesight*, peace, *and* understanding of *your* priestly lordship.

2. The epistle that came *from* you in the month Âvân², which Nîvshahpûhar³ *was* ordered to write,

¹ See the heading to Ep. I.

² The eighth month of the Parsi year, which must have been A.Y. 249 (see Ep. I, xi, 12, note). This month corresponded to the interval between the 11th November and the 10th December, 880; but it is evident from Chaps. VII, 2, VIII, 1 that this reply was written about the same time as Ep. III, that is, in the interval between the 14th June and 13th July, 881.

³ This appears to have been the original form of the name Nîkshahpûhar or Nîshahpûhar, applied both to a man (see Ep. I, iv, 15, 17) and to a city in Khurâsân, and in this place it is not quite

and by me from¹ and , would have been quite desirable to increase *my* gratitude unto the sacred beings *for* the health and salutation of *your* priestly lordship, though it had been *merely* to write intelligence of your own condition; for your writing of the epistle is not such as *that of* the distant who write in duplicate, but like *that of* neighbours who think that everything new should always be really mutual information. 3. *As to* that, too, which you ordered to write about omens *and* such occurrences—for which my form of words is not as is twice specified within the epistle, and from henceforth *one* should order to write intelligence more clearly—moreover, on account of want of leisure on many subjects, my heart is not disengaged even for the understanding of omens.

4. I apprise *your* priestly lordship that in this

certain whether a man or a city is alluded to. The text, as it stands in the MSS., is as follows:—‘Nāmakō zītanō dēn bidanā Âvānō mûn Nivshahpûhar nipistanō farmûdō va mađō.’ This can be translated as in our text, if the word *va* be omitted; but, if this word be retained and *mûn* be changed into *min*, the translation would be as follows:—‘The epistle which *some one was* ordered by you to write in the month Âvān from Nivshahpûhar, and *which* came.’ Now it is evident from Ep. I that Zâd-spāram must have been in Sirkân for some time previous to the date of that epistle, 15th March 881, and, therefore, probably in the previous November; but, at the same time, it must be noticed that there are allusions in this second epistle (see Chaps. I, 12, V, 3) to his having been formerly at Sarakhs and among the Tughazghuz, that is, in the extreme east of Khurāsân; it is, therefore, just possible that he may have been at Nivshahpûhar, on his way to Sirkân in the south, in November.

¹ J and BK attempt to fill up the blank with the words *kēshvar arg*, ‘the value of the realm;’ but the original text probably stood thus:—‘and *was received* by me from *so and so*,’ the names having been torn off in some intermediate MS.

interval (tâhîkô)¹ a written *statement* has come unto me that the good *people* of Strkân are, indeed, so enveloped by you *in* distress, despondency, and trouble that its counterpart *was* when *there was* a liberation of *our* glorified fathers from the state of material existence. 5. For such as the insufficiency of the whole life of such *was* then to me, so even is the wounding and damage which comes *now* to *my* understanding and intellect. 6. The whole life of such is on the confines of the pure existence, a contest *with* the complete incorrectness that remains contaminating the liturgy by which the greatest intelligence of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers is aided; a little also, finally, of sagacity and observance of the apportionment of the more grievous impostures and more frightful delusions.

7. And, first of all, as to when your completely vile idea first destroyed your own enlightenment, and quite subdued your seconding of me, is inopportune (avidanâ) for me; and that ordinance², which though it be also right, is then even grandeur, because *it* is a law of the realm and an opinion of the world. 8. When even in the mansion of various thoughts, the residence of the assembly of Pârs, *and* many other conventions to deliberate, and the united opinions of a thousand priestly *men* (magavôg) of the good religion thereon, it could remain unaltered, then, also, the various good thoughts *and* opposing considerations that, *along* with me, the

¹ Since he heard from his correspondent. The word cannot be tîsgakô, 'nine days,' as that would not tally with the dates of Eps. I and III.

² Referring probably to the Bareshnûm ceremony which Zâd-spâram wished to dispense with in many cases.

minds of other heads of the religion *have* promoted, *and* shaped *or* altered decisions thereon, *and* settled and issued orders thereon, could not have seen a grievance (*seg*) *therein*. 9. And this, too, should be observed among your requirements¹, that when the fattiness² of the body is in wrinkles (*kṛn*), so that four perfect *ones* of the period are provided, even then the opinion of a high-priest of the religion is greater than every opinion, *but* the law of the realm of *various* kinds³ is only through the deliberation of the same perfect *ones*; to make him decide then is not proper⁴.

10. And it would be desirable for you to take account of that which is said thus: 'Thou shouldst not practise that, O Zaratûst! when thou and three or four companions, in the village of a thanksgiver of the assembly, shall say this: "Such is an evil notion."' 11. These words of his are then not taken into account by you; and *it* is firmly and *with* acute observation determined by you, and thought preservative for yourself, that even the sin be not privately (*andarg*) declared by me unto the assembly which *has* deliberated at Shirâz⁵. 12. You order this, and

¹ J omits this phrase.

² Reading *mêsakh* or *miskhâ*; but it may be *masagth*, 'squeezing.'

³ J has merely the words, 'even then the opinion of the high-priest *for* the realm,' which gives a reverse meaning to the text.

⁴ It appears from this, that when a supreme high-priest became very old, his worldly duties were put in commission, by being intrusted to a committee of four of the most learned priests; but the opinion of the superannuated high-priest was still supreme in spiritual matters, though not to be trusted in worldly affairs.

⁵ Whither Mânûskîhar had specially gone to hold this assembly before writing Ep. I (see Ep. I, iii, 13).

it is known that if it were a statement of yours in the assembly of the Tughazghuz¹, *you* would have been still less a speaker in private.

13. I consider that you are as much under-*hand* (afr) about this, as regards yourself, as Zaratûst² the club-footed (apafrôbd) when he arranged his garments (vakhshakthâ), and his club-foot is itself overspread thereby even to himself, so that *he was* then approved *as good*³ by *some* of those of Kirmân⁴ when they heard *of it*, and those of Rât⁵ (Râzîkânô) wrote a reply that, if *he* should be appointed by you also at a distance, *he* would then be approved by them likewise *as good*. 14. This idea of yours is more heinous than that act of his, the reply from *various* sides is more mischievous, the disgrace among the people is more unslumberable, the load upon the soul is more consumingly heavy, and the

¹ The MSS. have Tughzghuz in Pâzand. Mas'âudî states (A.D. 943) that the Taghazghaz were a powerful Turkish tribe who dwelt between Khurâsân and China, in and around the town of Kûrân, and not very far from the supposed sources of the Ganges. They had become Manicheans, having been converted from idolatry to the heretical form of Mazda-worship taught by Mazdak (see Mas'âudî, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vol. i, pp. 214, 288, 299, quoted at length in a note to Sls. VI, 7). It would seem from the allusion in our text that Zâd-spâram had recently been among these Taghazghaz, and might have imbibed some of their heretical opinions, so as to lead to this controversy with his brother and the orthodox people of Sîrkân. That he had recently been in the extreme north-east of Khurâsân is further shown by the allusion to Sarakhs in Chap. V, 3.

² Evidently some recent pretender to the supreme high-priesthood, who had endeavoured to conceal the deformity that disqualified him for that office.

³ That is, fit for the dignity he aspired to.

⁴ Here written Gîrmân (see Dd. XCIV, 13).

⁵ Near Teherân.

severance *from*, and contest *with*, Aûharmazd and Zaratûst become more incalculably perplexing. 15. And this, too, is my summing up (khapîr)¹—when your own acquaintance with the religion and salvation of soul are *in* such force—by the parable (ân-gunt-aîtakö) of that physician of the body who, when they asked about destroying the toothache, thereupon gave his reply thus: ‘Dig it out!’ and they rejoined thus: ‘He is always wanted *as* our physician, so that he may cure even a tooth which is diseased;’ I *would* extract its teeth² more plentifully and *with* more suspicion than he.

16. And if, also, those of the good religion in the country of Irân be, therefore, always in want of the learning and acquaintance with religion of *his* priestly lordship, so that he disperses the profession and the preparation *and* management of the remedy³ of many diseases, then he throws it away as a profession, *and* there is not much of a necessity for the wisdom *and* learning of *his* priestly lordship. 17. For *there* are *some* of the *present* time would never vouchsafe approval of a presiding fire⁴, which is in many modes an advance of foreign habits; *and* of many *things* which are in writing, *of* a nature easier and more comfortable in a worldly *sense*, they offer and

¹ J converts the phrase into ‘very heinous to me,’ by reading avîr and adding girân.

² That is, he would drive the morbid ideas from his brother’s mind.

³ Meaning the practice of the Bareshnûm ceremony, for which the priests were specially required.

⁴ Probably because they saw no necessity for the presence of the fire at the sacred ceremonies. He is warning his brother that his heretical teachings would soon make the people imagine that they could dispense with the priesthood altogether.

always give more than he who is a priest; and, *at* last, no one ever accepts *any* except him who is astute in evil *and* wicked¹.

CHAPTER II.

1. I *have* also examined that writing² in detail, and *it* is very unprepared for the remarks of the learned and those acquainted with the religion, for the sentences concocted *have* to be divided, and the slender demonstration is disconnected (aparvan-dīdō); so I consider that *it* is not sent to be seen, as regards which such a course *would*, indeed, *be* a cause of terror to purifiers. 2. *It* is so written that, while on account of *that* same terror they are very much alarmed, and are thorough in maintaining the duty of the continuance of care for water and bull's urine³, and *of* the formula of the operation, they shall more fully perform *it* as a duty provided for high-priests; even from that I am more fully of opinion that your like judgment and own concession *have* produced this explanation.

3. When I saw in the decree, such as that which you have written, that each time *one* comes unto a purifier who washes *in* such manner as is declared

¹ That is, some priest who teaches such heresies. These terms are those applied to the demons themselves in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 140, 141, 147.

² The decree of Zād-spāram, a copy of which had been sent to him by the people of Sīrkān (see Ep. I, iv, 7).

³ The two liquids used in the purifying ceremony of the Bare-shnūm (see App. IV).

in revelation—which is evident, indeed, from *his* existence when *he* is a religious purifier, *and* also from *your* priestly lordship's knowledge of the rite; indeed, there is no use of *that* same decree unless the scripture of revelation, likewise, be so—*he* is to do *it with* very strict observation, *now*, since, owing to the reception of terror by the purifiers, that preparation is evidently to produce, as regards their own disposition and movements, much harm *and* irregularity, *and* perplexed thoughts *among* the people, the discredit of the decreer is generated therefrom, and it would have been more reasonable to consider the terror and doubt of the purifiers in another way.

4. That which is so explained by you as though it would remain accomplished *and* would be in notice—and this is written by you like as it were from a teaching of *some* description—is not proper; because, thus, every rite in the performance of the desired operation, even by one *single* teaching, is suitable, *which*, like the preparation for the statements of lying litigants, is very like, *but* not correct. 5. For when there are *some* who *have* furthered Mēdyôk-mâh¹ better than the teaching of Afarg¹, *it* is well when every single rite in the teaching is right; and *as to* his rite *it* is not very clear that deliverance² is promoted by maintaining *it*. 6. Even on that *occasion* when Mēdyôk-mâh *has* mentioned threefold washing, *and* Afarg once washing³, Mēdyôk-mâh is the after deponent and Afarg the prior

¹ See Ep. I, v, 1.

² From pollution.

³ In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *j* (see App. IV), where the threefold washing is connected with the name of Afarg, and the once washing with that of Mēdyôk-mâh; but Ep. I, vi, 7–9 agrees with the statement here.

deponent¹; and, on that account, the statement is to be made as long as Mēdyôk-mâh is preserved, *but* as regards the opinion of the words of Afarg *it* is to be maintained in a state of preservation.

7. *As to* that which Afarg *has* said², that 'two purifiers are requisite,' Mēdyôk-mâh *has* also said that one is plenty; *and*, since the teaching of Sô-shâns³ is similar evidence to his, as to that which is said by him, they have thus been more unanimous that when there is one it would be proper; *and* as several high-priests have announced just the same evidence, *and* Afarg himself *and* other priests have been of the same opinion where *it* is the performance of the beginning of the Vlkaya ('exorcism')⁴, Mēdyôk-mâh is preserved. 8. Not on this account, that Afarg is more preservative⁵ through once washing, is the operation to be performed according to the teaching of Afarg, but the once washing from Afarg who is the prior deponent, *and* the one purifier from Mēdyôk-mâh who is the most corroborated are to be accepted and to be conducted.

9. And even the computers of the stars would make the position of the stars which exists when that of the sun *and* moon is from the direction (min zîk) of Satvâharân⁶, that of Saturn from the direc-

¹ The words pasîmal, 'after deponent,' and pêsmâl, 'prior deponent,' are here written alike (see Ep. I, vi, 10, note).

² In Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, *b* (see App. IV and compare Ep. I, vi, 1-4).

³ See Ep. I, v, 1.

⁴ See Ep. I, vi, 6.

⁵ From pollution (see § 6).

⁶ The high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay is of opinion that the names of the three 'directions' mentioned in this section are the Pahlavi forms of the names of three of the lunar mansions, whose

tion of Avênak, and that of Mars from the direction of Padramgôs, a position *which* sends much good, *and* is said *to be* capable of undoubtedly (anârangak) bringing on maturity of strength. 10. That this is to be seen as an occurrence (*gastô*) is a conjunction (*nazdakô*) which is not possible¹, because, if the conjunction of Satvâharân *be* exact, yet, since Saturn *and* Mars are not at *their* conjunctions (*min nazdak*), its effect is not a good configuration (*khûp tanû*); if the conjunction of Avênak *be* exact, yet, since the sun, moon², *and* Mars are not at their conjunctions, its effect is not good; *and* if the conjunction of Padramgôs *be* exact, yet, since the sun, moon, and Saturn are not³ at their conjunctions, the effect is

Pâzand appellations are given in Bd. II, 3; and he identifies Satvâharân with Kahtsar, Avênak with Avdem, and Padramgôs with Padêvar. The reading of all these names is, however, very uncertain. Satvâharân is written Satâharân three times out of the five occurrences of the name, and the first syllable might easily be read Gaht=Kaht, so as to correspond with the Pâzand; on the other hand, the reading Sat corresponds with Sata-bhishag or Sata-tâarakâ, the Sanskrit name of the 25th lunar mansion, Kahtsar. As Pâz. Avdem seems to be merely Pahl. afdûm, 'last,' I prefer identifying Avênak (which can also be read Avêrak) with the ninth lunar mansion, Avra (Avrak in Bd. VII, 1, Avrak in Zs. VI, 1), the Sans. Ârleshâ. Padramgôs is also written Padramgôs twice out of the three occurrences of the name; its identification with Padêvar makes it the first lunar mansion, the Sans. Arvinî. The aspect of the heavens, therefore, which is here mentioned as very auspicious, has the sun and new moon in the latter part of Aquarius, Saturn in the first part of Aries, and Mars in the latter part of Cancer, that is, twice as far from Saturn as the latter is from the sun and moon.

¹ That is, it very rarely happens; as rarely as the exact agreement of three different commentators, whom these three conjunctions are intended to represent.

² Reading *mitrô mâh*, instead of *Mêdyôk-mâh*.

³ The MSS. omit *lâ*, 'not,' by mistake.

not good; on account of¹ which, in any conjunction which is not exact, they believe *it* possible *for* a firm mind also to accomplish this auspicious labour (sukh-varzishnō), but they say the just and wise should make the decision². 11. So that this one is a very good position, because that which is truly issuing (râst-tag) through the conjunction of Satvâharân is from that mighty Satvâharân³, *and* that of Satvâharân *being* better through the conjunction of Padramgôs, that is done⁴.

12. You *should* understand that of the same kind is the similitude of the three teachings, of which you *have* written, with this similitude which I *have* portrayed⁵ *and* ordered to form *and* scheme, so that you *may* look at it more clearly, from a proper regard for your own deliverance⁶, *for* the sharp

¹ Reading râl, as in J, instead of the lâ, 'not,' of K35 and BK.

² That is, the circumstances are too unpropitious for any one to come to a decision without consulting those who are better qualified to judge, as is also the case when commentators disagree.

³ Reading min zak rabâ Satvâharân, but this is doubtful, because K35 has min rabâ âharân with zak Sat written above min rabâ; BK has min zak Satō (or dâdō) rabâ âharân (or khârân), which is merely reading the same characters in a different order; while J omits most of the doubtful phrase, having merely min zak-i, which, with the alteration of râst-tag into râsttar, changes the meaning into the following:—'because that which is through the conjunction of Satvâharân is more correct than that of Satvâharân, *and* that which is through the conjunction of Padramgos, that is done.'

⁴ Or 'that remains the effect.'

⁵ Reading nîsânînfâdō; K35 and BK omit the first letter so as to convert the word into dîhânînfâdō, which might mean 'presented.'

⁶ From pollution. There is some temptation to use the word 'salvation' for bûgishn, but this would introduce ideas that were, no doubt, foreign to the author's mind.

intellectuality of the re-explainers of *what* is not well-considered *in connection* with *its* purpose (âhan-kö), *and for* the accumulation of *opinions* that is steadfast in the law of the ancients *and* orders *you* to heed *it*. 13. For, owing to the miraculousness and pre-eminence of that¹, he who thinks to restore the good ideas of the ancients does not himself understand the knowledge in that wisdom of the ancients, *and* does not keep his own presumption (mīnñh) lowly and teachable; much, too, which is through his own learning is declared *to be* out of it (the law), *and* how he orders *us* to understand *it* is *by* his own opinion².

CHAPTER III.

1. *It* is disquieting about this, too, which is declared in your writing³, as regards *your* vehement desire and embarrassment (rûzdñh) for a new law, and *your* wish and longing for the establishment of the law of the apostles⁴; as also that which you *have* done about the gathering of the details of statements from the three teachings⁵, *and* about

¹ The ancient law, as contained in the difficult language of the Avesta.

² That is, commentators are apt to attribute to the scriptures many opinions which really originate in themselves.

³ The decree mentioned in Chap. II, 1.

⁴ That is, the new law which the future apostles, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns (see Dd. II, 10) are expected to bring, so as to restore the religion in preparation for the resurrection.

⁵ Those of Mêdyôk-mâh, Afarg, and Sôshâns (see Ep. I, v, 1, 6).

causing the rapid bringing of the new law. 2. And on account of your embarrassment and wrong-doing (*vadag*) they would give up the *Frasnâteê* ('washing upwards') and *Upasnâteê* ('washing downwards'), to bring the fifteen *times* which are without ordinance (*barâ âfnakö*), that are after it², back to the fifteen which are a portion of the ordinance (*âfnakö vâf*).

3. *As to* the three times, each of which times *one* runs a mile (*hâsar*) even until he obtains a purifier³, since peradventure thy mile (*parasang*), too, *might* become more, all the good work is written purposely (*ag-karthâ*) of three miles and more⁴. 4. And that, too, which the high-priests have so appointed, when *he has* striven in that manner for three persons⁵, or that sin and retribution of his is apportioned unto them *and* brought to the balance (*sangag-âfnakö*), is because that commission and retribution of sin *might* now, peradventure, be

¹ These terms are quoted from Vend. VIII, 276, 279 (see App. V), and are thus explained in Pahlavi in Chap. IV, 2.

² Referring, apparently, to the second mention of the fifteen washings, in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 281, which does not occur in the Avesta text ('the ordinance'), but refers to its previous occurrence in § 279 of the Avesta. But, perhaps, the author means that they would confound the final washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 299 with the preliminary washing appointed in the previous § 279.

³ See Vend. VIII, 280, 287, 291 (compare App. V and Ep. I, ii, 6, note).

⁴ After the polluted person has thrice run a mile, he is to run further (see Vend. VIII, 294) to some inhabited spot; from which directions the author concludes that any excess of distance is immaterial. K35 and BK have 'four miles and more,' but this seems to be a copyist's blunder.

⁵ To purify him, and, if they refuse, they each take a share of his sin (see Vend. VIII, 280-293).

allotted unto the priest¹; for if *he were* impure (palistō) there *would* be no one whatever who would properly perform the purification as it is necessary.

5. Then it *has* become indispensable *for* you to perform the purification, for that operation—so suitable for the discreet where ‘he who *has been* by the dead²,’ so that he has become polluted, and even ‘the stars and moon and sun shine upon his life discontentedly’—is just as fit for the exalted when there is great ‘propitiation of fire, water, earth, cattle, righteous males, and righteous women’ thereby. 6. So great is *its* value *that* where there is no purification *of* the body *it* is not possible to purify the life *and* soul; *and* when there is a man in a realm who is able to perform it, that man is not justifiable except when he shall perform *it*.

7. Finally, when that pre-eminent operation is *being* accomplished, over which *there* is in revelation and the perfect information due to revelation that supreme³ control which you are so disputing in the religion—which even through your trifling (khûr-dakō) in the name of authority is becoming a struggle (patkâr-yehevûn)—then, though it may not be possible for you to perform *it* yourself, it should thereupon be the duty of some one of your *disciples* to perform it in your sight, so that you *may* be aware of the rite, even apart from the great resources in *that* most learned (âztûm) acquaintance

¹ Who is to purify him finally with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

² Referring to Vend. IX, 161–163, quoted at length in Ep. I, iv, 3.

³ Reading mahistō, but it can also be read Mazdayastō, ‘Mazda-worshipping.’

with revelation which is associated with you¹.
 8. Also from that which is repeatedly written by you with understanding of the rite, as regards all three teachings², *it* is manifest those rites are mentioned even *as* those *which* are more maintained, *and* are not those which are unnecessary to perform.
 9. You are a something therein that *tends* to preserve³ a little *of* what it is not possible for thee to attain fully in any mode; when thou shalt obtain the operations of the voice⁴, and the water and bull's urine, as well as the three men⁵, or thou shalt give a man⁶ to wash therein, the intellect of those controlling is then, indeed, not preservative therein.

10. It is proper also for you to consecrate the water *and* bull's urine by that ritual which is in all three teachings, to prepare your own ritualistic liquid *and* other *things* which are approved among you with mutual assistance, *and* to appoint a purifier who *has* performed fully acceptably *and* been wanted.
 11. Then, to give *out* properly to the country that the purification is according to my order, I always

¹ That is, even when not performing the ceremony himself, his presence would be desirable, for the sake of securing due attention to all the details, with which his superior knowledge must make him better acquainted than his subordinates.

² See § 1.

³ Reading *bûkhtanô*; the MSS. divide the word, so as to convert it into *barâ tanû*, 'without a body.' The meaning is that by his presence he is, at all events, able to secure some efficiency in the ceremony, when he is compelled to intrust its performance to subordinates who are not fully competent.

⁴ In the prayers and exorcisms.

⁵ See § 4.

⁶ That is, one thoroughly qualified (the priest mentioned in § 4) who requires no special supervision.

perform *it* more acceptably than that of other purifiers. 12. For the water *and* bull's urine are all consecrated by me, and the three hundred pebbles (sang¹) are cast into them (aûbas) by me, just as it is directed; the operation is also directed by me in the three days² when it is performed, and all the customary *parts* are washed three times by me³; the ablution seats (makō) are also arranged by me anew for every single person, and the use of washed seats is not ordered by me therein⁴; every rite of the washing by the purifier is also so performed by me as all three teachings have mentioned as perfection. 13. You become the best of the district, as regards the minutiae (bârikîdōân) of the purification that is within your duty, so long as they excite the sight⁵, *but* which are curtailed (kazd) by you in the way of washing disclosed to me⁶, while, when it should be performed by you in this manner, your performance would be equally constantly extolled *and* your writing praised.

14. When, then, you write of it that they should always perform it just as now, the falsity therein is

¹ See Ep. I, vii, 16.

² The 'three washings' mentioned in Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, 0 (see App. IV); referring probably to those after the third, sixth, and ninth nights (see Vend. IX, 136, 140, 144), that is, on the fourth, seventh, and tenth days of the Bareshnûm ceremony. Most of this clause is omitted in J.

³ As said to have been directed by Mēdyôk-mâh (see Chap. II, 6, Ep. I, vi, 7), though the extant Pahlavi Vendidâd (IX, 132, 7) attributes the order to Afarg.

⁴ Compare Ep. I, ix, 7, Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, 9, 5.

⁵ J has 'so long as they advance the purification as much as possible by a resemblance so approved.'

⁶ In the heretical decree under consideration.

grievous (yagar), and I know none worse; for this washing and professional purification which *one* is to keep in operation—as is declared by revelation, the teaching of high-priests, and those of the primitive faith who are esteemable¹—you withdraw (madam dêrêdô) from the midst *of us*. 15. That *which* you understand yourself is that unto Aôharmazd the confederate good creatures are as *it were* defiled, *and* in the eyes of the good *and* wise *they are* as *it were* propitiatory towards the mischievous Vâê². 16. And your words about it are just as they say concerning a beggar³, where a garment is given to him, thus: 'Wash the dirt (âlûg) on him thoroughly clean;' *and* that garment they shall take is put upon the fire *and* burnt; and he spoke thus: 'My dirt *was* a comfort.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. *It*⁴ is both explained again *and* summarized *thus*:—If the decree be from a law of Zaratûst, is it so decreed as he spoke it? and if they should never perform by that, do not bring the Avesta *and* its exposition into the midst *of it*. 2. For the fifteen times *of* which you *have* written, if from the revelation of Zaratûst, are his mode of *washing* fifteen times upwards and fifteen times downwards⁵, a rule

¹ That is, by the Avesta and Zand.

² Reading anâkô Vâê; he is the demon that carries off the soul (see Dd. XXX, 4). Even the best creatures are imperfect in the eyes of Aôharmazd and the righteous.

³ Reading niyâskar, instead of the niyâsar of the MSS.

⁴ His own line of argument.

⁵ See Chap. III, 2.

which is fulfilled. 3. *It* is said, if *one's defilement* be owing to depositing any bodily refuse (higar-1), then nothing of this is ever necessary for him, for one reckoning (mar-1)¹ will smite that which he takes hold of with a finger and *it* is clean, or it will smite a golden yellow clean, or whatever² it shall smite is clean; but nothing *merely* clean is purified, unless a demon be clean³.

4. And this, too, is very amazing to me, that when this is not taken into account by you, that when there should be, *and one* should obtain, no purifier⁴ it would then be necessary for him to operate himself⁵, how then is this knowledge obtained by you, on which information (âgahîh) *has* reached you, that the purifying of all the purifiers of the country of Irân is just as they should always perform *it*. 5. When, as I consider, there is then no complete acquaintance *with* the management of a house in you, its own master, in what manner then is your account of the gossip⁶, *and your* information, about all the purifiers of the country of Irân

¹ That is, a single washing, which is sufficient for ordinary defilements unconnected with the dead.

² This is doubtful; the word seems to be *kîkê* in Pâzand, but, as the Av. *î* and *û* are much alike in Iranian MSS., it may be read *kûk-ê*, and the phrase would then be 'or it will smite a penis clean.'

³ That is, cleanliness can no more be considered purification than a demon, who is supposed to be an embodiment of impurity, can be considered clean.

⁴ J has 'when there should be no purifier it would be necessary to beg the help of a chief of the religion, and when *one* should not obtain *that*.'

⁵ As directed in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V).

⁶ Reading *va k sakhûn*, but this is uncertain.

obtained? 6. If your *people* should abandon that *which is* most indispensable, and your account of the gossip, as regards that which the whole realm *has* done, *be* not according to the commands of religion and to sound wisdom; *and* if it has not come completely to your knowledge as the washing of the purifiers of the country of Irân—because, when you do not fix the number even of their footsteps¹, *it is* certain that *your* understanding of their disposition *and* virtuous practice is even less—then it was necessary for you to determine the reason that all the purifiers in the country of Irân always wash that way that is declared as improper, with whatever certainty *it be* uttered *or* written.

CHAPTER V.

1. If this which is said by you be a knowledge that is replete (avkâr) with advantage, why was it then necessary for you to keep *it* as *it were* concealed² from me, when I thus consider that, if a knowledge should be rightly obtained by you, it should then have been needful for you to report unto me on the first rumour³ from every *one* who is well-enlightened (hû-bâm)? 2. If this decree

¹ Referring probably either to the distance of the Bareshnûm place from pure objects, or to the distances between the holes or ablution seats, and from them to the furrows, mentioned in Vend. IX, 12, 14, 18, 22 (see App. IV).

² Reading nihânō, as in J, but K35 and BK omit the first letter.

³ Assuming that mayâg is a pseudo-Huzvâris equivalent of âvâg (Pers. âvâ); mayâ being the true Huzvâris of âv, 'water.'

seemed so to you before, between when you have been in Pârs and this *time* when in Sîrkân, *it was* not well considered with those acquainted with the religion, the wise *and* the high-priests, *and* not even reported. 3. If not conceived by you before, then what learned acquaintance with the religion *was* acquired by you in Sarakhs¹ *and* Shirâz, about which you are enlightened? 4. And before it was to be well considered amid observation *and* meditation² what high-priest *was* obtained by you in Shirâz, who, when it was well considered with him, in completely securing himself, kept you *away* from deliberation to be decided with me *and* other priestly *men* and high-priests?

5. If not decided by you in Pârs on account of breaking *away* from me, that is *as* though you yourself understand that I *am* to keep, *in* my own person, not even in the rank of discipleship unto you, but in that which is like servitude; and my coming³, which is on your account, is even an accumulation of harm *and* distrust (tars) which you *have* amassed for yourself by *having* written *and* acted, *and* has made *me* suffer sorrow (vîdvarînidô) in my own person. 6. If it had been shown to me by you *that* it would be the preservation of the religion, it would then have incited me to accept *it* steadfastly. 7. If,

¹ A town in the extreme north-east of Khurâsân, between Nishah-pûhar and Marv, but nearer the latter city. When in this town Zâd-spâram probably came in contact with the Tughazghuz mentioned in Chap. I, 12.

² J inserts the words 'by you, and through your good consideration *it was* more properly undeceiving, if done, then.'

³ Referring to his intended visit to Sîrkân, mentioned in Chaps. VI, 4, 6, VII, 3, Ep. I, xi, 4.

for the sake of co-operation with me, a lawful decree had been even more privately propagated by you, and if the religious demonstration about it *were* conservative *and* correct, it would then have been less vexatious for you to explain *it* to me than to others who *have* less acquaintance with the decrees *and* declaration of revelation; *and* if a difference had arisen thereon, a correct reply would then have come to you more fully from me. 8. And if you conceive that it is not necessary to demonstrate *it* to me through the declaration in revelation, that deliverance which it is not necessary to announce is not to be so decreed, even in another place. 9. And, just as even in Pârs, if *it were* not decreed by you in Sîrkân on that account, when your conception *was* that they would not accept *it* from you, it was necessary for you to know that, because it *was* not possible for you to provide much interval for demonstration.

10. If *its* purport *be* now considered by you, when you are moving as to the writing from Shirâz¹—which writes fully *of* your acquirement and interpretation of it, and *of* a mutilated deliverance²—the arrangements for iniquity on this subject are many. 11. And one of them is the erroneous writing³ which is with me, for you conceive that they would accept from me your *view*, as *it were* swearing (sôkandîkô) that it does not go to the filth accumulated for⁴

¹ Referring probably to Ep. I, which appears to have been written from Shirâz after holding a general assembly (see Chap. I, 11, Ep. I, iii, 13); but this epistle, judging from the remark in the text, was probably written after Mânûskîhar had left Shirâz, as was also Ep. III (see Chap. VIII, 1).

² From pollution.

³ See Chap. II, 1.

⁴ Assuming that the Pâz. pgsâhu stands for paz sâkh-1; but,

Zaratûst, and does not contend with him; *and that* the opposition (hamêmalîh) does not strive *for* a new law, *and* does not increase the evil of the spirit *and* the world, since it labours *for* the hoard of the soul.

12. And, persistently concealed, that *was* done by thee, owing to which is the anguish of my life; for *it* is annoying when a wound of the soul is not actually realised by means of the decree; but if, too, it should be really avoidable, *it* is then even said *that* ignorance itself would be regenerative (navazû-dârthâ), since *it* is not dubious to me, unless a matured knowledge of creation and some of that even *of* the angels should be in sight¹. 13. Also through their much talking, which is like Vîsaris², and much affliction, which is like the eradication of life, *there* is a perpetual demonstration then *in* every place of the country of Irân, where this information *about* its religion shall arrive, *that* they then consider thee as an apostate and an enemy of the religion.

14. And through this eager procedure of yours many troops in the provinces, who *have* to horse (aspîntîdanö) themselves, *have* joined Âtûrö-pâd³;

as Av. *g* and *d* are much alike, it may be pdsâhu, which, when written in Pahlavi letters, can also be read pad gêhân, 'protector of the world;' or pdsâhu may be merely a corruption of pad-shâh=pâdakhshah, 'sovereign.'

¹ Meaning that he should have preferred being ignorant of such a decree, unless it exhibited far more knowledge of the truth than it actually did.

² So written here in Pâzand; but, no doubt, the demon Vîzaresha (the Vîzarâsh of Dd. XXXII, 4, XXXVII, 44), who carries off the souls of the wicked, is meant.

³ The name, apparently, of some rival of his in authority, who is also mentioned in Chap. IX, 11.

for, inasmuch as those most mounted on horses¹ are the washers² of Sîrkân, who would have always thought about their abundance which is due to the archangels, they have spoken with opponents about this interpretation of the section *of scripture* (vîdak)³, and so become similarly testifying⁴, thus: 'We do not conceive it is necessary to demand thy reason for this most grievous disaster⁵, a thing which is more complete through your elucidation of doubt and the power of the enemy, owing to this way which is appointed by thee.' 15. And on that account, too, *it* is more disquieting unto me, when I am aware both of the origin *of* this perplexity *and* the surpassing contamination which is possible to arise from it.

16. And you always so observe as not to leap (lâ atyyûkhtanö) without looking before; but temporary observation is nothing really of that *which*, by a well-stinging similitude, is what *one* observes, with the eyesight looking well forward, *when* dust of many kinds is domesticated with the sight of the

¹ Reading asp-vâarakântûm, and this meaning tallies well with the previous mention of troops horsing themselves; but J, by prefixing a stroke, changes the word into vâspôharakântûm, 'those most renowned among the spheres.'

² The ceremonial washers or priests.

³ The term vîdak is applied to sections or chapters of the Avesta in Dd. XLVII, 1, 5, 6, LXVI, 4; and here it must be applied to the Avesta of Vend. VIII or IX, to which the misinterpretations of Zâd-sparam specially referred.

⁴ J has '*and* so given similar testimony, which is written by them of a priest of your fame, and written by them to me.'

⁵ The diminution of their means of livelihood by the decrease of ceremonial washing, more than their apprehension of the sinfulness of such decrease.

eye; and if his intellect be not judicious he is wonderfully deceived by it; and *should* it be even when he mentions the existence of two moons, *has it* become more proved thereby? 17. *It is* a custom of the most provoking in itself, and presented disquietingly when I, who believe with a fervent mind, *would have* delivered the life even of *my* body over to the perplexing bridge¹ for your happiness *and* enjoyment. 18. Also, on account of my want of leisure, even the information which is presented, asking peace, is information I believe with a generous mind; and *being* aware regarding my want of leisure is both an advantage and harmful, and the heart to write of them² is, therefore, miraculous. 19. Then it is always necessary for me, who *am* in want of leisure, to write unto you so much writing of the harassing of annoyers *and* against disputes, of whose end there is no conception in my heart.

CHAPTER VI.

1. When at *any* time I write more pleasantly, this directs *you* to understand that still with the steadfast are my affection and natural lowly-mindedness; afterwards, too, that which *happens* when you have kept me wide away from the way of brotherhood, and higher even than a father, master, leader, ruler, *or* high-priest, is due to the fame and happiness of

¹ The *K'invaḍ* bridge, or passage to heaven (see Dd. XX, 3); meaning that he would have been ready to lose his life for the sake of his brother.

² The heart to write of the 'happiness and enjoyment' of § 17.

my body *and* life, not *to* affection of character, but the position of religion *and* the command of the sacred beings. 2. On that account, when you have seen the pure religiousness, the learned knowledge, *and* the repose-promoting truth of the invisible (avênâpñh) *of* which my¹ heart is leaping with evidence, so that you are steadfast even unto the nôid asta-ka ('not though the body') *of* which Zaratûst the Spitamân spoke²—and, because, turned by me to the religion which is thy passport (parvânakö) to the best existence, you have understood *that* it is the organizer of the greatest protection, *even* that is supposed by me—I undergo all the terror of the period in hope of the supreme recompense.

3. And the position that that religion *has* given, which on that account is mine, you have that way considered as supremacy³; and if, sent from you or another person, the opposition of *one of* the same religion is seen *to be* the dispersion and disruption of the appointed profession, I act against the continuance of the opposition, and as steadfastly as the series (zarah) of submissiveness and gratification of *your* priestly lordship *has* done to me. 4. And this *will* be undoubtedly realised by you, that if you do not turn away from this decree which is not preservative, but, *being* appointed, I reach out from

¹ The MS. J ends at this point, but the continuation of the text, as far as the word 'important' in Chap. IX, 7, is interpolated in Dd. XXXVII, 33 in the same MS.

² In Vend. XIX, 26, 'not though the body, not though the life, not though the consciousness should part asunder,' would he curse the good, Mazda-worshipping religion.

³ He now proceeds from persuasion to an assertion of his authority, accompanied by threats.

the country of Irân¹, then I *shall* become its greatest attacker of you. 5. And so I consider that from my opposition it is possible *for* more harm to happen unto you than from many accusers who are like the leader of those of the good religion, the many who are as *it were* of like fame with me.

6. And also from my departure, and the non-existence *of one* that is a friend of yours, who, like me, is less able to be for your harm than he who is *one* of the many accusers of whom it is I who am the restrainer, you know this, that my coming is on account of the affection of some and the reverence of others. 7. From the exercise of religion I do not at all fall *away*, and for the sake of the position of the religion I am maintaining opposition² to any one; even when he is a friend *who* is loved by me, I am then his antagonist. 8. Fate (zīkō)³ is the great truth of the vacant, the form (andām)⁴ which *has* procured the light of life.

CHAPTER VII.

1. A well-reflecting *person*, moreover, is able to understand that which is written by me, in private, in writing unto the good *people* of Sīrkān, as perhaps a legitimate copy⁵ of a writing of that kind from

¹ Referring to his intended visit to Sīrkān (see Chaps. V, 5, VII, 3, Ep. I, xi, 4).

² J has 'I am an opposition.'

³ Or 'living.'

⁴ Or 'the time (hangām).'

⁵ The MSS. have pīnō, instead of pāīnō. This copy of Ep. I is mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 10.

me *may be* near you; and it was like the production of some one for the tearing and rending of his own limbs, and for the purpose of bringing on that remedy—the burning, torturing medicine that is religious¹—whose purpose is to remain *away* from the steadfast while *abiding* by the commands of religion. 2. This *same* epistle², which *was* one of very great incompleteness, and one as *it were* thinking very severely, *was* similar to the decision (azad³) to which I *have* come on the same subject, *which is* written of below and again; and accompanying this epistle *was* a man of my own with a further epistle⁴. 3. I am discharging (vigârakö) my own *duty* as regards it⁵, where I so arrange affairs of every kind which *it* is possible for me to complete *for a period* of three months⁶, and come myself to *where* you are, and that mastery (êlrîh) which is prepared is again arranged when it is wanted by them⁷.

4. You *have* already become a reserver (khamo-sdâr) and rapid preparer of the adaptation of words in which cogency *exists*, and *have* clearly explained

¹ Probably meaning 'remorse.'

² Ep. I.

³ Chald. ܐܝܕܐ, referring to his general mandate (Ep. III) mentioned again in Chap. VIII, 1.

⁴ The temporary epistle to Zâd-spam (mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 1, 5), of which no copy has been preserved.

⁵ J begins as follows:—'And I *will* come later on and more combatively, when it is requisite *for* the sacred beings (or for them); I am also myself in possession of an opportunity as regards it.'

⁶ This period for his visit to Sîrkân is also mentioned in Ep. I, xi, 4.

⁷ Or 'by the sacred beings;' the words *yasdân* and *sân* being written alike.

as much as is in sight about the reason of altering that decree, concerning which your opinion is written with great judiciousness. 5. But *as to* the understanding which prompted you to write properly, and not to alter the rites *and* purifications of the Avesta, and about the duty of purifying the purifiers¹, such as *has* entered into the practice of the good, the propriety is declared in the teaching of the high-priests; *and* to do *it* better, so far as is possible, is to strive forwards in goodness.

6. Also, as regards changing the law of the fifteen times *washing*², just as *it is* for Irân *in* which purifiers are to be found, it is ordered for *places* to be found without purifiers; *and it is* in the countries of Irân that the order is given regarding purifiers not thus appointed for the work.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. To arrange again for approval the other *matters*, of which a portion is written *about* by you, an epistle³ is again prepared in advance for Strkân, Shirâz, *and* other *places*, so as thus to make your decree a writing of bygone offence. 2. Because, if your despatch (first) prepared this new proceeding, and you do not turn away *from* it, *and* do not recede through opposition *and* accumulation of vexation, *and* these others, too, like thee, shall

¹ J has 'and not to alter the purification *in* the rites of the Avesta.'

² See Chaps. III, 2, IX, 2, Ep. I, ii, 6, note.

³ Ep. III, also mentioned as a 'decision' in Chap. VII, 2.

not now abandon routine of that kind, then *your* children, your own precious *ones* who are beloved—*of* whom I know that you make them love *you*, and do not, moreover, diminish in *your* protection *of them*—shall be your accusers; *and* they shall abandon confidence *in* me as refuge and guardian, *and* in the sacred beings, through want of advice *and* want of guardianship. 3. The fires of the sacred fires whose manager is a guard *and* protection such as I, lest they *should* not obtain such an officiating priest (zôttö), *will have* in defence and guardianship of themselves to make back to *their* Shirâz abode. 4. And *I* myself *shall have* to retire (agvirazîdanö) from the countries of Irân, *and* to wander forth to far distant realms where I *shall* not hear a rumour about your evil deeds. 5. In *my* occupation, moreover, my fortune (sukûn) *may be* to wander forth by water even to China, or by land even to Arûm¹; but *to be* carried off by Vâê², that uplifter, is much more my desire than when I am there where, owing to you, I hear that, as regards the glorifying of the sacred beings, which, because of my reply obtained above, *would* then *be* as much as death to me; *it would* also be the ending of that internal strife, *so* distasteful (aparvâarakö) to me, which is like *his* who *has* to struggle with his own life.

¹ The eastern empire of the Romans, that is, Asia Minor and the neighbouring regions.

² The bad Vâê, who carries off the soul (see Dd. XXX, 4).

CHAPTER IX.

1. This, too, this aged *one* (aûzvârdö¹) orders, that, *as to* the polluted of the countries of Irân, when they do not obtain another washer, their way is then through thoroughly washing *themselves*².

2. For you who are understanding the rite and capable of washing, *and* are the most forward and intelligent of the religious, so long as your previous washing is a way of no assistance, *there* is *this* tediously-worded epistle; moreover, all their sin you assign for your own affliction³, whose after-course is thus for their Pankadasa ('fifteenfold') washing⁴, *at* the time they shall abandon, *as* distasteful, that sin which is a new development by way of Upas-nâtê ('washing downwards')⁴; and the sinfulness is his who established that law for them.

3. And yours are truly creatures of a fetid pool (gand-âvö), who, as regards my motive, always speak about it just as they spoke thus to a priest⁵: 'Why *has* the savoury meat-offering not become forgotten by thee, *while* the firewood and incense, because it is not possible to eat *them* up, are quite

¹ From this it appears clearly that Mâûsîhar was an aged man when these epistles were written, though not too old to travel. The previous allusion to old age, however, in Chap. I, 9, may not have referred to himself.

² As provided in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V).

³ J omits *alag*, 'affliction'; and in K₃₅ it is doubtful whether it be struck out, or not.

⁴ See Chap. III, 2 for both these terms.

⁵ Implying that the laity were inclined to attribute his own strict enforcement of ceremonies, requiring the employment of the priesthood, to interested motives.

forgotten?' 4. Also, *as* a similitude of your affairs, they are saying that *it is* as though the stipend of guardianship *were* always to be demanded just *in accordance* with omissions of duty (avâg mânt-d'ihâ)¹. 5. So that even while the trifle of trifles which exists *as* an interval from the title of leadership unto *that of* high-priestship—in which, except a title that is no joy of the strictly religious, there is nothing whatever—is, that way, to prepare a source of dispute as to the work which you do for the guardianship, it should, therefore, be a sufficiency (khvâr-bâr), where your own supreme work is purification itself; and to do either *what* is taught, or is advantageous, would be withdrawing from the country a demand which *has* caused disturbance (balûbâkîntâdö); to subdue *it* thou shouldst always so decide the daily allowances².

6. And, to-day, I *have*, on that account, written everything sternly, because that which another person arranges and speaks so opposed *to me* in evil appearance—which is little fit *to be* prepared—when I write seasonably, and with friendly and brotherly exaltation, you direct and persevere more expressly in preparing, so that portion upon portion is thus brought forth. 7. In good old age³ the great law of after-restoration is a harsh remedy, and, on that

¹ That is, the laity attributed his brother's laxity, on the other hand, to sheer neglect of duty, and had, therefore, begun to consider his supervision hardly worth paying for.

² Meaning that by adherence to long-established custom, as regards both priestly work and priestly allowances, the laity would be better satisfied and more easily managed.

³ Reading hû-kahôbanîh; J has merely kahôbanîh, 'old age, antiquity.' He appears to be referring rather to the antiquity of the Avesta law, than to his own old age.

supposition, where *a rule* is shown to descend from their three teachings¹, *and* is itself regarded as true, *and* the wisdom of the period *as* impotent (anôzô-harîkô), you yourself fully imagine (hû-minêdô)² that *further restoration* is not an important³ and foremost thing. 8. Those of different faiths of various kinds *have* many usages and perplexing kinds of doubt, even about the accomplishment *and* explanation of the statements of the high-priests⁴, for *on* this subject, about old age (gûnânîh), *and* even about sprinkling and about yourself accomplishing the religious *rites*, you are wisely *for* a preservation of the equally wise experience of the profession; *and as to* the heterodox, that writing which realised that even now memory is opposing you is itself evil-wishing⁵, and you know *it* is your own arrangement.

9. This, too, they⁶ say that, if *it be* on that account that the purifiers shall not always so perform the purification by all three teachings, or every rite which is proper according to one teaching, it will be necessary *that* the purifiers shall abandon purification. 10. Then about old age, the performance of the ceremonial⁷, *and* the many times of this which

¹ See Chap. III, 1, Ep. I, v, 1, 6.

² J has khavîtûnêd, 'you know.' He deprecates all further investigation into the meaning of the scriptures, which had already been explained by three old commentators, as he doubted the religious wisdom of the age in which he lived.

³ The continuation of the text in J ends at this point.

⁴ The commentators.

⁵ That is, the decree of Zâd-sparam, though itself objectionable, was opposed to the heterodox who wished for further innovations.

⁶ The heterodox.

⁷ Referring perhaps to the performance of the Vendidad service

are mentioned as *though* this *were* proper, *it* is stated as regards how it is proper that, when on account of those of the good religion they always proceed just as is mentioned in the Zand teaching of the Avesta¹, it will then be necessary *that* they shall abandon the religion. 11. And many other sayings of things like unto these are scattered about (zerkhûnî-altö), and are named near Âtûrö-pâd² as hints from you; for this reason they are reckoned (khaprag-altö) in the thoughts of men.

12. And this much is written by me in distressing haste; I consider *it* complete, and *may* peace and every happiness perpetually become hospitably attainable *and* accomplishable for you thereby, through the severe anguish *and* discomfort, *and* the eternal distress and despondency *of* the healer of affliction, Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, director of the profession of priests of Pârs and Kirmân³.

13. Written in propitiation, praise, and benediction of the creator Aûharmazd and the archangels, all the angels of the spiritual and the angels of the worldly *existences*, *and* every guardian spirit of the righteous. 14. Homage to the exalted pontiff (radö) *sent* from the creator Aûharmazd, the most heavenly of the heavenly, Zaratûst the Spîtamân. 15. The

(which includes the Yasna ceremonial) as directed in Pahl. Vend. IX, 132, b, o (see App. IV).

¹ It is possible also to read 'in the teaching of the Avesta *and* Zand;' but this would ignore the fact that the 'teaching' is the Zand itself.

² The same rival as is mentioned in Chap. V, 14.

³ According to Dd. XLV, 5 the farmâdâr or 'director' of the profession of priests of Pârs was the pêsûpât or 'leader' of the religion.

most prayerful *and* gainful of things is righteousness; great and good and perfect is Zaratûst; *and* one *only* is the way of righteousness, all the others are no ways¹.

¹ Compare Dd. XCIV, 14, Ep. III, 23.

EPISTLE III.

TO ALL OF THE GOOD RELIGION IN IRÂN.

In the name of the sacred beings.

A copy of the notification (*vishâdakö*) of *his* priestly lordship Mânûskêhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, regarding the grievous sinfulness of *assuming* the propriety of washing for fifteen times.

In the name of the sacred beings.

1. It *has* come unto the ears (*vasammûnisnö*) of me, Mânûskêhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, pontiff (*rad*) of Pârs *and* Kirmân¹, that, in some quarters of the country of Irân, they whose chance happens *to be* so much² pollution, such as is decreed unto so much washing of the customary *parts* (*pîsakö*), always wash *themselves* fifteen times with bull's urine and once with water, consider themselves as clean³, and go to water, fire, and *ceremonial* ablution, the ablution

¹ See Dd. XCIV, 13.

² Reading *hâvan*; but it may be 'pollution of the spiritual life (*ahvô*),' though this is hardly possible in the next phrase, where the same word occurs.

³ By confounding the preliminary washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 279 with the final washing appointed in Vend. VIII, 299 (see App. V, and compare Ep. II, iii, 2, ix, 2).

of the sacred twigs. 2. Such—although¹ they say that Zâd-spam², son of Yûdân-Yim, *has* ordered, *and* the high-priests *have* appointed, washing of this kind—*has* appeared to my well-reflecting (hû-min) opinion, apprehension, and appreciation very marvellous *and* grave, and *merely* a rumour. 3. And *it* is needful for me to keep those of the good religion in *all* quarters of the country of Irân informed concerning the placing reliance upon their washing with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*³, *and* to make my own opinion clear also as regards the writings collected.

4. And, first of all, about the indispensability of the Bareshnûm *ceremony* I write several such copies of a well-matured writing of mine⁴ as may even be new light to the intelligent. 5. That my opinion of the information provided by revelation, the decisions *of* high-priests, *and* the teachings *of* those of the primitive faith is thus, that washing by the polluted with water is pollution for the life and spiritual life (ahvô)⁵; they render the material *body* clean thereby, *but* that which is known as the handiwork⁶ of the immortals, and is also professionally called the Bareshnûm, when *there is* the protection of a ritual of *various* kinds, shall make the body clean from endless worldly attacks.

6. It is in the nine ablution seats (magakô)⁷ and the furrow⁸, even with prayer, bull's urine, water,

¹ Reading a mat, instead of the very similar word hamât, 'ever.'

² See the headings to Eps. I, II.

³ See App. IV.

⁴ Meaning this epistle.

⁵ Because it pollutes pure water, which is considered a sin.

⁶ Reading yadman; but it may be gadman, 'glory,' which is written in precisely the same manner.

⁷ See Ep. I, ix, 7.

⁸ See Vend. IX, 21-28 (App. IV)

and other appliances, and the ritual which is such as is declared in the teaching of revelation; and even now the purifiers, who are just as written *about* below, keep *it* in use. 7. When there is a washing they wash just as in the well-teaching statements which are known as *those* of Mēdyôk-mâh, of Afarg, and of Sôshâns¹, or *in* the statement of one of those three teachings, or in the statement of one of the high-priests *by* whom those three teachings are declared as propriety, or has come unto me as the practice of those same three teachings *by* those of the primitive faith.

8. I deem *this* deliverance² one wholly approvable, and the washer *in* a washing of that kind, with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*—which is lawfully *of* that description—I consider as a purifier who is approvable. 9. And the polluted of every description, as *above* written, who *have* obtained, for any indispensable reason whatever, a purifier, as *above* written, whom even now various districts *and* various places have appointed *and* approved, are able to wash with the Bareshnûm ceremony as *above* written. 10. Then their washing fifteen times is no deliverance in any way, and to wash them quickly with the Bareshnûm *ceremony* as *above* written is indispensable.

11. Owing to a washing of the same kind through the Bareshnûm *ceremony*, as is intended, water, fire, and other *things*, not to provide care for which is un³ authorisedly is grievously sinful.

¹ See Ep. I, v, 1.

² From pollution.

³ At this point there is a blank page in K35, and also in the MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji, which is supposed to be older; and one line is left blank in BK. It is not, however,

12. When, on account of a cleansing through another washing, distinct from the Bareshnûm ceremony,

quite certain that any text is really missing, as this section can be read continuously and translated as follows, without much difficulty:—‘*Apart from a washing of the same kind through the Bareshnûm ceremony, as is intended, there would be a grievous sin against water, fire, and other things, not to provide care for which would be unauthorised.*’

If some folios of text are missing, as seems quite possible from the terms applied to this epistle in § 4, the question arises whether a portion of the missing text may be contained in the following fragment on the subject of the Bareshnûm, which is appended to the passage (Ep. II, vi, 2–ix, 7) interpolated in Dd. XXXVII, 33 in the MS. J:—

‘As it is declared in revelation that, if a man who *has* chanted comes upon a corpse, *whether* a dog, or a fox, or a wolf, or a male, or a female, or any *creature* on whose corpse it is possible *that* he *may* come, that good man becomes so that a man *may* become defiled by him, *and* it is necessary to wash the polluted *one*, so that it *may* not make him a sinner. In order that they *may* act *so* to the polluted *one* it is necessary to wash *him*, it is necessary to perform that Bareshnûm ceremony of the nine nights. If the man that is spoken of *has* worked about carrying the dead and contact with dead matter (nôšâ hamâlih), so that they know about his defilement to whom he comes, then he *who has* done this work *in* contact with dead matter becomes afterwards disabled *for* that worship of the sacred beings which they perform. So, also, *some one* says (compare Vend. VIII, 271–299), where in a wilderness (vyâvân) are several priests (âsrûvô) and a man lies *on* the road, there he *who* carries the dead *body* of the man who passes away—as those others remain *and* stand away helpless, without offerings of *inward* prayer (vâgô vakhtagân) over that person (kerpô) according to the religious way—*having* washed his body, comes into the town and performs the nine nights’ Bareshnûm ceremony twice; afterwards, his Gêtô-kharid ceremonies (see Dd. LXXIX, 4) are performed, *and* he has acted well according to the religious way; then he comes into the ceremonial of the sacred beings. “How are those men purified, O righteous *one*! who shall stand up by a corpse *which* is very dry and dead a year?” (See Pahl. Vend. VIII, 107, 108.) The reply is this, that “those men are purified;

they consider themselves as clean *it* is more grievously sinful; just as when they do not wash with the Bareshnûm, as *above* written, *but* consider themselves as clean through *washing* fifteen times, as *above* written, or on account of any washing whatever distinct from the Bareshnûm, *it* is more grievously sinful; because, when they do not wash with a Bareshnûm, as *above* written, *but* wash for fifteen times, as *above* written, or any washing whatever distinct from the Bareshnûm, as *above* written, they do not become clean, through the professional washing which is decreed, from that pollution which remains¹.

13. When without similar trouble *and* great judiciousness they go unto water *and* fire, the sin is grievous; and when they go to the bowl (padmânô) for ablution of the sacred twigs² *it* is non-ablution advisedly, *and* to perform the ceremonial therewith would not be authorised. 14. And, *in* like manner, the washing of polluted Hôrn *twigs*³, for any indispensable purpose, with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*, as *above* written, is not possible.

15. Therefore, so that we *may* obtain as *it were* a remedy for it, I wash with the Bareshnûm *ceremony*, as *above* written; to keep the mind steadfast *and* to attain to a remedy I wash with the Bareshnûm, as *above* written; *and* to bestow the indispensable, comprehensive Bareshnûm, as *above* written, is indeed a good work suitable for the discreet *and* liberated

for *it* is not *to* the dry from that dryness—that is, it would not act from this polluted *thing*—*that* the existence of dry diffusion *has* arisen.”

¹ Even after the best ordinary washing.

² See Dd. XLIII, 5.

³ See Dd. XLVIII, 16.

from bonds, and the purification of body *and* soul is connected with it.

16. These *things* those of the primitive faith, who provided for the moderns, *have* communicated, whose position *was* above us moderns who are now the law (gûn) of others, and are teachers and rulers; our station as regards them is the position (gâsth) of disciples *to spiritual* masters, *that of* listeners *and* servitors to form *and* hold the opinion, about the same and other *things*, which those of the primitive faith formed; *and* the teaching of even one of those high-priests is greater *and* higher than our sayings and decisions.

17. And *as to* every custom there may be in the country of Irân, about casting away the Bareshnûm ceremony, as written by me, and about all the polluted, as *above* written—whom *it* is possible to wash, for any indispensable reason whatever, with the Bareshnûm as written by me, *and* one does not wash with the Bareshnûm as *written* by me, *but* is ordered to wash for fifteen times, as written by me, *and* to pronounce as clean—and *which* is established as a rule *one* is urged to practise, if Zâd-sparam or any one else *has* ordered, said, or decided in the name of authority *that one* is to do *so*, or *has* established *it* as a rule, *or* set *it* going, this is to give authoritatively my opinion, decision, and enactment upon it likewise. 18. That *those* same sayings are short-sighted (aê-vênakö), *that* same order is unlawfully *given*, *that* same decision is false teaching, *that* same rule is vicious, *that* same setting going is grievously sinful, and *that* same authority is not to be accepted; *it* is a practice, therefore, not to be performed, *and* whoever *has* performed it, is to

engage quickly *in* renunciation of it. 19. And he who *has* decreed in the country of Irân, in the name of authority, washing of *other* kinds *as* all-remedial for the polluted, *as above* written, *and has* established a rule of that description is to be considered as a heretic (aharmôkô) deserving death.

20. So, when through his wilfulness that kind of injury without enlightenment (bâm) is decreed, *and* a rule of that description is established, *as above* written, *and one* rendered polluted is washed fifteen times with bull's urine *and* once with water, or *in* whatever other mode that is distinct from the Bareshnûm ceremony as written by me, *though* it is possible to wash him, for any indispensable reason whatever, with the Bareshnûm as *above* written, then, his renunciation of *sin being* accomplished, *he* is to be washed again at the nine ablution seats (magh)¹ with the Bareshnûm as written by me; *and* until washed again, as written by me, *he* is not to go to water and fire *and* the bowl for ablution.

21. And this epistle is written by me, in my own *hand-writing*, for the sake of *all* members whatever of the good religion of the country of Irân becoming aware of the opinion, apprehension, *and* appreciation of the commands of religion *entertained by* me, Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim; *and* several copies are finished *in* the month of the triumphant Horvâdâd of the year 250 of Yazdakard².

22. In trustfulness and gratitude to the sacred beings, *and* homage to the exalted pontiff *sent* from³

¹ See § 6.

² The third month of the Parsi year 250, which corresponded to the interval between the 14th June and 13th July, 881.

³ Reading min, as in Ep. II, ix, 14, instead of mûn, 'who.'

the creator Aûharmazd, the heavenly, most righteous, *and* glorified Zaratûst the Sptamân. 23. For the sake of obtainments of prayers the one thing is the righteousness of the Sptamân; great, good, *and* perfect is Zaratûst; one *only* is the way of perfect righteousness, which is the way of those of the primitive faith; all the others, appointed afresh, are no ways¹.

¹ Compare Dd. XCIV, 14, Ep. II, ix, 15. This epistle is followed, in K35, by the Selections of Zâd-spam, of which the first portion is translated in the fifth volume of the Sacred Books of the East.

APPENDIX.

- I. LEGENDS RELATING TO KERESÂSP.
- II. THE NÎRANG-I KUSTÎ.
- III. THE MEANING OF KHVÊTÛK-DAS.
- IV. THE BARESHNÛM CEREMONY.
- V. FINDING A CORPSE IN THE WILDERNESS.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions of the translations into sentences or sections the translator is responsible, as such divisions are rarely made in the manuscripts.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

B29 (written A. D. 1679), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.

BK, J, K35, M10 (as described on page 278).

L4 (written about A. D. 1324), a Vendidâd with Pahlavi, in the India Office Library in London.

M7 (written A. D. 1809), miscellaneous Parsi-Persian writings, No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

APPENDIX.

I. LEGENDS RELATING TO KERESÂSPA.

THE Avesta informs us that Keresâspa was a son of Thrîta the Sâmân, and the brother of Urvâkshaya¹. From the name of his father's family he is sometimes called Sâmâ Keresâspa², but his more usual title is Naremanzu or Nairîmanzu, 'the manly-minded³.' He is described as 'a youthful hero, wearing side-locks and carrying a club⁴,' to whom the witch Knâthaiti⁵ attached herself; she whom Zaratûst promised to destroy by means of the apostle Saoshyâs, who is to be born hereafter⁶. And his body is watched over by 99,999 guardian spirits⁷.

¹ See Yas. IX, 30, 31.

² See Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136. Hence he is often called Sâm in Pahlavi works (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 9, Byt. III, 60, 61); and, in a passage interpolated in some manuscripts of the Shâhnâmâh, we are informed that Garsâsp was son of Atrat, son of Sam, which is evidently a reminiscence of Keresâsp being a son of Thrîta the Sâmân (see also Bd. XXXI, 26, 27).

³ See Âbân Yt. 37, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38, 40, 44. Hence we have Sâm, son of Narîmân, as the grandfather of Rustam in the Shâhnâmâh.

⁴ See Yas. IX, 33. M. de Harlez converts the side-locks into some weapon called gaêsus, but this word still survives in Pers. gês or gêsû, 'ringlet, side-lock.'

⁵ See Vend. I, 36. Or it may be 'the witch whom one destroys, or to whom one prays,' if we translate the name.

⁶ See Vend. XIX, 18.

⁷ See Fravardîn Yt. 61. For the reason of this watchfulness, see Dd. XVII, 6 n.

Of his exploits we are told that he 'slew the serpent Srvara, which devoured horses and men, which was poisonous and yellow, over which yellow poison flowed a hand's-breadth high. On which Keresâspa cooked a beverage in a caldron at the midday hour, and the serpent being scorched, hissed, sprang forth, away from the caldron, and upset the boiling water; Keresâsp, the manly-minded, fled aside frightened¹. We are further told that he slew the golden-heeled Gandarewa²; that he smote Hitâspa in revenge for the murder of his brother, Urvâkhshaya³; that he smote the Hunus who are the nine highwaymen, and those descended from Nivika and Dâstayâni⁴; also Vareslava the Dânyan, Pitaona with the many witches, Arezô-shamana, and Snâvidhaka⁵; and that he withstood many smiters or murderers⁶.

The details of these exploits, still extant in the Avesta, are very scanty; but some of them appear to have been more fully described in a legend about the soul of Keresâspa which formerly constituted the fourteenth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask, the contents of which are thus summarized in the ninth book of the Dînkard:—

'The fourteenth fargard, Ad-fravakhsh⁷, is about

¹ See Yas. IX, 34–39, Zamyâd Yt. 40 (translated in Haug's Essays, pp. 178, 179).

² See Âbân Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 41. A monster in the wide-shored ocean, who is also mentioned in Râm Yt. 28.

³ See Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁴ See Zamyâd Yt. 41. For 'Hunus' some read 'sons.'

⁵ See Zamyâd Yt. 41–44. ⁶ See Fravardîn Yt. 136.

⁷ The name of Yas. XLIV, being the first two words, ad fravakhshyâ, of that chapter of the Gâthas. In the detailed account of the contents of each fargard of the first three Nasks, given in the ninth book of the Dînkard, each fargard is distinguished

Aûharmazd's showing the terrible state of the soul of Keresâsp¹ to Zaratûst; the dismay of Zaratûst owing to that terrible state; the sorrowful speaking of Keresâsp as regards the slaying of multitudes, for which mankind extol him, whereby abstentions from sin *occurred*; and the recognition of him by the creator, Aûharmazd, as extinguishing his fire. The supplication of Keresâsp *for* the best existence from Aûharmazd for those exploits when the serpent (gaz) Srôbar² *was* slain by him, and the violence of that adversary; when Gandarep³ with the golden heels *was* smitten by him, *and* the marvellousness of that fiend; when the Hunus of Veskô⁴, who are

by the name of some section of the Gâthas. The names thus employed are composed of the first one, two, or three words of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, the Ashem-vohû, the Yênhê-hâtâm, Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV, the Yasna haptanghâiti, Yas. XLII-L, LII, LIII, which supply the twenty-two names required. When the Nask contains twenty-three fargard, as in the case of the Varstmânsar, the first fargard remains unnamed. Whether these words were used merely as names, or whether their insertion implies that the fargard of these Nasks used to be recited (somewhat like those of the Vendidad) alternately with the sections of the Gâthas, can hardly be determined from our present information. It may be noted that the three Nasks (Sôdkar, Varstmânsar, and Bakô), whose contents are thus detailed in the Dînkard, all belong to the so-called gâsânîk or Gâtha class of Nasks; but whether that term implies that they were metrical, or merely that they were connected in some way with the Gâthas, is also uncertain.

¹ Written Kerêrâspô, or Gerêrâspô, throughout the Pahlavi text of this paragraph.

² The Srvara of Yas. IX, 34, Zamyâd Yt. 40.

³ The Gandarewa of Âbân Yt. 38, Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁴ Reading Hunû Veskô, but it is also possible to read khûnô-dâkô, 'blood-producing,' which is fully applicable to these highway-robbers. The 'Hunus in Vaêska' are mentioned in Âbân Yt. 54, 57 as opponents of the warrior Tusa, but the Hunus in Zamyâd Yt. 41 have no country assigned to them.

descendants of Nivik and Dâstânîk¹, were slain by him, and the grievous harm and disaster owing to them; and when the mighty wind² was appeased by him, and brought back from damaging the world to benefiting the creatures; and for that which happens when, owing to confinement³, Dahâk becomes eager, rushes on for the destruction of the world, and attempts the annihilation of the creatures; and his being roused to smite him and to tame that powerful fiend for the creatures of the world. The opposition of fire to Keresâsp, through his causing distress to it and keeping away from it, which were owing to his seeking hell; the supplication of Zaratûst to the fire to have compassion upon him, which was owing to his sin; the compliance of the fire with that request; and the departure of the soul of Keresâsp to the ever-stationary existence⁴. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness⁵.

Although the Sûd'kar Nask has long been lost, the legend contained in this fourteenth fargard still survives in its Pahlavi form, though probably somewhat abridged, and a Persian paraphrase of this Pahlavi version is also to be found in the Persian

¹ The Nivika and Dâstayâni of Zamyâd Yt. 41.

² The wind (*vâdö*), though an angel when moderate and useful, is supposed to become a demon in a gale or hurricane; and is mentioned as such in Vend. X, 24.

³ In the volcano, Mount Dimâvand (see Bd. XII, 31, XXIX, 9, Byt. III, 55-61). This exploit is expected to be performed hereafter.

⁴ The hamîstîkô ahvânô, intermediate between heaven and hell (see Dd. XX, 3).

⁵ The Pahlavi equivalent of the Av. *ashem vohû*, here translated, follows each summary of the contents of a fargard or Nask in the Dînkard, in the same way as *ashem vohû* follows each fargard of the Vendidâd and each section of the Gâthas in the Vendidâd sâdah or liturgy.

Rivâyats¹. The Pahlavi legend is included among a series of quotations, regarding the importance of fire, contained in a Pahlavi Rivâyât preceding the Dâdistân-i Dînik in some manuscripts²; and its close correspondence with the above summary of the fourteenth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask will be seen from the following translation of it:—

... 'And *it* is declared that fire is so precious that Aûharmazd spoke unto Zaratûst thus: "Of whose soul is it *that* the actions³, position, consciousness, and guardian spirit seem best when thou shalt behold *it*?"

'And Zaratûst spoke thus: "Of him who is Keresâsp."

'Aûharmazd summoned the soul of Keresâsp, and the soul of Keresâsp saw⁴ Zaratûst and, on account of the misery which it had seen in hell, it spoke unto *him* thus: "I have been a priest of Kâpûl⁵, which should be a power in support of me; and for the sake of begging life I have ever travelled through the world, and the world would have become hideous in my eyes, the world which should have feared my splendour⁶."

¹ In B29, fols. 167-169, where it is quoted from a work called the Sad-darband-i Hûsh.

² In BK and J; but in K35 this portion of the Rivâyât has been lost, with the first 71 folios of that MS.; it also appears to have been similarly lost from the older MS. belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria.

³ J omits this word.

⁴ J omits the seeing.

⁵ Kâbul. One of the three most sacred fires, the Frôbak fire, is said to have been removed by Vistâsp from Khvârizem to Kâvulistân (see Bd. XVII, 6). The Persian version has 'would to God (kâskê) I were a priest!' and alters the rest of the sentence to correspond.

⁶ Reading rê-î li; J has 100 var, 'a hundred lakes (or ordeals or results).'

‘And Aûharmazd spoke thus: “Stand off, *thou* soul of Keresâsp! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son¹, *was* extinguished by thee, and no care *of it was* provided by thee.”

‘And the soul of Keresâsp spoke thus: “Forgive me, O Aûharmazd! and grant me the best existence! grant me the supreme heaven! The serpent (azō) Srôvbar² is slain outright, which *was* swallowing horses *and* swallowing men, and its teeth were as long as my arm, its ear was as large as fourteen blankets (namadō), its eye was as large as a wheel, and its horn was as much as Dahâk³ in height. And I was running as much as half a day on *its* back, till *its* head *was* smitten by me at the neck *with* a club made for *my* hand, and *it was* slain outright by me⁴. And if that serpent had not been slain by me, all thy creatures would have *been* completely annihilated by it, and thou wouldst never have known a remedy *for* Aharman.”

‘Aûharmazd spoke thus: “Stand off! for the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee.”

‘Keresâsp spoke thus: “Grant me, O Aûharmazd! that best existence, the supreme heaven! for by me Gandarep⁵ *was* slain outright, by whom twelve

¹ Fire is often called ‘the son of Ahura-mazda’ in the Avesta, as in Yas. II, 18, Vend. V, 9, &c.

² The Srvara of Yas. IX, 34, Zamyâd Yt. 40. The Persian version has merely azdahâ, ‘a dragon.’

³ Or it may be shâk, ‘a bough.’ The Persian version has ‘eighty cubits.’

⁴ The Persian version adds ‘and as I looked into its mouth, men were still hanging about its teeth;’ which was evidently suggested by what is stated in the account of the next exploit.

⁵ See p. 371, note 3.

districts *were* devoured at once. When I looked among the teeth of Gandarep, dead men¹ were sticking among his teeth; and my beard *was* seized by him, and I dragged him out of the sea²; nine days and nights the conflict *was* maintained by us in the sea, and then I became more powerful than Gandarep. The sole of Gandarep's foot *was* also seized by me, and the skin *was* flayed off up to *his* head, and with it the hands and feet of Gandarep *were* bound; *he was* also dragged by me out to the shore of the sea, and *was* delivered by me over to Âkhrûrag³; and he slaughtered *and* ate my fifteen horses. I also fell down in a dense thicket (âlsakð), and Gandarep carried off *my* friend Âkhrûrag, and she who was my wife *was* carried off by him⁴, and my father *and* nurse (dâyakð) *were* carried off by him. And I took under *my* protection (dinhârîgtîndð) and raised all the people *of* our pleasant *place*, and every single step I sprang forward a thousand steps, and fire fell into everything which *was* struck by my foot *as* it sprang forward⁵; I went out to the sea, and they were brought back by me,

¹ The Persian version says 'horses and asses.'

² For this clause the Persian version substitutes 'the sea was up to his knee, and his head up to the sun.'

³ This is merely a guess. The word can also be read khârvarag, 'thorny, or a thorny brake;' but it seems to be the name of some person, being followed by the word dðstð, 'friend,' in the next sentence. Âkhrûra, son of Haosravangh, is mentioned in Fravardîn Yt. 137, next after Sâmâ Keresâspa, as 'withstanding Hashi-dava (or daêva), the wicked and covetous one destroying the world.' The Persian version omits from the dragging out of the sea in this sentence to the slaying in the next (p. 376, line 1).

⁴ BK has 'by me,' which must be a blunder.

⁵ J omits these last seven words.

and Gandarep *was* taken and slain by me¹. And if he had not been slain by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for *thou art* hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant *me*, O Aûharmazd! heaven *or* the supreme heaven! for I have slain the highwaymen² who were so big in body that, when they were walking, people considered in this *way*, that 'below them are the stars and moon, and below them moves the sun *at* dawn, and the water of the sea reaches up to their knees.' And I reached up to their legs, and they were smitten on the legs by me; they fell, and the hills on the earth *were* shattered by them³. And if those fallen⁴ highwaymen *had* not been slain by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, *was* extinguished by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant me, O Aûharmazd! heaven *or* the supreme heaven! When the wind *was* weakened (rakhtö) and paralysed by me, the

¹ The Persian version says, 'I slew him, and as he fell down many villages and places became desolate.'

² The 'nine highwaymen' of Zamyâd Yt. 41. The Persian version says 'seven.' BK has 'walked,' instead of 'slain.'

³ Instead of this sentence the Persian version has 'through fear of them people could not go on any journey, and every one whom they might see, on the road that he went, they would instantly eat up; and in three years they reckoned three hundred thousand men they had slain and destroyed. And I fought with them and slew all the seven.'

⁴ J omits the word 'fallen.'

demons deceived the wind, and they spoke unto the wind thus: '*He* is more resisting thee than all the creatures and creation, and thou shouldst think of him thus, that "there is no one walks upon this earth more resistant of me *than* Keresâsp;" he despises demons *and* men, and thee, too, who shouldst be the wind, *even* thee he despises.' And the wind, when those words *were* heard by it, came on so strongly that every tree and shrub which was in its path *was* uprooted, and the whole earth which was in its path *was* reduced to powder (payangânŏt-aîtŏ kardŏ), and darkness arose. And when it came to me, who am Keresâsp, it was not possible for it to lift my foot from the ground; and I arose and sallied forth (barâ yehabûnd) upon the earth, and I stood *upon* it, with both feet on an equality (mirth), until a rampart (pûstŏ) of it *was* completed, so that I *might* go again below the earth; that which Aûharmazd ordered thus: 'Should I appoint a keeper of the earth and sky, they would not forsake me¹.' And if that thing had not been done by me, Aharman would have become predominant over thy creatures."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Stand off! for thou shouldst be hideous in my eyes, because the fire, which is my son, *was* smitten by thee."

'Keresâsp spoke thus: "Grant *me*, O Aûharmazd! heaven *or* the supreme heaven! for *it* is thus

¹ The Persian version has 'and as it arrived near me, it was not able to bear my foot from the spot; and I seized the spirit of the wind, and overthrew him with my own strength, until he made a promise thus: "I *will* go again below the earth." And I did not keep back my hand *from* that work less than Aûharmazd and the archangels ordered me.'

declared by revelation, that, when Dahâk has escaped from confinement¹, no one is able to seek *any* other remedy *against* him but me; on that account grant me heaven *or* the supreme heaven! And if it be not possible to grant me heaven *or* the supreme heaven, give me again the strength and success which were mine during life! for when thou shalt give me again so much strength and success *as* were mine when I was produced alive, I will slay Aharman with the demons, I *will* eradicate darkness from hell, I will complete the beautiful light, and within its sole existence (tanû-aê)² you *shall* sit and move³."

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "This I *will* not give thee, *thou* soul of Keresâsp! because men shall commit sin; and until men commit no more sin, it is not possible to make thee alive again, and thou wouldst also not be able to make other men alive again, for they produce the resurrection thus, when all men become quite innocent. When men shall die, and their souls are wicked, all comfort shall forsake them, and all the misery and discomfort occasioned by them *shall* remain."

'When Keresâsp *and* his exploits were spoken of in this manner, the angels of the spiritual *and* the angels of the worldly *existences* wept aloud, and

¹ See Byt. III, 55-61. The Persian version substitutes a legend about the gigantic bird Kamak (also mentioned in Mkh. XXVII, 50) which overshadowed the earth, and kept off the rain till the rivers dried up; it also ate up men and animals as if they were grains of corn, until Keresâsp killed it by shooting it with arrows continuously for seven days and nights.

² That is, when there is only light, and no darkness.

³ J has 'I *will* sit and move alone within it;' and the Persian version has 'I will sit alone in that place.'

Zarâtûst the Spîtamân wept aloud¹ *and* spoke thus : " Though *there* should be no deceiver, I would be the deceiver in *thy* eyes², O Aûharmazd ! as regards the soul of Keresâsp ; for when Keresâsp should not have existed as a bodily and living *existence*, *there* would have been no remnant of anything whatever, or of creature of thine, in the world³."

' When Zarâtûst had become silent therewith, the *angel of fire*⁴ stood upon *his* feet⁵, and the sinfulness of Keresâsp unto himself *was* fully mentioned by him, and he spoke thus : " I shall not let him into heaven."

' And the *angel of fire*, *having* spoken thus many

¹ The Persian version does not mention the angels and the weeping.

² This can also be translated thus : ' Though thou shouldst be no deceiver, thou wouldst be a deceiver in *my* eyes ;' the words hômanâyê, ' would be,' and hômanêš, ' thou wouldst be,' being written alike.

³ The Persian version of this speech is, ' O good creator ! I know that hatred and anger are not in thy path, and when any one indulges in hatred of another, there is no acquiescence of thine therein, yet now I see this matter as though some one maintained hatred against another.'

⁴ The Persian version says ' the archangel Ardibahist,' who is the protector of fire (see Sls. XV, 5, 12, 13).

⁵ The Persian version proceeds, and concludes the sentence, as follows : ' and Keresâsp groaned unto Zarâtûst the Spîtamân, and Ardibahist, the archangel, said : " O Zaratusht ! thou dost not know what Keresâsp has done unto me ; that in the world, formerly, my custom and habit would have been so, that, as they would place firewood under a caldron, I would send the fire, until that caldron should be boiled, and their work should be completed, *and* then it would have come back to its own place. As that serpent that he speaks of *was* slain he became hungry, and because the fire fell one moment later upon the firewood which he had placed below the caldron, he smote the fire *with* a club and scattered the fire, *and* now I *will* not pass the soul of Keresâsp to heaven."

words, desisted; and the angel Gôš-aûrvan¹ stood upon *her* feet, and spoke thus: "I shall not let *him* into hell, for the benefit produced by him for me *was* manifold."

'Gôš-aûrvan, *having* spoken thus many words, desisted²; and Zaratûst stood upon *his* feet, and homage *was* offered by him unto the fire, and he spoke thus: "I shall provide care for thee, and shall speak of thy exploits in the world, and I shall speak to Vistâsp³ and Gâmâsp⁴ thus: 'Observe fully that a place is made *for* the fire as *it were* at once!' when Keresâsp *has* engaged in renunciation of *sin*, and you shall forgive him⁵.'"'

The Pahlavi legend breaks off at this point, leaving

¹ Av. *geus urva*, 'the soul of the ox,' that is, of the primeval ox, from which all the lower animals are supposed to have been developed. This angel, who is usually called Gôš, is said to be a female, and is the protectress of cattle (see Bd. IV, 2-5); in this capacity she is supposed to be friendly to Keresâsp, whose exploits had chiefly consisted in slaying the destroyers of animal life.

² The Persian version omits these words, and the preceding paragraph, proceeding in continuation of note 5, p. 379, as follows: 'And as Ardîbahist, the archangel, spoke these words, the soul of Keresâsp wept and said: "Ardîbahist, the archangel, speaks truly; I committed sin and I repent." And he touched the skirt of Zaratûst *with his* hand, and said: "Of mankind no one has obtained the eminence, rank, and dignity that thou obtainedst; now, through this grandeur and glory which is thine, do thou entreat and make intercession of Ardîbahist, the archangel, for me! so that it may be that I obtain liberation from this distress and torment.'"'

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 36.

⁴ See Dd. XLIV, 16.

⁵ The Persian version continues as follows: 'And as Zaratûst the Spîtamân made intercession, Ardîbahist, the archangel, said: "Thy reputation is immense, and thy will is great." And after that he made no opposition to the soul of Keresâsp, but pardoned *it* for Zaratûst the Spîtamân; and the soul of Keresâsp obtained liberation from that discomfort.' This version then concludes with an admonition as to the necessity of treating fire with proper respect.

the reader to infer that Zaratûst's request was granted. It is succeeded, however, by the following further remarks about Keresâsp, which are evidently connected with the same legend:—

'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: "Whose is the first dead *body* thou shalt unite (*varâzêš*)?"

'And Aûharmazd spoke thus¹: "*His* who is Keresâsp²."

'And it seemed grievous *to* Zaratûst, and he spoke unto Aûharmazd thus: "When the business of Keresâsp was the slaughter of men, why is his the first dead *body* thou wilt prepare?"

'Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Let it not seem grievous to thee, O Zaratûst! for if Keresâsp had not existed, and thus much work had not been done by him, which *has* been stated, *there* would have been no remains of thee, nor of any creature of mine."

Besides the Persian paraphrase of this legend, in prose, the Persian Rivâyats contain another version in metre, which consists of 173 couplets³. The exploits of Keresâsp are also mentioned in the Mainyô-i Khard (XXVII, 49-53) as follows:—

'And from Sâm the advantage was this, that by him the serpent Sruvar, the wolf Kapôd which they also call Pehan⁴, the water-demon Gandarfî, the bird Kamak⁵, and the bewildering⁶ demon *were* slain.

¹ J omits the following words as far as the next 'thus.'

² Referring to the revival of Keresâsp from his trance, in order to destroy Dahâk, which is expected to take place before the general resurrection (see Bd. XXIX, 8, Byt. III, 59-61).

³ In B29, fols. 169-171, it is quoted from 'the book of Bahirâm Firûz.'

⁴ Written Pêhinô, or Pasinô, in the Pahlavi text.

⁵ See p. 378, note 1.

⁶ Or 'seducing,' or 'desolating.'

And also many other great actions, that *were* more valuable, he performed; and he kept back much disturbance from the world, of which, if one of those special disturbances had remained behind, it would not have been possible to effect the resurrection and the future existence.'

II.. THE NĪRANG-I KUSTĪ.

THE NĪrang-i KustĪ, or girdle formula, is a religious rite which a Parsi man or woman ought to perform every time the hands have been washed, whether for the sake of cleanliness, or in preparation for prayer ; but it is not always strictly performed in all its details.

The KustĪ, or sacred thread-girdle, is a string about the size of a stay-lace, and long enough to pass three times very loosely round the waist, to be tied twice in a double knot, and to leave the short ends hanging behind. It is composed of seventy-two very fine, white, woollen threads, as described in Dd. XXXIX, 1, note, and is tied in the manner there mentioned, but with the actions and ritual detailed below¹.

The ceremonial ablution having been performed, and the KustĪ taken off, the person stands facing the sun by day, or a lamp or the moon at night ; when there is no light he should face the south, as he should also at midday, even when the sun is northerly². The KustĪ is then doubled, and the loop thus formed is held in the right hand, with the thumb in the loop ; while the left hand holds the two parts of the string together, some twenty inches horizontally from the other hand ; and the ends hang loosely from the left hand.

¹ For most of the details which follow I am indebted to Dastūr Jāmāspji Minochiharji Jāmāsp-Āsā-nā.

² As it is, in Bombay, for about two months in the summer.

Holding the Kustī in this fashion, the person recites the following prayer in Pâzand, bowing and raising to his forehead the horizontal portion of the string at the name of Aûharmazd, dashing the string loosely and sharply downwards towards the left when mentioning Aharman, and repeating this downward jerk to the left, less violently, as each of the other evil beings is named:—‘May Aûharmazd be lord! *and* Aharman unprevailing, keeping far away, smitten, *and* defeated! May Aharman, the demons, the fiends, the wizards, the wicked, the Kîks, the Karaps¹, the tyrants, the sinners, the apostates, the impious, the enemies, *and* the witches be smitten *and* defeated! May evil sovereigns be unprevailing! May the enemies be confounded! May the enemies be unprevailing!’

Bending forwards and holding the doubled Kustī up, horizontally, as before, he continues: ‘Aûharmazd is the lord; of all sin I am *in* renunciation and penitent, of all kinds of evil thoughts, evil words, *and* evil deeds, whatever *was* thought by me, and spoken by me, and done by me, and happened through me, and has originated through me in the world.’

Then, holding the Kustī single with both hands near the middle of the string, but as far apart as before, while the loose ends of the string are short-

¹ These two Pahlavi names are merely transliterations of the Av. Kavi and Karapan, the names of certain classes of evil-doers, traceable back to the earliest times, and, probably, to the Vedic kavi and kalpa, which would naturally be used in a bad sense in the Avesta (see Haug’s Essays, p. 289). The Pahlavi translators of the Yasna explain these names by the words kûr, ‘blind,’ and kar, ‘deaf,’ which are merely guesses.

ened (to prevent their touching the ground) by being partially gathered up in a large loop hanging under each hand, like a pair of spectacles, he proceeds: 'For those sins of thought, word, *and* deed, of body *and* soul, worldly *and* spiritual, do thou pardon this one¹! I am penitent *and* in renunciation through the three words².'

He then continues to recite the following Avesta phrases: 'Satisfaction for Ahura-mazda!' bowing and raising the Kustī to the forehead; 'scorn for Angra-mainyu!' jerking the Kustī to the left, without altering the mode of holding it; 'which is the most forward of actual exertions through the will. Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing *be* to that which *is* righteousness to perfect rectitude³.' Applying the middle of the Kustī to the front of the waist at the first word, 'righteousness,' of the last sentence, it is passed twice round the waist during the remainder of the sentence, by the hands meeting behind, exchanging ends, and bringing them round again to the front.

The following Avesta formula is then recited: 'As a *patron* spirit is to be chosen, so is an *earthly* master, for the sake of righteousness, *to be* a giver of good thought of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord whom he has given

¹ The Pâzand word is ukhê or aokhê, which the Gugarâti Khurdah Avesta translates by khudâtâelâ, 'most high God;' but it seems more probably a misreading of Pahl. hanâ-ī, 'this one.' These phrases are a portion of the Patit or renunciation of sin.

² That is, in thought, word, and deed. So far the phrases are recited in Pâzand, but the following recitations are in the Avesta language.

³ This last sentence is the Ashem-vohî formula (see Bd. XX, 2).

as a protector for the poor¹. At the first word the long ends of the Kustî, hanging in front, are loosely twisted round each other at the waist, with a right-handed turn (that is, with the sun), and the reciter, holding his hands together, should think that Aûhar-mazd is the sole creator of the good creation, until he comes to the word 'actions,' after which the twist is drawn closer to the waist during the remainder of the recitation.

The same Avesta formula is then repeated. At the first word the second half of the knot is formed, by twisting the long ends of the Kustî loosely round each other with a left-handed turn (that is, against the sun), so as to complete a loose reef-knot, and the reciter, holding his hands together, should think that Mazda-worship is the true faith, until he comes to the word 'actions,' after which the complete double knot is drawn close during the remainder of the recitation.

Then, passing the long ends of the Kustî round the waist for the third time, from front to back, the previous Avesta formula, 'Righteousness is the best good,' &c., is recited. At the first word the ends of the Kustî are loosely twisted round each other behind the waist, with a right-handed turn as before, and the reciter should think that Zaratûst was the true apostle, until he comes to the first occurrence of the word 'blessing,' when the twist is drawn close. During the remainder of the formula the second half of the knot is formed, with a left-handed twist as before, while the reciter thinks that he must practise

¹ This is the Ahunavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bd. I, 21, Zs. I, 12-19).

good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and avoid all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds; the double knot being completed behind as the last word of the formula is uttered.

Afterwards, bending forward and holding the front knot of the Kustī with both hands, the person recites the following Avesta formula : ' Come for my protection, O Mazda¹ ! A Mazda-worshipper am I, a Zarathustrian Mazda-worshipper will I profess *myself*, both praising and preferring *it*. I praise a well-considered thought, I praise a well-spoken word, I praise a well-performed deed. I praise the Mazda-worshipping religion, expelling controversy² *and* putting down attack, *and* the righteous union of kinsfolk³, which is the greatest and best and most excellent of things that exist and will exist, which is Ahurian *and* Zarathustrian. I ascribe all good to Ahura-mazda. Let this be the eulogy of the Mazda-worshipping religion.' And the reciter then repeats the formula, ' Righteousness is the best good,' &c., as before, bowing reverently, which completes the rite.

¹ What follows is from Yas. XIII, 25-29, and is the conclusion of the Mazda-worshipper's creed.

² The meaning of the original term *fraspâyaokhedhrām* is rather uncertain, and the Pahlavi version is not easy to understand clearly; it translates this sentence, as far as the next epithet, as follows : ' I praise the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, from which the disunion cast forth *and* the assault put down are manifest (this is manifest from it, that it is not desirable to go to others without controversy, and with that which arises without controversy it is quite requisite to occasion controversy).'

³ This is one of the earliest references to *hvaêtvadatha*, or marriage among next-of-kin; the passage being written in the later Gâthā dialect.

During the rite the person performing it must remain standing on the same spot, without stepping either backwards or forwards, and must speak to no one. Should anything compel him to speak, he must re-commence the rite after the interruption.

III. THE MEANING OF KHVÊTÛK-DAS OR KHVÊTÛDÂD.

THAT the term Khvêtûk-das is applied to marriages between kinsfolk is admitted by the Parsis, but they consider that such marriages were never contracted by their ancestors within the first degree of relationship, because they are not so permitted among themselves at the present day. Any statements of Greek, or other foreign, writers, regarding the marriage of Persians with their mothers, sisters, or daughters, they believe to be simply calumnies due to ignorance, which it is discreditable to Europeans to quote¹. Such statements, they consider, may have referred to the practices of certain heretical sects, but never to those of the orthodox faith.

The Parsis are, no doubt, fully justified in receiving the statements of foreign writers, regarding the customs of their ancestors, with proper caution; a caution which is quite as necessary when the statements are agreeable as when they are disagreeable to present notions. The Greeks, especially, had such a thorough contempt for all foreign customs that differed from their own, that they must have found it quite as difficult to obtain correct information, or to form an impartial opinion, about oriental habits as the average European finds it at the present time. On the other hand, the Parsis have to consider that the ancient Greek writers, whose statements they repudiate, were neither priests nor zealots, whose accounts of religious cus-

¹ See Dastûr Peshotanji's translation of the *Dinkard*, p. 96, note.

toms might be distorted by religious prejudices, but historians accustomed to describe facts as impartially as their information and nationality would permit. It is quite possible that these writers may have assumed that such marriages were common among the Persians, merely because they had sometimes occurred among the Persian rulers; but such an assumption would be as erroneous as supposing that the marriage practices of the Israelites were similar to those of their most famous kings, David and Solomon, forgetting that an oriental sovereign is usually considered to be above the law and not subject to it.

Rejecting all statements of foreigners, as liable to suspicion, unless confirmed by better evidence, it seems desirable to ascertain what information can be obtained, on this subject, from the religious books of the Parsis themselves. This matter has hitherto been too much neglected by those best acquainted with the original texts, and must be considered as only partially exhausted in the following pages.

The term Khvêtûk-das¹ is a Pahlavi transcription of the Avesta word *hvaêtvadatha*, 'a giving of, to, or by, one's own,' and is sometimes partially translated into the form Khvêtûk-dâd, or Khvêtû-dâd, in which the syllable *dâd*, 'what is given, a gift,' is merely a translation of the syllable *das* (Av. *datha*).

The Avesta word *hvaêtvadatha* is not found in any of the Gâthas, or sacred hymns, that are still extant and are usually considered the oldest portion

¹ Occasionally written Khvêtûk-dat, as in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 36 (see p. 392).

of the Avesta. But its former component, *hvaêtu*, occurs several times therein, with the meaning 'one's own, or kinsman,' as distinguished from 'friends' and 'slaves.'

The earliest occurrence of the complete word is probably in Yas. XIII, 28¹, where it is mentioned as follows:—'I praise . . . the righteous *Hvaêtvadatha*, which is the greatest and best and most excellent of things that exist and will exist, which is Ahurian and Zarathustrian.' This merely implies that *Hvaêtvadatha* was a good work of much importance, which is also shown by Visp. III, 18, Gâh IV, 8, and Vistâsp Yt. 17, where the *Hvaêtvadatha* (meaning the man who has accomplished that good work) is associated with youths who are specially righteous for other reasons. But there is nothing in any of these passages to indicate the nature of the good work.

In Vend. VIII, 35, 36 we are told that those who carry the dead must afterwards wash their hair and bodies with the urine 'of cattle or draught oxen, not of men or women, except the two who are *Hvaêtvadatha* and *Hvaêtvadathi*,' that is, male and female performers of *Hvaêtvadatha*. This passage, therefore, proves that the good work might be accomplished by both men and women, but it does not absolutely imply that it had any connection with marriage.

Turning to the Pahlavi translations of these passages we find the transcription *Khvêtûk-das*, *Khvêtûk-dat*, or *Khvêtûk-dasîh*, with explanations which add very little to our knowledge of the nature of

¹ See p. 387, note 3.

the good work. Thus, Pahl. Yas. XIII, 28 merely states that it is 'declared about it that it is requisite to do *it*;' Pahl. Vistâsp Yt. 17¹ asserts that 'the duty of Khvêtûk-das is said *to be* the greatest good work in the religion, that, owing to it, Aharman, the demon of demons, is becoming hopeless, so that the dissolution of Khvêtûk-das is worthy of death;' and Pahl. Vend. VIII, 36 speaks of 'the two who are a Khvêtûk-dat man *and* woman², that is, it is done by them.'

Another reference to Khvêtûk-das in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta occurs in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4, as follows:—'Thus I proclaim in the world that [which he who is Aûharmazd made his own] best [Khvêtûk-das]³. By aid of righteousness Aûharmazd is aware, who created this *one*⁴ [to perform

¹ The age of this Pahlavi version of the Vistâsp Yast is doubtful, and it is even possible that it may have been composed in India. The only MS. of it that I have seen belongs to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji, who kindly gave me a copy of it, but seemed doubtful about the age of the translation. He was aware that his MS. was written some forty years ago, but he did not know from what MS. it was copied. This version is, however, mentioned in the list of Pahlavi works given in the introduction to Dastûr Peshotanji's Pahlavi Grammar, pp. 18, 31, so that another MS. of the Pahlavi text probably exists in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay.

² Or, perhaps, 'man *and* wife;' as *gabrâ*, 'man,' is occasionally used for 'husband,' though *shûi* is the usual word, and *nêrman* means both 'woman' and 'wife.'

³ Written Khvêtvasdas or Khvêtûdas in the very old MS. of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji, the text of which is followed in this translation. The phrases in brackets have no equivalents in the original Avesta text, and, therefore, merely represent the opinions of the Pahlavi translators.

⁴ *Spendarmad* apparently, as indicated by the sequel.

Khvêtûk-das]. And through fatherhood Vohûman¹ *was* cultivated by him, [that is, for the sake of the proper nurture of the creatures Khvêtûk-das *was* performed by him.] So she who is *his* daughter is acting well, [who is the fully-mindful] Spendarmad², [that is, she did not shrink from the act of Khvêtûk-das.] *She*³ *was* not deceived, [that is, *she* did not shrink from the act of Khvêtûk-das, because *she* is] an observer of everything [as regards that which is] Aûharmazd's, [that is, through the religion of Aûharmazd *she* attains to all duty and law.] The allusions to Khvêtûk-das in this passage are mere interpolations introduced by the Pahlavi translators, for the sake of recommending the practice; they have no existence in the Avesta text, but they show that the Pahlavi translators understood Khvêtûk-das to

¹ The Pahlavi translator seems here to understand Vohûman not as the archangel (see Dd. III, 13), but as a title ('good-minded') of the primeval man, Gâyômarđ, who is supposed to have been produced by Aûharmazd out of the earth (compare Gen. ii. 7), represented by the female archangel Spendarmad. The term vohumanô is used in Vend. XIX, 69, 76-84 for both a well-intentioned man and his clothing.

² The female archangel, a personification of the Avesta phrase *spenta ârmaiti*, 'bountiful devotion'; she has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 20-24). She is called the daughter of Aûharmazd, even as the fire and Vohûman are called his sons, because devotion (representing the earth), fire, and good thought are considered to be his most important creations. And, as the earth is also, metaphorically, the mother of man, and the creator Aûharmazd is figuratively his father, this unfortunate combination of anthropomorphisms has induced later superstition to take these statements literally, and to quote them as a justification of marriage between father and daughter.

³ This seems the most probable nominative to the verbs in this sentence, but it is by no means certain.

refer to such relationship as that of father and daughter, as will appear more clearly from further allusions to the same circumstances in passages to be quoted hereafter¹. Regarding the age of the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna we only know for certain that it existed in its present form a thousand years ago, because a passage is quoted from it by Zâd-spâram, brother of the author of the Dâdîstân-î Dînik and Epistles of Mânûskîhar, in his Selections², and we know that he was living in A. D. 881³. But it was probably revised for the last time as early as the reign of Khûsrô Nôshîrvân (A. D. 531-579), when the Pahlavi Vendîdâd was also finally revised⁴.

The Pahlavi versions of the lost Nasks must have been nearly of the same age as those of the extant Avesta, but of the contents of these versions we possess only certain statements of later writers. According to some of the modern Persian statements the Dûbâsrûged Nask contained many details about Khvêtûk-das, but this is contradicted by the long account of its contents given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, which was written more than a thousand years ago⁵, and in which Khvêtûk-das is not once noticed. The practice is, however, mentioned several times in the Dînkard, as an important good work noticed in the Nasks, but no details are given, except in the following passages from the ninth book :—

First, regarding the latter part of the eighteenth fargard of the Varastmânsar Nask :—‘ And this, too,

¹ See pp. 396, 401, 416.

² See Zs. V, 4.

³ See Ep. III, 2, 17, 21.

⁴ See Ep. I, iv, 17, note.

⁵ This is proved by the long quotation from Dk. VI contained in Dd. XCIV, 1-11.

that thereupon they shall excite a brother *and* sister with mutual desire, so that they shall perform Khvêtûk-das with unanimity, and before midday are generated a radiance which is sublime, centred in the face, and peeping glances (vênîkǝ âlûs); and they make the radiance, *which* is openly manifest, grow up in altitude the height of three spears of a length of three reeds *each*¹; and after midday they have learned expulsion (rânakîh²), *and* shall renounce the fiend who is before the destroyer.' This is clearly an allusion to the Khvêtûk-das of brother and sister, as it can hardly be considered as merely referring to the arrangement of marriages between their children.

Second, regarding the earlier part of the fourteenth fargard of the Bakô Nask :—' And this, too, that the performance of whatever would be a causer of procreation for the doers of actions is extolled *as* the perfect custom of the first Khvêtûk-das; because causing the procreation of the doers of actions is the fatherhood of mankind, the proper fatherhood of mankind is through the proper production of progeny, the proper production of progeny is the cultivation of progeny in one's own with the inclinations (khîmthâ) of a first wish³, and the cultivation of progeny in one's own is Khvêtûk-das. And he who extols the fatherhood of mankind, when *it is* a causer of the procreation of the doers of actions, has also extolled Khvêtûk-das. And this, too, that the proper nurture for the creatures, by him whose wish is for

¹ A height of about 42 English feet (see Dd. XLIII, 5).

² That is, the capability of expelling the fiends that try to take possession of man.

³ Reading gâm (=kâm), but it may be dâm, 'creature.'

virtue, has taught *him* to perform Khvêtûk-das. Virtue is its virtue even for this reason, because, for the sake of maintaining a creature with propriety, he reckons upon the proper disposition of the multitude, that which is generated in the race by innumerable Khvêtûk-dases¹. And this, too, that Spendarmad is taught *as being* in daughterhood to Aûharmazd by him whose wisdom *consists* in complete mindfulness. Even on this account, because wisdom *and* complete mindfulness² are within the limits of Aûharmazd and Spendarmad; wisdom is that which is Aûharmazd's, complete mindfulness is that which is Spendarmad's, and complete mindfulness is the progeny of wisdom, just as Spendarmad is *of* Aûharmazd. And from this is expressly the announcement that, by him who *has* connected complete mindfulness with wisdom, Spendarmad is taught *as being* in daughterhood to Aûharmazd. And this, too, the existence of the formation of that daughterhood, is taught by him whose righteousness *consists* in complete mindfulness.' This quotation merely shows that Khvêtûk-das referred to connections between near relations, but whether the subsequent allusions to the daughterhood of Spendarmad had reference to the Khvêtûk-das of father and daughter is less certain than in the case of Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4, previously quoted³.

Third, regarding the middle of the twenty-first

¹ That is, the useful peculiarities of a particular breed of domestic animals are maintained and intensified by keeping up the purity of the race.

² 'Complete mindfulness' is the usual Pahlavi explanation of Av. ârmaiti, 'devotion,' the latter component of the name Spendarmad.

³ See pp. 392, 393.

fargard' of the Bakô Nask :—' And this, too, that a daughter is given in marriage (nêsmantî) to a father, even so as a woman to another man, by him who teaches the daughter and the other woman the reverence *due* unto father and husband.' The reference here to the marriage of father and daughter is too clear to admit of mistake, though the term Khvêtûk-das is not mentioned.

Next in age to the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta we ought perhaps to place the Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf, because we are told (AV. I, 35), regarding Vîrâf, that 'there are *some* who call *him* by the name of Nikh-shahpûr,' and this may have been the celebrated commentator of that name, who was a councillor of king Khûsrô Nôshirvân¹, so that we cannot safely assume that this book was written earlier than the end of the sixth century. It gives an account of heaven and hell, which Ardâ-Vîrâf is supposed to have visited during the period of a week, while he seemed to be in a trance. In the second grade of heaven, counting upwards, he found the souls of those who had 'performed no ceremonies, chanted no sacred hymns, and practised no Khvêtûk-das,' but had come there 'through other good works;' and it may be noted that the two upper grades of heaven appear to have been reserved for good sovereigns, chieftains, high-priests, and others specially famous. In hell, also, he saw the soul of a woman suffering grievous punishment because she had 'violated Khvêtûk-das;' but this passage occurs in one MS. only. We are also told (AV. II, 1-3, 7-10) that 'Vîrâf had seven sisters, and all² those seven sisters

¹ See Ep. I, iv, 17.

² The word translated 'all' is the ordinary Huz. ko/â, equivalent

were as wives of Vîrâf; revelation, also, *was* easy to them, and the ritual had *been* performed . . . they stood up and bowed, and spoke thus: "Do not this thing, ye Mazda-worshippers! for we are seven sisters, and he is an only brother, and we are, all seven sisters, as wives¹ of that brother." This passage, supposing that it really refers to marriage, seems to attribute an exaggerated form of the Khvê-tûk-das of brother and sister to Vîrâf, as a proof of his extraordinary sanctity; but it can hardly be considered as a literal statement of facts, any more than the supposed case of a woman having married seven brothers successively, mentioned in Mark xii. 20-22, Luke xx. 29-32.

In another Pahlavi book of about the same age, which is best known by its Pâzand name, Mainyô-i Khard², we find Khvê-tûk-das placed second among

to Pers. har, but a Parsi critic has suggested that it ought to be read kanîk, 'virgin,' so as to get rid of the idea that the sisters were married to Vîrâf. This suggestion is ingenious, because the difference between ko/â and kanîk is very slight, when written in Pahlavi characters; but it is not very ingenuous, because the substitution of kanîk for ko/â, both here and in the similar phrase at the end of the passage quoted in our text, would render the sentences quite ungrammatical, as would be easily seen by any well-educated Parsi who would translate the phrases literally into modern Persian words, which would give him the following text: ân har haft 'âvâharân Vîrâf kûn zan bûd and for the first phrase, and har haft 'âvâhar ân birâdar zanî êm for the second. To substitute any Persian word for 'virgin' in place of the pronoun har, in these two phrases, would evidently produce nonsense. The really doubtful point in these phrases is whether zan and zanî are to be understood as 'wife' and 'wifehood,' or merely as 'woman' and 'womankind;' but it would be unusual to use such terms for the unmarried female members of a family.

¹ Or 'the womankind.'

² From a facsimile of the only known MS. of the original Pahlavi

seven classes of good works (Mkh. IV, 4), and ninth among thirty-three classes of the same (Mkh. XXXVII, 12); and the dissolution of Khvêtûk-das is mentioned as the fourth in point of heinousness among thirty classes of sin (Mkh. XXXVI, 7).

In the Bahman Yast, which may have existed in its original Pahlavi form before the Muhammadan conquest of Persia¹, it is stated that, even in the perplexing time of foreign conquest, the righteous man 'continues the religious practice of Khvêtûk-das in his family².'

The third book of the *Dinkard*, which appears to have been compiled by the last editor³ of that work, contains a long defence of the practice of Khvêtûk-das, forming its eighty-second⁴ chapter, which may be translated as follows :—

'On a grave attack (hû-girâysnō) of a Jew upon

text of this work, recently published by Dr. Andreas, it appears that its Pahlavi name was Dînâ-i Mînavad-î Khard (or Mainôg-i Khird), 'the opinions of the spirit of wisdom.'

¹ See Sacred Books of the East, vol. v, pp. liii–lvi.

² See Byt. II, 57, 61.

³ The name of this editor was Âtûr-pâd, son of Hêmîd, as appears from the last chapter (chap. 413) of the same book. He was a contemporary of the author of the *Dâdistân-î Dînik* (see Bd. XXXIII, 11).

⁴ Chap. 80 in the recent edition of Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji, because his numbers do not commence at the beginning of the book. His translation of this chapter (see pp. 90–102 of the English translation of his edition) differs considerably from that given in our text. This difference may be partly owing to its being translated from the Gugarâti translation, and not direct from the original Pahlavi; but it is chiefly due to the inevitable result of attempting a free translation of difficult Pahlavi, without preparing a literal version in the first place. The translation here given is as literal as possible, but the Pahlavi text is too obscure to be yet understood with absolute certainty in some places.

a priest, which *was* owing to asking the reason of the custom (âhankö) as to Khvêtûk-das; and the reply of the priest to him from the exposition of the Mazda-worshipping religion.

‘That is, as *one* complaining about wounds, damage, *and* distress comes on, *it* is lawful to dispute with him in defence begirt with legal opinion (dâdistânö parvand), and the consummation of the accusation of an innocent man is averted; *so* of the creatures, the invisible connection of their own power to fellow-creations *and* their own *race*, through the propitiousness of the protection *and* preserving *influence* of the sacred beings, is a girdle, *and* the consummation of the mutual assistance of men is Khvêtûk-das. The name is Khvêtûk-das, which is *used* when *it* is “a giving of *one’s* own” (khvês-dahisnîh), and its office (gâs) is a strong connection with one’s own *race* *and* fellow-creations, through the protection *and* preserving *influence* of the sacred beings, which is, according to the treatises, the union of males *and* females of mankind of one’s own *race* in preparation for, and connection with, the renovation *of the universe*. That union, for the sake of proceeding incalculably more correctly, is, among the innumerable similar races of mankind, that with near kinsfolk (nabânazdistânö), *and*, among near kinsfolk, that with those next of kin (nazd-padvandânö); *and* the mutual connection of the three kinds of nearest of kin (nazd-padvandtar)—which are father and daughter, son and she who bore *him*¹, and brother and sister—is the most complete (avîrtar) that I have considered.

¹ Literally ‘bearer’ (bûrdâr), which is not the usual word for ‘mother,’ but equivalent to the Av. baretar that is used in that sense.

'On the same subject the exposition of the obscure statements of the good religion, by a wise high-priest of the religion, is this:—"I assert that God (yêdatô) is the being, as regards the creatures, who created *any* of the creatures there are which are male, and *any* there are which are female; and that which is male is a son, and, similarly, a daughter is that which is female. The daughter of himself, the father of all, *was* Spendarmad¹, the earth, a female being of the creation; and from her he created the male Gâyômar², which is explained *as* the name for him who *was* specially the first man, since it is Gâyômar² living who is speaking *and* mortal, a limitation which *was* specially his, because of these three words—which are 'living, speaking, *and* mortal'—two of the limitations, which are 'living and speaking,' *were* through the provision of *his* father, the creator, and one, which is 'mortal,' *was* proceeding from the destroyer; the same limitation is upon all mankind, who are connected with that man's lineage, until the renovation of *the universe*. And now I say, if the aid of the father *has* produced a male from the daughter, it is named a Khvêtûk-das of father *and* daughter³."

'This, too, is from the exposition of the religion, that the semen of Gâyômar²—which is called seed—when he passed away, fell *to* Spendarmad⁴, the earth, which *was* his own mother; and, from its being united

¹ See p. 393, note 2.

² See Dd. II, 10, XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 5.

³ It is uncertain whether the high-priest's statement continues beyond this point, or not.

⁴ See Bd. XV, 1, 2, Dd. LXIV, 6.

therewith, Mashya and Mashtyô¹ *were* the son and daughter of Gâyômar^d and Spendarmad, *and* it is named the Khvétûk-das of son and mother. And Mashya and Mashtyô¹, as male and female, practised the quest of offspring, one with the other, and it is named the Khvétûk-das of brother and sister. And many couples *were* begotten by them, *and* the couples became continually² wife and husband³; and all men, who *have* been, are, and *will* be, are from origin the seed of Khvétûk-das. And this is the reason which is essential for *its* fulfilment by law, *that* where *its* contemplation (andâgisnô) exists *it* is manifest from the increase of the people of all regions.

‘And I assert that the demons are enemies of man, and a non-existence of desire for them consists *in* striving for it when Khvétûk-das is practised; it then becomes their⁴ reminder *of* that original practice of contemplation which is the complete gratitude of men, and *has* become his⁵ who is inimical to them. Grievous fear, distress, and anguish also come upon them, *their* power diminishes, and they less understand the purpose of causing the disturbance *and* ruin of men. And *it* is certain that making the demons distressed, suffering, frightened, *and* weakened is thus a good work, and this way of having reward and *of* recompense is the property of the practisers of such good works.

‘And I assert that the goodness of appearance and growth of body, the display of wisdom, temper,

¹ See Dd. XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 2, LXV, 2, LXXVII, 4, where these names are spelt differently.

² Literally ‘have become *and* have become.’

³ See Bd. XV, 22, 24–26.

⁴ The demons’.

⁵ Aôharmazd’s.

and modesty, the excellence of skill *and* strength, and also the other qualities of children are so much *the more* as they are nearer to the original race of the begetter, and they shall receive *them* more perfectly *and* more gladly. An example is seen *in* those who *spring* from a religious *woman* who is gentle, believing the spiritual *existence*, acting modestly, of scanty strength, who is a forgiver and reverential, *and from* a mail-clad (gapar) warrior of worldly religion, who is large-bodied *and* possessing strength which is stimulating (âgâr) *his* stout heart while he begets. They¹ are not completely for war—which is a continuance of lamentation (nâs-ravandîh)—and not for carefulness and affection for the soul; as *from* the dog *and* wolf—and not the ruin (seg) *of* the sheep—arises the fox, like the wolf, *but* not *with* the strength of the wolf like the dog, *and* it does not even possess *its* perfect shape, nor that of the dog. And *they are* like those which are born from a swift Arab horse and a native *dam*, and are not galloping like the Arab, and not kicking (padâyak) like the native. And *they have* not even the same perfect characteristics², just as the mule that *springs* from the horse and the ass, which is not like unto either of them, and even *its* seed is cut off thereby, *and its* lineage is not propagated forwards.

‘And this is the advantage from the pure preservation of race. I assert that *there* are three³ species

¹ The offspring of such a match, which the apologist evidently considers an ill-assorted one, as tending to deteriorate the warlike qualities of the warrior's descendants, although he himself is no advocate for war.

² As their parents.

³ Dastûr Peshotanji has ‘four,’ because the Pahlavi text seems

(vâg) *and* kinds of affection of sister *and* brother for that which shall be born of them :—one is this, where *it is* the offspring of brother and brother ; one is this, where the offspring is that of ¹ brothers ² and their sister ; and one is this, where *it is* the offspring of sisters ³. And *as to* the one *of* these where the offspring is that of ⁴ a brother, and for the same reason *as applies to all* three ⁵ species of them, the love, desire, and effort, which arise for the nurture of offspring of the three species, are *in* hope of benefit. And equally adapted are the offspring to the pro-creators ; and this is the way of the increasing love of children, through the good nurture which is very hopeful.

‘And so, also, are those who are born of father and daughter, *or* son *and* mother. Light flashed *forth* (gastō) *or* unflashed (aparvâkhtō) is always seen at the time when *it is* much exposed, and pleased is *he* who has a child of *his* child, even when it is from some one of a different race and different

to speak of four species in the next sentence ; here it seems to have ‘six’ in ciphers, but the first cipher can also be read aê, the conditional suffix to the verb which immediately precedes the ciphers in the Pahlavi text, and the second cipher is merely ‘three,’ which corresponds to the three possible kinds of first cousins that are about to be detailed in the text.

¹ Reading zak-î instead of zîs (which might be read zakîh if there were such a word).

² Literally ‘brother.’

³ Literally ‘sister.’

⁴ Reading zak-î instead of zîs, as before. This is Dastûr Peshotanji’s fourth species of cousinship, which he understands as meaning second cousins.

⁵ Reading î3, by dividing the Pahlavi cipher for ‘four’ into two parts, both here and near the end of the sentence. This paragraph can hardly be understood otherwise than referring to the present form of Khvêtûk-das, the marriage of first cousins.

country. That, too, *has* then become much delight (vâyag) *which* is expedient, that pleasure, sweetness, and joy which are owing to a son that a man begets from a daughter of his own, who is also a brother *of that* same mother; and he who is born of a son and mother is also a brother *of that* same father; this is a way of much pleasure, which is a blessing of the joy, *and* no harm is therein ordained that is more than the advantage, and no vice that is more than the well-doing (khûp gâr). And if it be said that it is of evil appearance, it should be observed that when¹ a wound occurs in the sexual part of a mother, or sister, or daughter, and she flees (fravêd) from a medical man, and there is no opportunity for him to apply a seton (palitð), and her father, or son, or brother is instructed in similar surgery, which is more evil *in* appearance, when they touch the part with the hand, and apply a seton, or *when* a strange man *does so*?

'And, when *it* is desirable to effect their union, which is the less remarkable (kam hû-zanâkhîktar) in evil appearance, when they are united (hamdvâdî-hênd) by them in secret, such as when the hearing of their written *contract* (nipistð) of wifehood and husbandhood² is accomplished in the *background* (dar pûstð), or when the sound of drums and trumpets acquaints the whole district, where

¹ Reading amat instead of mûn, 'who,' (see Dd. LXII, 4 n.)

² Showing that the practice advocated was understood to be a regular marriage (performed in private probably on account of the authorities being of a foreign faith) and not any kind of irregular intercourse. It is here approvingly contrasted with the noisy celebration of a marriage with a person of foreign faith, in accordance with foreign customs.

these people are renowned, that such an Arûman¹ intends to effect such a purpose with the daughter, sister, or mother of such a Pârsl man?

'On this account of less evil appearance is even the good appearance which is to be mutually practised; and after the mode is seen, even the advantageousness in the accomplishment of the daily duty of concealing disgrace, the mutual desire, the mutual advantage and harm, and the contentment *which arise* as to whatever has happened are also mutual assistance. Some, with a husband and faint-heartedness, *have* a disposition (sânö) of incapability, and the diligence which is in their reverence of the husband, who is ruler of the family (bûnag shah), is *due* even to the supremacy which he would set over them through the severity of a husband. Very many others, too, who are strange women, are not content with a custom (vag) of this description; for they demand even ornaments to cover *and* clothe the bold *and* active ones, and slaves, dyes, perfumes, extensive preparations, and many other things of house-mistresses which are according to their desire, though *it* is not possible they should receive *them*. And, if *it* be not possible, they would not accept retrenchment; and, if they should not accept retrenchment, it hurries *on* brawling, abuse, and ugly words about this, and even uninterrupted falsehood (avisistak-iê zûr) is diffused as regards it; of the secrets, moreover, *which* they conceal they preserve night and day a bad representation, and unobservantly. They shall take the bad *wife* to

¹ A native of Asia Minor, or any other part of the eastern empire of the Romans.

the house of *her* father and mother, the husband is dragged to the judges, *and* they shall form a district assembly (*shatrô angêzô*) about it. And lest he *should* speak thus: "I will release *her* from wifehood *with* me¹," vice and fraud of many kinds *and* the misery of deformity are the faults which are also secretly attributed to him.

'A wife of those three classes² is to be provided, since they would not do even one of *these* things³; on which account, even through advantageousness, virtuous living, precious abundance, dignity, and innocence, mutual labour is manifestly mighty *and* strong.

'And if it be said that, "with all this which you explain, there is also, afterwards, a depravity (*darvakh*) which is hideous," it should be understood in the mind that hideousness and beauteousness are specially those *things* which *do not exist* in themselves, but through some one's habit of taking *up* an opinion and belief. The hideous children of many are in the ideas of procreation exceedingly handsome, and the handsome forms of many are in the ideas of a housekeeper (*khânöpânö*) exceedingly ugly. We consider him also as *one* of our enemies when any one walks naked in the country, *which* you consider hideous; *but* the naked skins of

¹ That is, lest he should pronounce her divorce.

² The three nearest degrees of relationship must be meant, as the sequel admits the possibility of the union being considered objectionable; otherwise, the three kinds of first cousins might be understood.

³ As a special pleader for marriage between near relations the apologist feels himself bound to argue that all bad wives must have been strangers to the family before marriage.

the country call *him* handsome whose garments, which seem to them hideous, have fallen *off*. And we are *they* in whose ideas a nose level with the face is ugly, *but they* who account a prominent nose ugly, and say it is a walling *that* reaches between the two eyes, remain selecting a handsome *one*¹. And concerning handsomeness and ugliness in themselves, which are only through *having* taken *up* an opinion and belief, *there* is a change even through time and place; for *any* one of the ancients whose head *was* shaved *was* as *it were* ugly, and it was so settled by law that *it was* a sin worthy of death for them²; then its habits (*sânö*) did not direct the customs of the country to shave the head of a man, *but* now there is a sage who has considered *it* as handsome *and* even a good work. Whoever is not clear that *it* is hideous is to think, about something threatening (*girât*), that *it* is even so not in itself, but through *what* is taken into themselves they consider that *it* is hideous.

‘Then for us the good work of that thing³, *of* which *it* is cognizable that it is so ordained by the creator, has *its* recompense; it is the protector of the race, *and* the family is more perfect; *its* nature

¹ That is, those who admire flat noses select their beauties accordingly. Beauty being merely a matter of taste, which varies with the whim of the individual and the fashion of the period.

² This law was evidently becoming obsolete at the time the apologist was writing, and is now wholly forgotten. All Parsi laymen have their heads shaved at the present time, although the priests merely have their hair closely cut. This change of custom, in a matter settled by religious law, should warn the Parsis not to deny the possibility of other complete alterations having taken place in their religious customs.

³ Khvétük-das.

is without vexation (apīzâr) and gathering affection, an advantage to the child—the lineage *being* exalted—gathering (avarêûn) hope, offspring, and pleasure *it* is sweetness *to* the procreator, and the joy is most complete; less is the harm *and* more the advantage, little the pretence and much the skill of the graceful blandishments (nâzânö) which are apparent, aiding and procuring assistance (bangisnö), averting disaster, and conducting affairs; less is the fear, through itself is itself illustrious, and the steadfast shall abandon crime (kām). And all our fathers and grandfathers, by whom the same practice *was* lawfully cherished, maintained *it* handsomely in *their* homes; and to think of mankind only as regards some assistance is the enlightenment of the steadfast, a reason which is exhibiting the evidence of wisdom, that no practice of it¹ is not expedient.

‘And if it be said that the law² *has* afterwards commanded as regards that *custom* thus: “Ye shall not practise *it*!” every one who is cognizant of that command is to consider *it* current; *but* we are not cognizant of that command, and *by* an intelligent *person* (khapârvâarakö) this should also be seen minutely, through correct observation, that all the knowledge of men has arisen from Khvêtûk-das. For knowledge is generated by the union of instinctive wisdom and acquired wisdom³; instinctive wisdom is the female, *and* acquired wisdom the male; and on this account, since both are an achievement by the creator, they are sister and brother. And

¹ Khvêtûk-das.

² Perhaps the law of the foreign conquerors is meant.

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 35, XL, 3.

also of everything worldly the existence, maturing, *and* arrangement are due to union in proportion; water, which is female, and fire, which is male¹, are accounted sister *and* brother in combination, and they seem as *though one* restrains *them* from Khvêtûk-das, unless, through being dissipated themselves², seed—which is progeny—arises therefrom; *and* owing to a mutual proportionableness of water and fire is the power in the brain, for if the water be more it rots *it* away, *and* if the fire be more it burns *it* away.'

This elaborate defence of Khvêtûk-das shows clearly that, at the time it was written (about a thousand years ago), that custom was understood to include actual marriages between the nearest relatives, although those between first cousins appear to be also referred to.

In the 195th³ chapter of the third book of the *Dînkard* we are told that the eighth of the ten admonitions, delivered to mankind by Zaratûst, was this:—'For the sake of much terrifying of the demons, and much lodgment of the blessing of the holy⁴ in one's body, Khvêtûk-das is to be practised.' And the following chapter informs us, that 'opposed to that admonition of the righteous Zaratûst, of practising Khvêtûk-das for the sake of much terrifying

¹ See Dd. XCIII, 13 n.

² Into the forms of moisture and warmth in the body. Water and fire in their ordinary state being incapable of combination.

³ This will be the 193rd chapter in Dastûr Peshotanji's edition, because his numbers do not commence at the beginning of the book. A similar difference will be found in the numbering of all other chapters of the third book of the *Dînkard*.

⁴ The technical name of Yas. LIX.

of the demons from the body of man, and the lodgment of the blessing of the holy in the body, the wicked wizard Akhtô¹, the enemy of the good *man* on account of the perplexing living which *would arise* from his practising Khvêtûk-das, preferred not practising Khvêtûk-das.'

The practice is also mentioned in the 287th chapter of the same book, in the following passage:—'The welfare of the aggregate of one's own limb-formations—those which *exist* through no labour of one's own, *and* have not come to the aid of those not possessing *them* (anafsmân) owing to their own want of gratitude—even *one* of a previous formation *has* to eulogize suitably; *and* this which *has* come, completely establishing (spôr-nih) the Avesta, *one* calls equally splendid, by the most modestly comprehensive appellation *of* Khvêtûk-das.'

In the sixth book of the Dînkard, which professes to be a summary of the opinions of those of the primitive faith², we are told that, 'when the good work of Khvêtûk-das shall diminish, darkness will increase and light will diminish.'

In the seventh book of the Dînkard, which relates the marvels of the Mazda-worshipping religion, we are informed that it was 'recounted how—Gâyô-mard³ *having* passed *away*—it was declared secondly, as regards worldly *beings*, to Masyê and Masyâôê⁴, the first progeny of Gâyô-mard, by the word of Aûharmazd—that is, he spoke to them when they

¹ Av. Akhtya of Âbân Yt. 82, who propounded ninety-nine enigmas to Yôistô of the Fryâns (see Dd. XC, 3).

² See Dd. XCIV, 1 n.

³ The sole-created man (see Dd. II, 10, XXXVII, 82).

⁴ See p. 402, note 1.

were produced by him—thus: “You are the men I produce, you are the parents of all bodily life, and so you men shall not worship the demons, for the possession of complete mindfulness¹ *has been* perfectly supplied to you by me, so that you *may* quite full-mindfully observe duty and decrees.” And the creativeness of Aûharmazd *was* extolled by them, and they advanced in diligence; they also performed the will of the creator, *they* carved (parkâvintdö) advantage *out of* the many duties of the world, *and* practised Khvêtûk-das through procreation *and* the union and complete progress of the creations in the world, which are the best good works of mankind.’

The following passage also occurs in the same book :—‘Then Zaratûst, on becoming exalted, called out unto the material world of righteousness to extol righteousness and downcast are the demons; and, “homage *being* the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst, the ceremonial and praise of the archangels are the best for you, I assert; and, *as to* deprecation (ayazisnîh) of the demons, Khvêtûk-das is even the best intimation, so that, from the information which is given *as to* the trustworthiness of a good work, the greatest is the most intimate of them, *those of* father *and* daughter, son *and* she who bore *him*², and brother *and* sister.” *It is* declared that, upon those words, innumerable demon-worshipping Kîks and Karaps³ disputed (sâristdö) with Zaratûst and strove for his death, just like this which revelation states :—“It is then the multitude clamoured (mar barâ vîrâd) who are in the vicinity of the seat of Tûr, the well-

¹ See p. 396, note 2.

² See p. 400, note 1.

³ See p. 384, note 1.

afflicting¹ holder of decision; and the shame of the brother of Tûr arose, like *that of* a man whose shame *was* that they spoke of his Khvêtûk-das so that he might perform it. This Tûr *was* Tûr-î Aûrvâtâ-sang², the little-giving, *who* was like a great sovereign of that quarter; and he maintained many troops and *much* power. And the multitude told him they would seize the great *one* from him who is little³. *But* Tûr-î Aûrvâtâ-sang, the little-giving *and* well-afflicting, *spoke* thus:—‘*Should* I thereupon smite him, this great *one* who mingles together those propitious words for us—where we are thus without doubt *as to* one thing therein, such as Khvêtûk-das, that it is not necessary to perform *it*—it would make us ever doubtful that it *might* be necessary to perform it’ And Zarâtûst spoke to him thus: ‘I am not always that reserved speaker, by whom that I *have* mentioned is the most propitious *thing* to be obtained; and inward speaking and managing the temper are a Khvêtûk-das⁴, and the high-priest *who has* performed *it* is to perform the ceremonial.’”” This passage attributes to Zarâtûst himself the enforcement of next-of-kin marriage, but it is hardly necessary to point out that the Dînkard only records a tradition to that effect; which

¹ The word hû-nôrakö is the Pahlavi equivalent of Av. hurnustâ (Yas. L, 10, b), but the meaning of both words is uncertain. This Tûr seems to have been more friendly to Zarâtûst than the Tûrânians were in general, but he appears not to be mentioned in the extant Avesta.

² As this epithet has not been found in the extant Avesta, the reading is uncertain.

³ Meaning that they demanded possession of Zarâtûst in an insolent manner.

⁴ In a figurative sense.

record may be quoted as evidence of the former existence of such a tradition, but not as testimony for its truth. It is also worthy of notice that this tradition clearly shows that such marriages were distasteful to the people in general; but this might naturally be inferred from the efforts made by religious writers to assert the extraordinary merit of Khvêtûk-das, because customs which are popular and universal require no such special recommendation from the priesthood.

In the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* (XXXVII, 82, LXIV, 6, LXV, 2, LXXVII, 4, 5) allusions are made to the Khvêtûdâd¹ of brother and sister, formed by the progenitors of mankind. We are also told that Khvêtûdâd is to be practised till the end of the world, and that to occasion it among others is an effectual atonement for heinous sin² (Dd. LXXVII, 6, 7, LXXVIII, 19); but it is not certain that the term is applied in these latter passages to marriages between the *nearest* relatives.

For later particulars about Khvêtûk-das we have to descend to the darkest ages of *Mazda*-worship, those in which the Rivâyats, or records of religious legends, customs, and decisions, began to be compiled. Of the earlier Rivâyats, such as the Shâyast Lâ-shâyast and *Vigirkard-î Dînîk*, which were written in Pahlavi, few remain extant; but the later ones, written in Persian, are more numerous and very voluminous.

A Pahlavi Rivâyat, which precedes the *Dâdîstân-î Dînîk* in many MSS. of that work, devotes several

¹ Another form of the word Khvêtûk-das (see p. 390).

² This is also stated in Sls. VIII, 18.

pages to the subject of Khvêtûdâd, which fully confirm the statements of the defender of the practice, quoted above from the *Dinkard* (III, lxxxii). The age of this Pahlavi Rivâyat is quite uncertain; it is found in MSS. written in the sixteenth century, but, as it does not mention the marriage of first cousins, it was probably compiled at a much earlier period, more especially as it is written in fairly grammatical Pahlavi. The following extracts will be sufficient to show how far it confirms the statements of the *Dinkard*:—

‘Of the good works of an infidel this is the greatest, when he comes out from the habit of infidelity into the good religion; and of *one* of the good religion, remaining backward (*akhar-mân*) *at the time* when his ritual is performed, this is a great good work, when he performs a Khvêtûdâd; for through that Khvêtûdâd, which is so valuable a token of Mazda-worship, is the destruction of demons. And of Aûharmazd *it* is declared, as regards the performance of Khvêtûdâd, that, when Zarâtûst sat before Aûharmazd¹, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvaîrô, Horvadað, Amerôdad, and Spendarmad² sat around Aûharmazd, and Spendarmad sat by his side, she had also laid a hand on his neck, *and* Zarâtûst asked Aûharmazd about it thus: “Who is this *that* sits beside thee, and thou wouldst be such a friend to her, and she also would be such a friend to thee? Thou, who art Aûharmazd, turnest not *thy* eyes away from her, and she turns not away

¹ As he is said to have done in heaven, when receiving instruction in the religion.

² The archangels (see Dd. XLVIII, 1 n), of whom Spendarmad is said to be a female (see p. 393, note 2).

from thee; thou, who art Aûharmazd, dost not release her from *thy* hand, and she does not release thee from *her* hand¹." And Aûharmazd said: "This is Spendarmad, who is my daughter, the house-mistress of my heaven, and mother of the creatures²." Zaratûst spoke thus: "When they say, in the world, this is a very perplexing thing, how is it proclaimed by thee—thee who art Aûharmazd—for thee *thyself*?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "O Zaratûst! this should have become the best-enjoyed thing of mankind. When, since my original creation, Mâhartyâ and Mâhartyâôth³ had performed it, you, also, should have performed it; because although mankind *have* turned away *from* that thing⁴, yet they should not have turned away. Just as Mâhartyâ and Mâhartyâôth had performed Khvêtûdâd, mankind should have performed it, *and* all mankind would have known their own lineage and race, *and* a brother would never be deserted by the affection of his brother, *nor* a sister *by that* of her sister. For all nothingness, emptiness⁵, and drought *have* come unto mankind from the deadly *one* (mar), when men have come to them from a different country, from a different town, *or* from a different district, and *have* married their women; and when they shall have carried away their women, and they have

¹ This legend is an instance of the close proximity of superstition to profanity, among uneducated and imaginative people.

² She being a representative of the earth.

³ See p. 402, note 1.

⁴ That is, from marriage of the nearest relations, which is admitted, throughout these extracts, to be distasteful to the people; hence the vehemence with which it is advocated.

⁵ Literally 'air-stuffing' (vâê-âkînh).

waited together about this, thus: 'They will always carry our daughters into perversion¹.'

'This, too, *is said*, that Khvêtûdâd is so miraculous that *it* is the preservation of the most grievous sin—such as witchcraft and *that* worthy of death—from hell. And the want of protection (avtpâ-harh) from hell *of one* unprotected from Aharman and the demons arises at that time when, owing to what *occurs* when *he* is begged by *some* one to exercise witchcraft, *he* is made worthy of death. And when they shall perform Khvêtûdâd, when the Khvêtûdâd is owing to him², the unprotected *one* is preserved from the prison of hell, *from* Aharman *and* the demons; so miraculous is Khvêtûdâd.

'In a passage *it* is declared, that Aûharmazd spoke unto Zaratûst thus: "These are the best four things: the ceremonial worship of Aûharmazd, the lord; presenting firewood, incense, and holy-water to the fire; propitiating a righteous man³; and *one* who performs Khvêtûdâd with her who bore *him*, or a daughter, or with a sister. And of all those he is the greatest, best, and most perfect who shall perform Khvêtûdâd. . . . When Sôshâns comes⁴ all mankind *will* perform Khvêtûdâd, and every fiend will perish through the miracle and power of Khvêtûdâd.'

It is then explained why the several merits of the

¹ This fear of perversion to another faith was, no doubt, the real cause of the vehement advocacy of family marriages by the priesthood.

² That is, when he has arranged the next-of-kin marriage of others, before his death.

³ That is, a priest.

⁴ Shortly before the resurrection (see Dd. II, 10).

three classes of Khvêtûdâd are considered to stand in the same order as that in which the classes are mentioned in the preceding paragraph; also that the third class includes the case of half brothers and sisters, and the second that of an illegitimate daughter. After this we find the following legend:—

‘And Khvêtûdâd is so miraculous, that *it* is declared, regarding Yim¹, that, when the glory of his sovereignty had departed from him, he went out to the precincts (var) of the ocean with Yimak, his sister, *in order* to flee from the people, demons, and witches of the assembly of Dahâk². And *they were* sought by them in hell and not seen; and others sought them among mankind, water, earth, and cattle, among trees, in the mountains, and in the towns, *but they were* not seen by them. Then Aharman shouted thus: “I think thus, that Yim is travelling in the precincts of the ocean.” And a demon and a witch, *who* stood among *them*, spoke thus: “We *will* go and seek Yim.” And they rushed *off and* went; and when they came unto those precincts where Yim was—the precincts *where* the water of Tîr³ was—Yim spoke thus: “Who are

¹ The third sovereign of the world, after Gâyômarđ (see Dd. II, 10). This legend is also mentioned in Bd. XXIII, 1, as explaining the origin of the ape and bear.

² The foreign king, or dynasty, that conquered Yim (see Dd. XXXVII, 97 n).

³ Evidently intended for Tîstar, a personification of the star Sirius, who is supposed to bring the rain from the ocean (see Dd. XCIII, 1-17). Strictly speaking Tîr is the planet Mercury, the opponent of Tîstar, whose name is given to the fourth month, and thirteenth day of the month, in the Parsi year (see Bd. V, 1, VII, 2, XXVII, 24); but the confusion between the two names is not uncommon in the later books (comp. Sls. XXII, 13 with XXIII, 2).

you?" And they spoke thus: "We are those who are just like thee, who had to flee from the hands of the demons; we, too, have fled away from the demons, and we are alone. Do thou give this sister in marriage to me, while I also give this *one* unto thee!" And Yim, therefore, when the demons were not recognised by him from mankind, made the witch his own wife, and gave his sister unto the demon *as* wife. From Yim and that witch were born the bear, the ape, Gandarep¹, *and* Gôsûbar²; *and* from Yimak and that demon were born the tortoise (gasaf), the cat, the hawk (gaving), the frog, the weevil (dîvakö), *and* also as many more noxious creatures, until Yimak saw that that demon was evil, and it was necessary to demand a divorce (zan-takâ) *from* him. And one day, when Yim *and* that demon had become drunk with wine, she exchanged her own position and clothing with those of the witch; and when Yim came he was drunk, *and* unwittingly lay with Yimak, who was his sister, and they came to a decision *as to* the good work of Khvétûdâd; many demons were quite crushed *and* died, and they rushed away at once, and fell back to hell.'

The fact, that the zealous writer felt that he had to force his opinions upon an unwilling people, is betrayed by the exaggerated language he uses in the following statements:—

'This, too, is declared by the Avesta, that Zarâtûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: "Many thoughts, many words, *and* many deeds are mentioned by

¹ See p. 371, note 3.

² Not identified, and the reading is, therefore, uncertain.

thee—thee who art Aûharmazd—that it is necessary to think, speak, and do ; of all *such* thoughts, words, and deeds which is the best, when *one* shall think, speak, *or* do it ?” Aûharmazd spoke thus : “ Many thoughts, *many* words, and *many* deeds should be proclaimed by me, O Zaratûst ! *but*, of those thoughts, words, and deeds *which* it is necessary to think, speak, and do, that which is best and most perfect *one* performs by Khvêtûdâd. For *it* is declared that, the first time when he goes near to it, a thousand demons will die, and two thousand wizards and witches ; when he goes near to it twice, two thousand demons will die, and four thousand wizards and witches ; when he goes near to it three times, three thousand demons will die, and six thousand wizards and witches ; and when he goes near to it four times *it* is known *that* the man and woman become righteous ¹.”

‘ . . . Owing to the performance of Khvêtûdâd *there* arises a destruction of demons equivalent to a stoppage of creation ; and though, afterwards, *some* of those men and women shall become wizards, *or* unlawfully slaughter a thousand sheep and beasts of burden at one time, *or* shall present holy-water to the demons, *yet*, on account of that destruction and vexation of the demons, which has occurred to them owing to the Khvêtûdâd, it does not become comfortable to them while completed ; and *it* is not believed by them that “ the souls of those *people* will come to us.”

‘ Whoever keeps one year in a marriage of Khvê-

¹ Or, as stated in the Appendix to the Shâyast Lâ-shâyast (Sls. XVIII, 4), they *will* not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels.’

tûdâd becomes just as though one-third of all this world, with the water, with the trees, and with the corn, had been given by him, as a righteous gift, unto a righteous man. When he keeps two years in the marriage *it* is as though two-thirds of this world, with the water, trees, *and* corn, had been given by him unto a righteous man. When he keeps three years in the marriage *it* is as though all this world, with the water, with the trees, *and* with everything, had been given *by him*, as a righteous gift, unto a righteous man. *And* when he keeps four years in his marriage, and his ritual¹ is performed, *it* is known *that his* soul thereby goes unto the supreme heaven (garôdmân); *and when the ritual is not performed*, it goes thereby to *the ordinary* heaven (vahistô).

'Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: "*As to the man who practises Khvêtûdâd, and his ritual is performed, and he also offers a ceremonial (yazisnô-aê), is the good work of it such as if one without Khvêtûdâd had offered it, or which way is it?*" Aûharmazd said: "*It is just as though a hundred men without Khvêtûdâd had offered it.*"

'Zaratûst enquired this, also, of Aûharmazd, that is: "How is the benediction (âfrînô) which a man who *practises* Khvêtûdâd shall offer?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "As though a hundred men without Khvêtûdâd *should* offer the benediction."

'And this, too, *was* asked by him, that is: "*As to them who render assistance, and one meditates and attains to Khvêtûdâd through them, and one*

¹ The proper ceremonies after his death, or for his living soul during his lifetime (see Dd. XXVIII, LXXXI).

performs Khvêtûdâd on account of their statements, how is *their* good work?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Like *his* who keeps in food and clothing, *for* one winter, a hundred priests—each of which priests has a hundred disciples—*such* is his good work."

'Zaratûst enquired this, also, of Aûharmazd, that is: "*As to* them who keep a man back *from* performing Khvêtûdâd, *and* owing to their statements he shall not perform Khvêtûdâd, what is their sin?" Aûharmazd spoke¹ thus: "*Their* place is hell."

'*In* a passage *it* is declared that, wiser than the wise, *and* more virtuous than the virtuous is *he* in whose thoughts, words, *and* deeds the demons are less predominant; *and* Aharman *and* the demons are less predominant in the body of him who *practises* Khvêtûdâd, and his ritual² is performed.

'*It* is declared by revelation that *at the time* when Zaratûst came out from the presence of Aûharmazd, the lord, into a worldly place where he travelled, he spoke this, that is: "Extol the religion! *and* you should perform Khvêtûdâd. I speak of the good and those existing *in* the religion; *as to* the negligent, the vile, and those in perplexity, this is said, that a thing so wondrous *and* important *as that* which is in our law *of* Khvêtûdâd could not be for performance. This is a sublime (*kîrag*) custom, *and*, as the best of all things, *one* asserts that it is necessary to perform it. *To* me, also, this is manifest when, through all faith *in* the law *of* those existing *in* the religion³, that which is called by

¹ The Pahlavi text is imperfect.

² See p. 421, note 1.

³ That is, the general law of Mazda-worship, as distinguished from what he is advocating as a peculiarly religious law sanctioned

them a very heinous sin, through faith *in* this law of the good, is that which is called the most perfect *and* best good work of Mazda-worship."

'This, too, is declared by revelation, that Aûharmazd spoke unto Zaratûst thus: "You should cause the performance of duties *and* good works." And Zaratûst spoke thus: "Which duty *and* good work *shall* I do first?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Khvêtûdâd; because that duty *and* good work is to be performed in the foremost place of all, for, in the end, it happens through Khvêtûdâd, when all who are in the world attain unto the religion¹."

'This, too, is declared by revelation, that Zaratûst spoke unto Aûharmazd thus: "In my eyes *it* is an evil (*vaðö*) which is performed, and *it is* perplexing that I *should* make Khvêtûdâd as *it were* fully current among mankind." Aûharmazd spoke thus: "In my eyes, also, *it* is just as *in* thine; but for this reason—when out of everything perfect *there is some* miserable evil² for thee—it should not seem *so*. Do thou be diligent in performing Khvêtûdâd, and others, also, will perform *it* diligently."

The unpopularity of the practice advocated could hardly be more fully admitted than in this last paragraph, nor the objection more irrationally and dogmatically disposed of. As for the numerous quotations, which the compiler of this Pahlavi Rivâyat

by the priests ('the good'). This is evidently an admission that the practice advocated was contrary to the ordinary laws of Mazda-worship itself.

¹ As Pahlavi writers expect them to do before the resurrection.

² Reading *vaðö-î vêsht*; but it may be '*something* is difficult and hard' (*tang va sakht*).

professes to take from the Parsi scriptures, it is hardly necessary to remark that their authenticity must be accepted with great reserve.

Persian Rivâyats, copied in the seventeenth century, advocate the marriage of first cousins, and allude vaguely to those between nearer relatives as long extinct, though most of their remarks merely recommend the performance of Khêdyôdath¹, without explaining the meaning of the term. Thus, we are informed that a person worthy of death can perform Khêdyôdath as a good work, but it is better if followed by the Bareshnûm ceremony². An unclean person can do the same, but the Bareshnûm should precede the performance, so as to avoid sins arising from the uncleanness. The performance also destroys demons, wizards, and witches; and if arranged by any one, at his own expense, for another person, it is as meritorious as if performed by himself. But the following quotations are more descriptive of the practice³:—

‘Again, whereas the great wisdom of the king and of the assembly of priests fully understands that the ceremony of all the religious rites⁴ is a great good work, besides that which is called Khêdyôdath, yet, in these days, both have fallen out of *their* hands; but they will make an endeavour, so that they may form connection with their own, and on account of

¹ The Persian form of the word Khvêtûk-das. It is also written Khetyôdath in some passages, and Khêtvadat in others.

² The great ceremony of purification (see App. IV).

³ The Persian Rivâyat from which all this information has been extracted is M 10 (fol. 50 a).

⁴ See Dd. XLIV, 2 n.

the Musulmâns the connection is a medium *one*¹, better than that of an infidel. And Ormazd has said that *by* as much as the connection is nearer *it is* more of a good work; and they display *their* endeavour and effort, and give the son of a brother and daughter of a brother *to* each other. And just as this *is said*: "I establish the *performer* of Khêdyôdath, I establish the patrol of the country²," even on this account they certainly display an endeavour.

'Query:—"How are the connections that relations form?" Reply:—"A brother's children with a brother's children and a sister's children, and relations with one another form connections, *and* it is proper for them."

'Khêdyôdath is *that* which is a great good work, and has fallen out of their hands, owing to the reason that there is no king of the good religion; and if it be so they will make an endeavour, and will form connections with their own, and will give the son of a brother and daughter of a brother to each other, and if not it is not proper; and every such connection as is nearer is more of a good work. And the mode they will act who are at first without a king will be an infidel *one*, and to form connections among themselves will be very difficult now he (the king) is a Musulmân, *but* that which is nearer is better and more of a good work.'

¹ This seems to be an allusion to some interference of the Muhammadan government with marriages of those next of kin. A similar allusion occurs in the next paragraph but one, which, with most of this paragraph, is also found in M7, fols. 229b, 230a.

² This Avesta quotation, from Visp. III, 18, 19, is as follows:—"hvaêtvadathem âstâya, danhâurvaêsem âstâya;" and the meaning of the last term is uncertain.

These quotations indicate that a great change had crept over the meaning of Khvêtûk-das since the dark ages of the Pahlavi Rivâyat, previously quoted, although a tradition of the old meaning still lingered in the minds of the writers. The modern meaning is, however, most completely explained in a passage, appended to a Persian version of Aêshm's complaint to Aharman, regarding the difficulty of destroying the effect of the season-festivals, the sacred feast, and Khvêtûk-das (Sls. XVIII). After Aharman has confessed his inability to suggest a means of destroying the merit of the last, the Persian writer adds the following particulars:—

'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief Khêtvadat is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium Khêtvadat is that of a brother's son and a younger brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium Khêtvadat is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who performs Khêtvadat, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary¹; if it be *one* of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added: if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the connection of Khêtvadat of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûhars²; if any one strives to break off the connection of Khêtvadat he is worthy of death.'

¹ See Dd. XX, 3.

² See Dd. LXXVIII, 13. Geldner in his *Studien zum Avesta*, I, pp. 3-12, suggests that the original meaning of Av. tanupere-tha and peshôtanu was 'outcast'; but, although these words are translated by Pahl. tanâpûhar, it is doubtful whether this last

With this quotation, which occurs in a MS.¹ written A.D. 1723, we may conclude our examination of all passages in the Parsi scriptures referring to Khvêtûk-das, the result of which may be summarized as follows :—

First, the term does not occur at all in the oldest part of the Avesta, and when it is mentioned in the later portion it is noticed merely as a good work which is highly meritorious, without any allusion to its nature ; only one passage (Vend. VIII, 36) indicating that both men and women can participate in it. So far, therefore, as can be ascertained from the extant fragments of the Avesta—the only internal authority regarding the ancient practices of Mazda-worship—the Parsis are perfectly justified in believing that their religion did not originally sanction marriages between those who are next of kin, provided they choose to ignore the statements of foreigners, as based upon imperfect information.

Second, when we descend to the Pahlavi translations and writings of the better class, which, in their present form, probably range from the sixth to the ninth century, we find many allusions to Khvêtûk-das between those next of kin, and only one obscure reference to the marriage of first cousins². Marriages between the nearest relations are defended chiefly by reference to mythical and metaphorical

word be a mere transcript of *tanuperetha* (which ought to have been *tanûpûhar*), or whether it expresses the different idea of *tan-apûhar*, 'a person without a bridge to heaven,' which might have been that adopted by the Pahlavi translators of the *Vendidad* ; an outcast in this world being very liable to be considered as an outcast from the next.

¹ M5, fols. 54, 55.

² In Dk. III, lxxxii (see p. 404).

statements regarding the creation, and to the practice of the progenitors of mankind; they are also advocated with all the warmth and vehemence that usually indicate much difficulty in convincing the laity, and this zealous vehemence increases as we descend to the dark ages of the Pahlavi Rivâyat¹, the compilation of which may perhaps be attributed to some writer of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Unless, therefore, the Parsis determine to reject the evidence of such Pahlavi works as the Pahlavi Yasna, the book of *Ardâ-Virâf*, the *Dînkard*, and the *Dâdistân-i Dînik*, or to attribute those books to heretical writers, they must admit that their priests, in the later years of the Sasanian dynasty, and for some centuries subsequently, strongly advocated such next-of-kin marriages, though, probably, with little success. That a practice now reprobated by all Parsis should have been formerly advocated by their priests, as a religious duty, need not excite the surprise of those who consider how slavery has been advocated by many Christians, on scriptural grounds, within the present generation, and how the execution of supposed witches was similarly advocated a few generations ago.

Third, as we come to the modern writings of the Persian Rivâyats, which may have commenced about the fifteenth century, we find the present form of *Khvêtûk-das*, the marriage of first cousins (which was only slightly mentioned in the *Dînkard* of the ninth century), the only form in use; though obscure allusions are made to the other forms as being long extinct.

¹ See pp. 415-423.

At whatever period the practice of next-of-kin marriage may have originated there were evidently two reasons for its establishment and continuance; one was the indispensable necessity of offspring¹, unfettered by duties towards any other family, for the purpose of maintaining the necessary periodical ceremonies for the souls of those passed away; the other was the wish of preventing any risk of religious perversion consequent upon marrying into a family of strangers or infidels. Both of these reasons must have become intensified as the *Mazda*-worshippers diminished in numbers, hence the increasing vehemence of priestly advocacy, until the foreign conquerors probably interfered, and put a stop to the practice.

That such marriages were not unusual among other races, in ancient times, we learn from many tales in Greek and Roman mythology, from the usual practice of the Greek dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and even from the laws prohibiting such connections in Lev. xviii. 6-16, which, as laws are not made to prohibit practices that do not exist, would hardly have been written unless the children of Israel had at one time adopted the custom to some slight extent. That Parsis now deny the existence of such marriages among their ancestors proves that they no longer approve the custom, but does not affect the historical evidence of its former

¹ The oriental feeling of such a necessity, for the mere purpose of perpetuating the family, is abundantly manifested in the story of Lot's daughters (Gen. xix. 30-38), which is related without reprobation by its writer. Also by the exceptional law requiring a man to marry his brother's wife, when the brother has died childless (Deut. xxv. 5-10).

existence. Christians no longer approve the persecution and execution of women for the imaginary crime of witchcraft, but it would be both childish and useless for them to deny that their ancestors committed hundreds of such judicial murders less than two centuries ago.

IV. THE BARESHNŪM CEREMONY.

THE great ceremony of purification for any Parsi man or woman who has become unclean by contact with the dead, or through any other serious defilement, lasts for nine nights, and is called the Bareshnŭm, which is the Avesta name for the 'top' of the head, the first part of the body appointed to be washed in the ceremony, after the hands. The description of this ceremony, given in Pahl. Vend. IX, 1-145, which does not differ very materially from the rite still in use, is as follows¹ :—

Pahl. Vend. IX, 1. Zaratŭst enquired of Aŭharmazd thus : 'O Aŭharmazd, propitious spirit ! creator of the material world ! who art the righteous *one* [of righteousness !] that is, Aŭharmazd is the righteous creator through invocation, *and* the rest through praise]. 2. 'How, when in the material existence they see a [clean] man together with [that which is polluted], (3) how shall they purify him clean who

¹ Observing that the passages in brackets do not occur in the Avesta text, but are added by the Pahlavi translators ; and that the sections are numbered to correspond with the alternating Avesta and Pahlavi sections in the MSS., which is the division adopted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. The readings adopted are those of L₄, wherever they are not defective ; this MS. was written about A.D. 1324, and differs occasionally from Spiegel's printed text ; it begins the ninth fargard with the following heading :—'May it be fortunate ! may it destroy the corruption (nasŭs) which rushes on from a dead dog and men on to the living ! May the pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers be triumphant !'

is with *that* fraught with corruption [together with pollution] owing to that dead body? [that is, how should they make *him* thoroughly clean?]

4. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'A righteous man, O Zaratûst the Spîtamân! [a purifier], (5) who is a speaker [that is, it is possible for him to speak], a true-speaker [that is, falsehood is little spoken by him], an enquirer of the liturgy [that is, the ritual is performed by him], *and* righteous, (6) he who specially understands the purification of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers [that is, he knows the rite], (7) such a one shall cut up the plants on the fruitful earth, (8) *for* a length of nine separate reeds¹ in every one of the four directions, (9) *at a place* on this earth which is most devoid of water, most devoid of trees, land most purified [from bodily refuse]², *and* with the driest ground [that is, there is no damp in that extent of it]. 10. Even *where* least upon the paths do cattle and beasts of burden step forth, and the fire of Aûharmazd, the sacred twigs³ spread forth with righteousness, and the righteous man⁴ *do least exist*.'

11. 'Creator of the material world! *thou* righteous *one*! how far from the fire? how far from the water? how far from the sacred twigs spread forth

¹ Which would be 42 feet (see Dd. XLIII, 5 n); but the phrase *gvîd nâi* (which, in Pahl. Vend. VII, 90, has become *gvîd hanâ* by misreading *gvîdô-aê*, and then substituting Huz. *hanâ* for Pâz. *aê*) is merely an attempted translation of Av. *vîbâzu*, which latter appears to mean the 'two arms' outstretched, or a fathom. So the 'separate reed' should be understood as a longer kind of reed, equal to a fathom, instead of 4 feet 8 inches.

² See Dd. XLVIII, 19 n. L4 omits this clause altogether.

³ See Dd. XLIII, 5 n.

⁴ Any priest not engaged in the purification.

with righteousness? how far from a man of the righteous?’

12. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: ‘Thirty steps¹ from the fire, thirty steps from the water, thirty steps from the sacred twigs spread forth with righteousness, and three steps² from the men of the righteous. 13. The cutting out for the first hole [for bull’s urine]³, after the coming on of summer, is two finger-breadths in excavation; after the coming on of hail-fraught (sôngagân-hômand) winter *it* is as *it were* a cup of four finger-breadths⁴. 14. So also for the second hole, for the third hole, for the fourth hole, the fifth, *and* the sixth.’

‘How much is *one* such hole from another hole⁵?’

‘As much as one step onwards.’

¹ As the step is three feet (see § 15), and the foot, being fourteen finger-breadths (see Bd. XXVI, 3 n), may be taken as 10½ inches, these thirty steps would be nearly 79 English feet.

² That is, 7 feet 10½ inches. This diminution of distance enables a purifying priest to stand near enough to an unclean person to hand him the purifying liquid in a ladle tied to a stick (see §§ 40-42), without going within the furrows traced around the holes or ablution seats at the same distance of three steps (see §§ 21-23).

³ That is, at which the unclean person is sprinkled with the urine (see §§ 48-116). The urine should be that of a bull, according to Vend. XIX, 70; but Vend. VIII, 35, 36 state that it may be that of cattle or draught oxen, generally, or even that of those who perform Khvētūk-das (see p. 391). At the present time the term *magh*, which means ‘a hole’ in the Avesta, is applied to the stones which are used as ablution seats for squatting upon.

⁴ The greater depth of the hole for catching the ablution droppings in the winter, would provide for the larger quantity of liquid that could not sink into the soil, or evaporate, during the tedious washing, owing to the soil and air being damper than in summer.

⁵ The probable positions of these holes, and of the furrows enclosing them, are shown upon the plan of the Bareshnūm Gâh on p. 435, which differs but little from the plan still in use.

15. 'What kind of one step?'

'Just like three feet.'

16. 'The cutting out of the three other holes [which are for water], (17) after the coming on of summer, is as much as two finger-breadths in excavation; after the coming on of hail-fraught winter *it* is as much as four finger-breadths.'

18. 'How much from those former *ones* [for bull's urine]?'

'As much as three steps.'

19. 'What kind of three steps?'

'As much as the steps *one* plants in walking with the steps he would take.'

20. 'What kind of walking with steps?'

'Just like nine feet.'

21. 'Thou shalt also plough up a furrow with the blade due to Shatryôvair¹.'

22. 'How much from the holes?'

'As much as three steps.'

'What kind of three steps?'

'As much as *in* walking with the steps *one* would take *and* plant.'

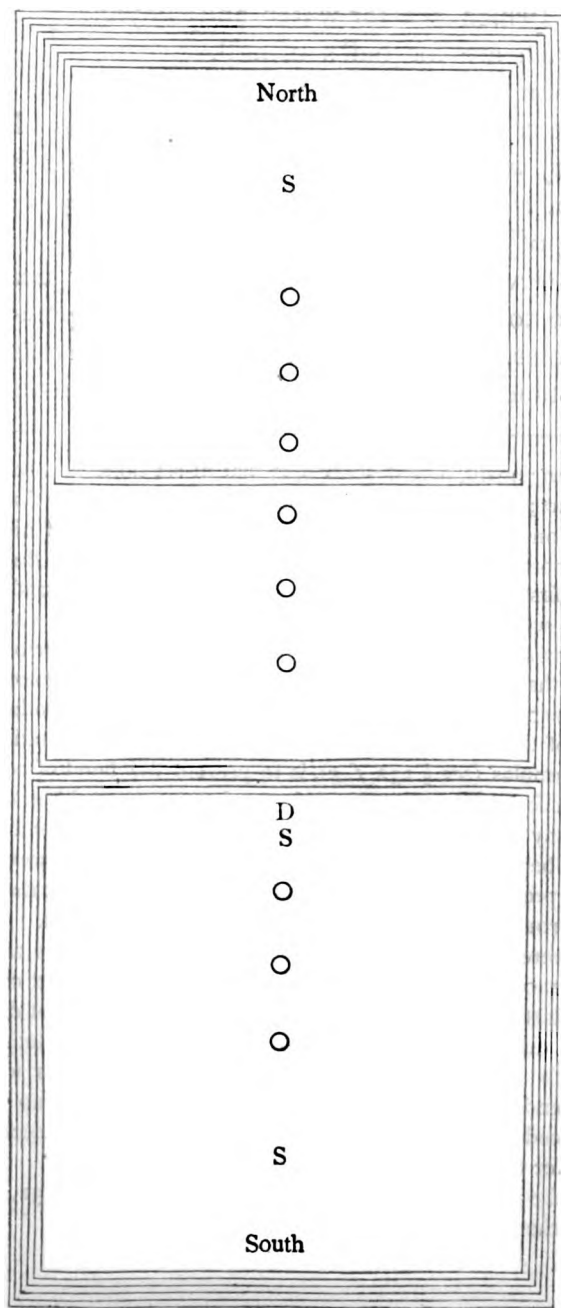
23. 'How much is the walking with steps?'

'As much as nine feet.'

24. 'Then, afterwards, is the ploughing up of the twelve furrows. 25. *By* the ploughing up of three from among *them* three holes are separated within *them*. 26. Thou shalt plough up three from among *them with* six holes separated within. 27. Thou shalt plough up three from among *them with* nine holes separated within. 28. *And* thou shalt plough

¹ That is, made of metal, which is under the special protection of the archangel Shatryôvair or Shatvaîrô (see Dd. XLVIII, 17 n).

PLAN OF BARESHNÛM GÂH.



O, O, O, O, O, O, six northern holes, for bull's urine, one step apart.
 O, O, O, three southern holes, for water, one step apart and three steps from the others.
 S, S, S, three loads of stones on the three spaces of three steps
 D, place for collecting fifteen handfuls of dust for drying the body.

up three, within which are the [three] holes that are apart, [which are for water, and] beyond [*those* within, which are for bull's urine]¹.

29. 'Thou shalt carry three loads of stones on to those spaces of nine feet², *as* an approach to the holes; (30) *or* potsherds, or knotty *and* massive blocks, or a *clod of the* earth of Vistâsp, or [a pot *or* something of] any hard earth whatever.

31. 'Afterwards, he who *has been* by the dead shall come to that approach, which is the approach to the holes. 32. Thereupon thou, O Zarâtûst! hast to stand up more aside, by the furrows³.

¹ The arrangement, here described, is that of six holes in a row, one step apart; then an interval of three steps, followed by three more holes, one step apart, in the same line. This row of nine holes, from north to south (see § 132, *e*), is surrounded by three furrows, the first six holes and the last three are both surrounded by a second series of three furrows, and the first three holes are surrounded by a third series of three furrows. And these furrows are not less than three steps from the holes in any place, except where they separate the three series of holes from each other. The object of the furrows, which are scored during the recitation of certain formulas (see § 132, *f*, *g*), is to prevent the fiend of corruption from forcing its way from the unclean person within the furrows to any other person outside them. And, as the fiend is supposed to be strongest at first, and to become gradually weakened by the progress of the purification (see § 119), the first three holes are surrounded by the strongest barrier of nine furrows.

² There were three such spaces, one between the furrows and the first hole, one between the sixth and seventh holes, and one between the last hole and the furrows (see the plan). It is not distinctly stated that these stones were to be distributed, as ablution seats, to each of the nine stations, as at present; but this was probably intended. At the present time an additional group of stones is placed outside the furrows, at the entrance to the north, as a station for the preliminary washing.

³ That is, the priest is to stand outside, to the right (see § 132, *i*), but close to the furrows.

33. Then these words are to be murmured [*by thee*, that is]: "Praise to Spendarmad¹, the propitious!"

34. *And* he who *has been* by the dead shall speak in reply to it thus: "Praise to Spendarmad, the propitious!" 35. Then the fiend becomes disabled by every word [of each repetition]; (36) the smiting of the evil spirit, the wicked *one*, is owing to it; (37) the smiting of Aeshm², the impetuous assailant, is owing to it; (38) the smiting of the Mâzinikân demons³ is owing to it; (39) the smiting of all the demons is owing to it.

40. 'Afterwards, thou shalt sprinkle bull's urine upon *him* with an iron, or with a leaden, *ladle*. 41. *If* thou shalt sprinkle upon *him with a leaden one*⁴, thou shalt strongly demand, O Zaratûst! the stem of a reed whose nine customary parts (pîsak) you have mentioned⁵ [*as nine knots*]; (42) *and one* should tie that leaden *ladle* strongly on *its* foremost part⁶.

43. 'He shall first wash over his hands [even to the elbows]. 44. When he does not wash over his hands, (45) he then makes all his own body impure [*and polluted*]. 46. When he shall have washed over his hands for three times, (47) then, when *thy* hands

¹ See p. 393, note 2. This exclamation is a Pahlavi version of a quotation from the Gâthas (Yas. XLVIII, 10, c).

² The demon of wrath (see Dd. XXXVII, 44).

³ See Dd. XXXVII, 81. This passage (§§ 36-39) is quoted from Yas. XXVII, 2, LVI, xii, 5.

⁴ These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, but occur in the Avesta.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'murmured over' with prayers.

⁶ This nine-knotted reed, or stick, must be so long that the ladle, tied to its end, can easily reach the unclean person at the holes, when the stick is held by the priest who stands outside the furrows.

shall have been washed over, (48) thou shalt sprinkle him on the front of the top of his head, [as far as the hair has grown.] 49. Then the fiend of corruption¹ rushes in front, upon *some* of the space between the brows of that man.

50. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front, on *some* of the space between the brows of that man, [from the place where the hair has grown, as far as to the ears backwards, *and* both cheeks at the bottom.]

51. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon the back of his head.

52. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on the back of his head, [from the place where the hair has grown, casting (stunak) one-fourth to the spine.] 53. Then the fiend of corruption rushes in front upon his jaws.

54. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front, on his jaws, [both cheeks as far as to the ears backwards, casting one-fourth unto the throat.] 55. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right ear.

56. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right ear. 57. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left ear.

58. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left ear, [just as the ear is turned, casting one-fourth to the liquid².]

¹ The Nasûs fiend (see Dd. XVII, 7).

² The word, both here and in § 68, must be Av. âfs, 'water,' and not a Pâzand term for any part of the body, as any such term would be inadmissible in § 68. It would seem as if a smaller supply of liquid were requisite for the ears than for the other customary parts, so that a quarter of the supply is directed to be returned to the vessel holding the liquid. The remarks made by the Pahlavi translator, upon the sprinkling of the left-hand members of the body, are evidently intended also to apply, in nearly all cases, to the sprinkling of the right-hand members.

59. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right shoulder.

60. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right shoulder.

61. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left shoulder.

62. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left shoulder, [*on the side in front, just as it is turned, even unto the elbow.*] 63. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right armpit.

64. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right armpit.

65. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left armpit.

66. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left armpit, [*as far as the hair has grown.*] 67. Then the fiend of corruption rushes in front upon his chest.

68. 'Thou shalt sprinkle in front on his chest, [*half the liquid to the shoulders, and half to the region of the throat, within three finger-breadths of the face*¹.] 69. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his back.

70. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his back, [*from the slender part of the spine unto the anus.*] 71. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right nipple.

72. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right nipple. 73. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left nipple.

74. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left nipple, [*just as the nipple shall be turned; and those of women (zanagānō) are to be held up.*] 75. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right side.

76. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right side. 77. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left side.

¹ Reading dīmak, but it may be gāmak (compare Pers. gām, 'jaw'). L₄ has gīmak.

78. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left side; [this, moreover, is because one specially recites for ever on *that* side.] 79. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right hip¹.

80. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right hip. 81. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left hip.

82. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left hip, [just as it is turned, as far as to the hollow² of it (*gûyak-i valman*) below the thigh.] 83. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his sexual part.

84. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his sexual part. 85. If it be a male, thou shalt sprinkle behind it *before-hand*, and in front of it afterwards; (86) and if it be a female, thou shalt sprinkle in front of it *before-hand*, and behind it afterwards; [*on* this occasion half is for the front *and* half for behind, and it is rubbed in in front.] 87. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right thigh.

88. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right thigh. 89. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left thigh.

90. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left thigh, [from the prominence (*gôhâk*) below the thigh to the knee.] 91. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right knee.

92. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right knee. 93. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left knee.

¹ Reading *srînak*, as in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 178-182; but here the word is four times written *sînak*.

² Or, perhaps, 'prominence' is meant, as in § 90; although the two words *gûyak* and *gôhâk* are written differently, they refer probably to the same part.

94. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left knee, [above just as it is turned, *and* below the slender *part*; there are *some* who would say thus: "As much above it as below."] 95. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right shin.

96. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right shin. 97. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left shin.

98. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left shin, [from the knee unto the place where the leg *and* foot unite.] 99. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right ankle¹.

100. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right ankle. 101. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left ankle.

102. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left ankle, [just as the leg *and* foot unite, that is, while the ten toes are back to the ground.] 103. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his right instep.

104. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his right instep. 105. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left instep.

106. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left instep, [from the place where the leg *and* foot unite, to the end of his toes.] 107. Then the fiend of corruption turns dejected under the sole *of the foot*, *and* its likeness is as *it were* the wing of a fly's body.

108. 'The toes *being* held quite in union with the ground, his heel is held up from the ground. 109. Thou shalt sprinkle on his right sole. 110. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left sole.

¹ The word *zang* means rather 'the lower part of the leg.'

111. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left sole. 112. Then the fiend of corruption turns dejected under the toes, *and* its likeness is as *it were* the wing of a fly.

113. 'The heel *being* held quite in union with the ground, his toes are held up from the ground. 114. Thou shalt sprinkle on his right toes. 115. Then the fiend of corruption rushes upon his left toes.

116. 'Thou shalt sprinkle on his left toes. 117. Then the fiend of corruption returns dejected to the northern quarter in the shape of a raging fly, bandy-legged, lean-hipped, illimitably spotted, so that spot is joined to spot, like the most tawdry¹ noxious creature, *and* most filthy.

118. 'Then these words are to be murmured, which are most triumphant *and* most healing² :—

'“ As is the will of the patron spirit [as is the will of Aûharmazd], so should be the *earthly* master [so should be the high priest], owing to whatever are the duty *and* good works of righteousness; [that is, *he* is always to perform duty and good works as authoritatively as the will of Aûharmazd.] That which is the gift of good thought is the work of both existences [and the work] of Aûharmazd; [that is, the reward *and* recompense they give to good thought, they give also to him; there are *some* who would say thus: 'It is the possession of good thought.']

¹ Reading bôg-âkîntûm, 'most stuffed with ostentation,' as in L4. In AV. XVII, 12 the word can be read bazak-âyîntûm, 'most sin-accustomed.'

² Only the initial and final words of the Avesta of the following passages are given in the MSS. here, but they are given at length, with their Pahlavi translation, in Vend. VIII, 49-62, whence the Pahlavi version is here taken.

The sovereignty is given to Aûharmazd, [that is, Aûharmazd has made the ruler for himself,] who *has* given protection *and* nourishment to the poor, [that is, he would provide assistance *and* intercession for them.]¹

“Who is given to me by thee, O Aûharmazd! *as* a protection? [when² I shall do duty *and* good works, who would provide me protection?]-when I am in custody of the malice of that wicked [Aharman, that is, he retains malice with me in *his* thoughts]-other than thy fire *and* good thought? [this I know, that they would do *so* on account of you; but, apart from you, who would provide me protection?] When in their employ I invoke righteousness, O Aûharmazd! [that is, I shall do duty *and* good works, who would provide me protection?] That which thou shalt proclaim to me *as* religion through a high-priest [this I say, that is, preach religion through a high-priest]³.

“Who is the smiter with triumph, through this thy teaching of protection? [that is, so *far* as is declared by the revelation of scripture, who should inflict the punishment for sinners?] With clearness the superintendence (*rad̄th*) of the creation in both existences is to be taught to me, [that is, it is necessary for thee to give unto me the high-priesthood here *and* there⁴.] The arrival of virtuous obedience (*Srôsh*), with good thought (*Vohûman*), is here,

¹ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of the Ahunavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see p. 385).

² Reading *amat*, instead of *mûn*, ‘who,’ (see Dd. LXII, 4 n.)

³ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of the *Kam-nâ-mazdâ* stanza of the Gâthas (Yas. XLV, 7).

⁴ Both in this world and the next.

[that is, it is necessary for thee to give Vistâsp¹ unto me as assistance.] O Aûharmazd! [the arrival of] that *one* [is according to my wish], who is he according to the wish of every one, [that Sôshâns² that shall be necessary for every one, so that they may thereby convey away their misery, the misery *it* is possible he should convey away from every one.]³

“*Let us be guarded from the most afflicting one* [here, *and* apart from the sinners], O Aûharmazd and Spendarmad⁴! [that is, keep us away from the harm of the evil spirit!] Perish, thou demon fiend! [as I speak in front of thee.] Perish, thou race of the demons! [that is, their race is from that place.]⁵ Perish, thou *work* transformed by the demons [for uselessness]! Perish, thou *work* produced by the demons [*heretofore and hereafter*! this produced without the sacred beings, and produced by them (the demons) even for uselessness]. Perish utterly, thou fiend! [that is, mayst thou become invisible!] Perish utterly, thou fiend! [that is, rush away from here, *and* mayst thou become invisible on any path!] Perish utterly and apart, thou fiend! [that is, stand not again on any path!] Thou shalt perish again to the north! [the path was mentioned thus: ‘Go *in* the direction of the north!’] do not destroy the material world of righteousness⁶!”

¹ The king in the time of Zaratûst (see Dd. XXXVII, 36).

² The last of the future apostles (see Dd. II, 10).

³ This paragraph is the Pahlavi version of a passage in the Gâthas (Yas. XLIII, 16, b-e).

⁴ See p. 393, note 2.

⁵ From hell, the place of the demons.

⁶ It appears from what follows, in § 120, that the whole of the sprinklings and exorcisms, detailed in §§ 33-118, are to be repeated at each of the first six holes.

119. 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the *fiend of* corruption, [that is, it shall depart a little from his body, like a flock when they disperse it.]

120. 'Then these words are to be murmured by thee, &c. [as in §§ 33-118. At] the second [hole, &c., as in § 119. And the same routine is to be followed at] the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth [holes]¹.

'Afterwards he shall sit—he who *has been* by the dead—within the precinct (*sitrâ*) of the holes² apart from those holes [which are for bull's urine]. 121. So much from that [of the previous ones for bull's urine] as four finger-breadths³. 122. They shall also dig up those full diggings up of this earth, [they should accomplish this well.] 123. They shall scrape together fifteen handfuls of the earth, [so that they shall quite dislodge the damp purely.]⁴ 124. And they shall remain about it the whole *period* from that *time* until *the time* when the hair on his head shall become dry, (125) and until *the time* when the wet earth on his body shall become dry.

126. 'Then he who *has been* by the dead shall come to that approach to those other holes [which are for water]. 127. At the first hole he shall then purify over his own body once with water. 128. At the second hole he shall then purify over his own

¹ This paragraph is omitted in the Pahlavi text, being merely given in the Avesta (for the sake of brevity) so far as the words are not included in the brackets.

² The three holes for washing with water.

³ That is, three English inches south of the six furrows which separate the first six holes from the last three, at the point D on the plan.

⁴ That is, the person undergoing purification shall be rubbed with dust until he is quite dry.

body twice with water. 129. At the third hole he shall then purify over his own body thrice with water.

130. 'Afterwards, he who is perfumed with sandarac (râsnô)¹, or benzoin, or aloes², or any other of the most odoriferous of plants, (131) shall then put on *his* clothes. 132. Then he who *has been* by the dead shall come to that approach, the approach to *his* abode³.'

[a. The clothing is always *cleansed* by the Khshvash-maunghô ("the six-months' *process*")⁴.

b. Afarg⁵ said two purifiers are requisite⁶, and of the two he is suitable who has performed the ritual; thus they have been very unanimous; when he scores the furrow, washes that *unclean person* in the customary *places*, and utters the Avesta he has performed it; the other, when he has not performed it,

¹ Av. urvâsna (which is translated by Pahl. râsnô) is supposed, in India, to mean sandal-wood.

² These are supposed, in India, to be the two substances meant by the Av. vohû-gaona and vohû-kereti, which are merely transcribed by the Pahl. hû-gôn and hû-keret. The Avesta text adds a fourth perfume, named hadhâ naêpata, which is understood to mean the pomegranate bush, although that plant seems to yield no perfume.

³ For the continuation of the instructions see § 133; the text being here interrupted by a long Pahlavi commentary on the whole of the foregoing description of the ceremony.

⁴ This sentence is evidently incomplete in the Pahlavi text. The process is thus described in Pahl. Vend. VII, 36 :—'If it be that *it* is woven, they shall wash *it* over six times with bull's urine, they shall scrape together six times on the earth *with it* [so that they quite dislodge its moisture purely], they shall wash *it* over six times with water, *and* they shall perfume over *it* six months at a window in the house.' For the Avesta version of this description, which is nearly the same, see Sls. II, 95 n.

⁵ See Ep. I, v, 1.

⁶ See Ep. I, vi, 4, II, ii, 7.

is unsuitable; when *there* shall also be one who is suitable¹ he fully solemnizes a Vendidad *service*, for this purpose, with a dedication (shnumanō) to Srōsh.

c. For every single person, at the least, one cup, alike of water and bull's urine, is to be set down *in* that place², and at the beginning of its consecration *it* is to be thoroughly inspected, and at the Vendidad *it* is to be thoroughly inspected³; afterwards, when it is covered, *it* is also well; the pebbles cast into *it*⁴ they should carry back to the holy-water, there is no use *for them*; when thoroughly consecrated it is always suitable, until it becomes quite fetid⁵.

d. For the avoidance of an unsecluded (agûbâl) menstruous woman nava vibâzva drâgô ('the length of nine fathoms')⁶ from her is necessary, when she stands nearest; in a wild spot the herbage is to be dug up⁷; when they shall make *the purifying place* in the town, and a path, or a stream, or a wall does not extend into it, it is suitable; and the cleanly plucking up of its small trees, extracting *them* in the daytime with *recitation of* the Avesta of Zaratûst⁸—those which are thick not existing among the holes—is proper.

e. And every one who digs the holes, with whatever he digs, *and* whenever he digs, is suitable; four finger-breadths and two finger-breadths⁹ is no matter;

¹ See Ep. I, vi, 7.

² See Ep. I, vii, 1.

³ L4 has '*it* is to be taken up,' by omitting the first letter of nikîrîsnō.

⁴ See Ep. I, vii, 16, II, iii, 12.

⁵ See Ep. I, viii, 1-6.

⁶ See § 8.

⁷ See § 7.

⁸ These twelve words do not occur in L4.

⁹ See § 13.

each hole is at a minimum *distance* of three feet¹, at a maximum as much as *one* thoroughly purifies his body in; and *they* are to be formed in it from the north, and are to be dug in the direction towards its more southern side.

f. In the daytime is the purifier's scoring of the furrows, and with a blade *they* are to be scored; with *the recital* of the Avesta² *they* are to be scored; in the day *they* are to be scored³; in that day *they* are to be scored, when a furrow is scored, three Ashem-vohûs⁴, the Fravarânê⁵, whatever period *of the day* *one* considers *it to be*, the dedication to Srôsh⁶, and its *inward* prayer⁷ are to be taken up *inwardly*.

g. *It* is also to be done inside it from the north, and its end is to be passed back at the end; *for* every single furrow *there* is one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁸ at the least, and at the most as many as are possible for it; a furrow is not to be scored again for a furrow, until *it* is to be put into use; whenever it is fully disturbed *it* is to be scored again with *the recital* of its Avesta; when prepared for use *and one* scores *it* again it is no matter.

¹ See §§ 14, 15.

² The Ahunavar or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see § *g*).

³ So in L4.

⁴ See Dd. LXXIX, 1, note.

⁵ That is, the profession of faith (Yas. I, 65), which is as follows:—'I will profess myself a Zarathustrian Mazda-worshipper, opposed to the demons *and* of the Ahura faith.' This is followed by the dedication to the period of the day, which is given for the first period only in Yas. I, 66, 67; the dedications for the other periods will be found in Gâh II-V, 1.

⁶ Sir. I, 17.

⁷ See Dd. XL, 5, note. All the prayers here detailed are to be murmured merely as a preliminary spell, but while each furrow is being scored a further formula is to be recited (see § *g*).

⁸ See pp. 385-386.

h. Once the outside of the body is to be made quite clean from the bodily refuse¹ of the world; *and* the hair *being* tied up—it is no use to cut the pubes (nihânö) — *he* is also to be brought into it (the precinct) from the north to the holes.

i. The purifier stands up on the right-hand side, and when he retains the *inward* prayer from scoring the furrows² it is proper; when not, the prayer to be taken *inwardly* by him—which is his utterance of Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis izâkâ ('and the homage which is devotion and nourishment')³—is also that which is to be uttered *by the unclean person*; and when *he* is not able to speak, *it* is both times to be uttered for *him*.

j. And his hands are to be thoroughly washed three times, not in the inside; *as to* the other customary *parts* (pîsak) Afarg *has* said three times, not in the inside, *but* Mêdôk-mâh⁴ one time; also the water *and* bull's urine, such as are necessary for him, are to be conveyed on to him; and a portion (bah-rak) is to be preserved for him *away* from the body, *and*, when anything comes upon him, a little bull's urine is to be dropped down upon him; likewise,

¹ See Dd. XLVIII, 19 n.

² That is, when he has not broken its spell by talking, since he began the scoring.

³ These are the Avesta words from Yas. XLVIII, 10, c, of which the Pahlavi version is given in §§ 33, 34.

⁴ Written Mêdyôk-mâh in Ep. I, v, 1. The statement here attributed to Mêdôk-mâh is ascribed to Afarg in Ep. I, vi, 7, 9, II, ii, 6, but Afarg is there said to be 'the prior deponent,' as he is here; we should, therefore, probably transpose the 'three times' and 'one time' in our text; the blunder having originated from the frequent substitution of hanâ for aê in Pahlavi, both meaning 'this,' while aê also means 'one' and is the cipher for '3.'

any customary *part*, while *being* washed by him, is to be preserved from that which is not washed; when it comes upon it, it is improper.

k. When a drop of water (*âv yûgakö-1*) shall remain upon *him*, *his* hand is to be thoroughly rubbed over it; when at the same hole and he becomes doubtful as to a customary *part*¹, when he knows *which*, *it* is to be washed by him again, and from that onwards *they* are always to be washed again by him; when he does not know *which*, the beginning of *the washing at* the hole is to be done again by him, and when he comes unto that which *he did* before, when he knows *it*, *he* is also to go again to that after it, from his doing again of the beginning of *the washing at* the hole; when he becomes doubtful as to the hole, he is to go back to that which is not doubtful.

l. And when they go from hole to hole, the dog² is to be held once, the Avesta³ of the purifier is to be spoken, and it is to be done by him thus:—When he arrives at the place, *it* is done by him; when not, the head is to be done thoroughly—there are *some* who would say thus: ‘In the same hole the head is to be done thoroughly’—and all four feet of the dog are to be put by him into the hole; he is also to sit down within four finger-breadths⁴, and the Pankadasa zemö hankanayen (‘fifteen *times* of earth they shall

¹ That is, when he is doubtful which he washed last.

² The dog is not mentioned in the Avesta account of the Baresh-nûm in Vend. IX, but it is ordered to be brought before the unclean person in another such account in Vend. VIII, 120, 123. The use of the dog is that its sight or touch is supposed to destroy or drive away the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption.

³ The exorcism in § 118.

⁴ See § 121.

scrape together')¹ are to be well completed by him, *it* is also to be thoroughly done by him, and *he* is to be fully guarded while he properly *and* thoroughly well perseveres.

m. And, after it, he is to go unto the holes for water; the different times with water are just like the different holes for bull's urine, except holding the dog; the dog, too, works for *him* inside.

n. When he seeks for it, *it*² is to be thoroughly warmed *for* him; when he hungers for it, bread is to be given to him; when *the necessity of* making water arises, something is to be held unto him; when, on account of his imperfect strength (*vad zôrth*), *he* is quite unable to wash, some one is to sit down inside with him; when *he* is only just³ washed, *he* is to come into his position therein before, the *inward* prayer is to be spoken out by him, and the *inward* prayer is to be again offered by him, his customary *parts* are also washed, and are to be considered as washed.

o. When he shall keep on for three washings⁴, though not clean, it is not improper; when he does not attain three washings, it is not proper; when the enclosure is not to be formed to the north⁵, it is not proper; when *one* shall not solemnize the *Vendidad service*⁶, it is not proper.

p. When the purifier shall not have performed the ritual, it is not proper; when the purifier is not a man, it is not proper.

¹ The Avesta version of § 123.

² The water, apparently.

³ Perhaps it should be *kand tâk*, 'several times,' instead of *kîgûn tâk*, 'only just.'

⁴ See §§ 136, 140, 144.

⁵ See § *c*.

⁶ See § *b*.

g. When he shall not wash on the customary *parts*, it is not proper; when he does not utter the Avesta, it is not proper; and when the dog¹ is not held, it is not proper; when *there* is no digging of the holes, it is not proper; when he does not perform the Pankadasa zemô hankanayen ('fifteen *times* of earth they shall scrape together')², it is not proper.

r. When *it* is not the purifier *who* scores the furrows, *and* he does not score *them* with a blade³, nor does he score *them* with *the recitation* of the Avesta, nor does he score *them* in the daytime, it is not proper.

s. When he shall see *anything* impure in the hole, it is not proper; when they shall cause rain *to come* within a hole for bull's urine, it is not proper; when night shall come in upon him, it is not proper; when in everything *there* is suitableness, but as to one thing doubt arises, through that suitableness it is not proper.]

133. '*He*⁴ is to sit down in the place of the secluded (armêstânô)⁵, within the precinct (*sitrâ*) of *his* abode, apart from the other Mazda-worshippers. 134. He shall not come with authorization to fire, nor to water, nor to earth, nor to animals, nor to plants, nor to a righteous man, nor to a righteous

¹ See § 1.

² See § 123.

³ See § f.

⁴ He who has been by the dead, as stated in § 132, in connection with which this sentence is to be read; the foregoing §§ a-r being interpolated by the Pahlavi translators.

⁵ The original meaning of armêst was probably 'most stationary,' as it is a term applied to water in tanks, helpless cripples, and insane people, as well as to unclean persons who have to remain apart from their friends (see Sls. II, 98 n).

woman, (135) at all from that *time*, until *the time* when his three nights shall fully elapse.

136. 'After those three nights he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 137. He shall sit in the place of the secluded, within the precinct of *his* abode, apart from the other Mazda-worshippers. 138. He shall not come with authorization to fire, &c. [just as *has been written in* § 134], (139) at all from that *time*, until *the time* when his six nights shall fully elapse.

140. '*After those six nights*¹ he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 141–143. He shall sit in the place of the secluded [just as *has been written in* §§ 133–135] until *the time* when *his nine nights shall fully elapse*.

144. 'Then, after the nine nights, he shall wash over *his* body, and *his* clothes are purified over in such a way as with bull's urine and also with water. 145. Then he shall come with authorization unto fire, unto water, unto earth, unto animals, unto plants, unto a righteous man, unto a righteous woman.'

Besides the above fully detailed description of the Barešhnûm ceremony we find two other accounts of the rite, in the Vendidad. Of these the most detailed is contained in Vend. VIII, 117–228, which mentions the use of the dog², the nine holes, the washing with bull's urine and water, and all the

¹ The MSS. omit several words, when sentences are repeated, for the sake of brevity.

² See § 1 above.

detail of driving the fiend of corruption from one part of the body to another (by sprinkling with 'the good waters') till it flies away to the north as in Vend. IX, 117. But it omits the description of the purifier, the dimensions of the purifying place, the scoring of the furrows, the placing of the stones, the exorcism¹, the seclusion for nine nights, and all the washings after the first day.

The other account, which is much shorter, is given in Vend. XIX, 67-84. It specifies that the urine must be that of a young bull, and that the purifier must score a furrow; it mentions the recitation of a hundred Ashem-vohûs and two hundred Yathâ-ahû-vairyô's, four washings with bull's urine and two with water, nine nights' exposure, followed by attention to the fire and fumigation, when the man clothes himself while paying homage to the sacred beings, and is clean; but no other details are given.

¹ That is, the exorcism is not found in the Pahlavi version, but is introduced in the Vendidâd sâdah in an abbreviated form, possibly copied from Vend. IX, 118.

V. FINDING A CORPSE IN THE WILDERNESS.

THE controversy between Mânûskêthar and his brother, Zâd-sparam, of which the Epistles of Mânûskêthar are the only portion extant, turned chiefly upon the meaning to be attached to Vend. VIII, 271-299¹, and whether the mode of purification therein detailed was a sufficient substitute, or merely a preparation, for the Bareshnûm ceremony. The following is a translation of the Pahlavi version of this passage²:—

Pahl. Vend. VIII, 271. 'O creator! how are those men purified, O righteous Aûharmazd! who shall stand by a corpse, in a distant place, upon a wild spot³?'

272. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'They are purified, O righteous Zaratûst!'

273. 'But when so? [that is, how will *such a one* become clean?]

274. 'If a corpse-eating dog, or a corpse-eating bird, *has* attacked that corpse, (275) *the man* shall then purify over his own body with bull's urine, (276) thirty times by washing forwards [*with* the bull's urine], *and* thirty times by washing over⁴, [and

¹ See Sacred Books of the East, vol. iv, pp. 116-118.

² Subject to the same observations as those detailed in p. 431 n.

³ Reading pavan vaskar, but the MSS., by omitting a stroke, have pavan sikar, 'on the chase.'

⁴ So here, but 'washing backwards' in § 279; and in Ep. II, iv, 2 we find 'upwards' and 'downwards,' instead of 'forwards' and 'backwards.' The Pahlavi translators were evidently doubtful whether the Av. upasnâtê (see Ep. II, iii, 2) meant 'washing over, backwards, or downwards.'

his hand shall rub over it.] 277. Of the topmost *part* of him is the washing over, [that is, the washing of his head is that regarding which *there* is a mention through this study-causing (hûshkar) exclamation.]¹

278. 'If a corpse-eating dog, or a corpse-eating bird, *has* not attacked that corpse, (279) *he shall purify* fifteen times by washing forwards, *and* fifteen times by washing backwards, [and *his* hand shall rub over it.]

280. 'He shall run the first mile (hâsar)². 281. He shall then run forwards, [when the Pankadasa ("fifteen times") shall be performed by him.] 282. *And* when he shall thus stop opposite any one whomsoever of the material existence³, he shall be prepared with a loud issue of words, (283) thus⁴: "I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed, [that is, *it* is not possible for me *to be* as *though* washed.] 284. It demands purification for me, [that is, wash me thoroughly!]" 285. When he runs, the first he shall reach, (286) if they do not grant him purification, share one-third of that deed of his, [that is, of all that sin, not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, one *part* in three is theirs at *its* origin.]

287. 'He runs the second mile [while he runs for

¹ Implying that the Pahlavi translators had found the use of Av. aghrya for 'head' rather perplexing.

² The hâsar was 'a thousand steps of the two feet' (see Bd. XXVI, 1, note), and was, therefore, about an English mile.

³ That is, any human being.

⁴ See Ep. I, ii, 10.

it]. 288. He runs, *and* a second time he reaches *people*. 289. If they do not grant him purification, (290) they share a half¹ of that deed of his, [that is, of all that sin, not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, as *it were* a half is even for them at *its* origin.]

291. 'He shall run the third mile [while he runs for *it*]. 292. When he runs, the third he shall reach, (293) if they do not grant him purification, share all² that deed of his, [that is, all that sin which *it* is not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, is ever *theirs* at *its* origin.]

294. 'He shall then run forwards³. 295. He shall thus stop opposite *some people* of the next house, village, tribe, *or* district, *and* he shall be prepared with a loud issue of words, (296) thus: "I have thus stood close by the body of him who is dead; (297) I am no wisher *for it* by thought, I am no wisher *for it* by word, I am no wisher *for it* by deed, [that is, *it* is not possible *to bear* without washing.] 298. It demands purification for me, [that is, wash me thoroughly!]" 299. If they do not grant him purification, he shall then purify over his own body with bull's urine, *and* also with water; thus he shall be thoroughly purified over⁴.'

[*a*. He shall go three miles; it is not allowable to walk back to *his* district, until he *has* fully striven

¹ That is, half of the two-thirds remaining with him, or one-third of the whole original trespass.

² That is, all the remaining one-third of the original trespass.

³ See Ep. II, iii, 3.

⁴ What follows is a commentary, by the Pahlavi translators, on the whole passage.

with three persons, and all that sin, not possible for him *to bear*, except when they shall perform *his purification*, is theirs at *its* origin.

b. When thus thoroughly washed by himself, his duty even then is the work *frakairi frakere-naod*, *vâstrê verezyôid* ('he should accomplish with perseverance, he should cultivate in the pastures¹'); there are *some* who would say thus: 'He is always for the performance of work, and abstinence from the ceremonies of others is for him².']

¹ Quoted from Vend. XIX, 140, where the words 'sheep's food and food for oxen' are added.

² A person so purified by himself, after vainly seeking a proper purifier, is, therefore, only fit for the ordinary labours of life, and must avoid all religious celebrations till properly purified by the Bareshnûm ceremony. This was the opinion of Mânûshihar, but it is based upon a Pahlavi commentary, and not upon the Avesta text, which is not clear upon this point.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction and appendix, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers, or by roman type.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses, when the reference is not the first one.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pâzand forms are printed in italics, as their orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters which would elsewhere be italic are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are :—Ap. for Appendix; AV. for *Arđâ-Vîrâf*; Av. for Avesta word; Byt. for Bahman Yast; com. for commentator; Cor. for Corrections; Dd. for *Dâdistân-î-Dînîk*; Dk. for *Dînkard*; Dr. for Doctor; Ep. for Epistle; ins. for inscription; lun. man. for lunar mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; Mkh. for *Mainyô-î Khard*; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pers. for Persian; Prof. for Professor; r. for river; Riv. for *Rivâyat*; Sans. for Sanskrit word; trans. for translation; Vend. for *Vendidâd*; Visp. for *Visparad*; Yas. for *Yasna*.

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 Saukavastân, land, Dd. 90, 4 n.
 Savâh, region, Dd. 36, 5.
 Scripture (avesta), Ap. 443; (nask), Dd. 48, 25, 28, 34, 38; 61, 3.
 Season-festivals, Dd. 39, 1 n; 47, (7;) 48, 8; Ep. I, viii, 3; Ap. 426.
 Secluded, place of the, Ap. 452, 453.
 Seeds, see Source and Tree.
 Sêg, demon, Dd. 39, 28 n.
 Selections of Zâd-spâram, book, Int. 14, 15; Ep. III, 23 n; Ap. 394.
 Shâhnâmah, book, Dd. 17, 6 n; 37, 97 n; 70, 3 n; Ap. 369 n.

Shahpûhar, priest, Int. 13; Ep. I, iii, 10.
 Shatvairô, angel, Dd. 48, 1 n, 17 n; Ap. 415, 434 n; month, Dd. 1, 17.
 Shaving the head, Ap. 408.
 Shâyast Lâ-shâyast, book, Dd. 44, 2 n; Ap. 414, 420 n. See Proper and improper.
 Shîrâz, town, Int. 14, 22, 25, 27; Dd. 1, 17; 88, 7 n; Ep. I, iii, 13; II, i, 11, v, 3, 4, 10, viii, 1, 3.
 Shnûmanô (dedication, propitiation), Dd. 29, 1; 30, 1.
 Showing a dog to the dead, Dd. 17, 20; 18, 2.
 Sin, Dd. 11, 2; 12, 3; 15, 1, 2; 24, 2, 3; 25, 3; 32, 6; 37, 79; 40, 4; 45, 6; 50, 3; 75, 2; 78, 14, 15; 79, 2, 3; 89, 1; 94, 7, 8 n; Ep. I, viii, 2, 3; II, i, 11; Ap. 372, 378, 380 n, 399, 422, 424; account of, Dd. 13, 1-4; 14, 1, 2, 4; 31, 2, 10; accumulation of, Dd. 32, 12; 34, 4; 37, 111; affecting accusers, Dd. 14, 3; atonement for, Dd. 12, 2, 4; 16, 4; 41, 8, 10; 72, 11; 75, 5; 78, 17, 19; 79, 12; Ap. 414; confinement of, Dd. 39, 10, 20, 23; deliverance from, Ep. I, ii, 5; demons of, Dd. 32, 5, 11, 12; 34, 4; 37, 110; grievous, Dd. 39, 1; 50, 2; 78, 16; 79, 8; Ep. III, 11 n; Ap. 417; growth of, Dd. 11, 2; 12, 5; 37, 109; heinous, Dd. 49, 4, 5; 72, 1, 2; 76, 3; 77, 1; 78, 2; Ap. 423; impotence of, Dd. 37, 112; imputed, Dd. 42, 4; 51, 4; 78, 9, 10; Ap. 456-458; of apostasy, Dd. 41, 1-6; of running about uncovered, Dd. 40, 1, 4; source of, Ep. I, ii, 3; store of, Dd. 25, 5; washing away of, Dd. 37, 111. See Bôdyôzêd, Drâyân-gûyirnih, Eradication, Farmân, Hamêmâl, Khôr, Original, Punishment, Renunciation, Retribution, Tanâpûhar.
 Sinfulness, Dd. 25, 6; 48, 19; 71, 2, 4; 72, 10; 77, 12; 78, 1, 15, 18; 79, 8; Ep. II, ix, 2; III, 0; Ap. 379.
 Sinners, put to death, see Slaying.

- Sinners, seven heinous, Dd. **72**, 2-9.
 Sirius, star, Dd. **93**, 1 n; Ap. 418 n.
 Sîrkân, town, Int. 14, 25-27; Ep. I, 0, xi, 4 n; II, i, 4, 12 n, v, 2, 5 n, 9, 14, vi, 4 n, vii, 1, 3 n, viii, 1.
 Sîrôzah, Dd. **43**, 7 n; **79**, 4 n.
 Sîyâvash, prince, Dd. **37**, 36; **90**, 5, 6 n.
 Sky, nature of, Dd. **91**, 1-3, 8-10; three parts of, Dd. **37**, 24-31, 45, 46; **39**, 14, 15 n; **73**, 2 n.
 Slaying heinous sinners, Dd. **76**, 1-4.
 Snâvidhaka, man, Ap. 370.
 Solomon, king, Dd. **39**, 17 n; Ap. 390.
 Soma, plant, Dd. **48**, 16 n.
 Sôshâns, apostle, Dd. **2**, 10, 12, 13; **4**, 6; **28**, 7; **36**, 4, 5; **37**, 36, 43, 100 n; **48**, 30; Ep. I, v, 3; II, iii, 1 n; Ap. 417, 444; com., Ep. I, v, 1, 6, vi, 1, 2, ix, 1, 4, 15; II, ii, 7; III, 7.
 Soul, Dd. **3**, 8; **5**, 5; **8**, 4-6; **9**, 1, 4; **12**, 3, 4; **14**, 6, 7; **15**, 2; **16**, 1-4; **23**, 7; **24**, 1-4, 5 n; **25**, 1-4; **27**, 5, 6; **28**, 2, 5, 7; **31**, 1, 4, 7, 8, 15-17, 20; **32**, 4, 16; **37**, 79, 108; **38**, 3; **41**, 8; **42**, 2, 6; **44**, 22; **46**, 2; **52**, 3; **72**, 11 n, 12; **75**, 5; **82**, 4, 5; **85**, 7; **86**, 5; **94**, 6, 11; Ep. I, i, 4, 5, ii, 2, 7, 11, x, 12; II, iii, 6, v, 11, 12, viii, 5 n; Ap. 421.
 Souls, Dd. **14**, 6; **19**, 1, 4; **21**, 9; **23**, 6; **31**, 8; **32**, 12; **37**, 50, 131, 132; **44**, 20, 22; **86**, 8; Ap. 420.
 Source of all seeds, Dd. **92**, 3.
 Spear, meas., Dd. **21**, 5; Ap. 395.
 Spell, Dd. **40**, 5 n, 9 n; **79**, 1 n, 8 n; Ap. 448 n, 449 n.
 Spendarmad, angel, Dd. **48**, 1 n; **64**, 6 n; **94**, 2; App. (393,) 396, 401, 402, 415, 416, 437, 444; day and month, Ep. I, xi, 12.
 Spiegel, Prof., Ap. 431 n.
 Spirit of air, Dd. **28**, 2, 5; **30**, 4 n; **31**, 4 n.
 Spiritual counterpart, Dd. **28**, 5 n.
 — faculties (ahvô), Dd. 7, 7.
 — life (ahvô), Dd. **94**, 1, 2; Ep. III, 1 n, 5; (ahvôih), Dd. 5, 5; Ep. I, iv, 1; (hûkô), Dd. **16**, 4, 6; **17**, 4; Ep. I, v, 4.
 — men, Dd. 1, 5, 7.
 — wisdom, Dd. **37**, 19.
 Spitama, title, Dd. **36**, 2 n.
 Spitamân, title, see Zarathûrt.
 Srôsh, angel, Dd. **3**, 13, 14; **6**, 2 n; **14**, 4; **28**, 1, 5, 6; **29**, 1, 2; **31**, 11; **44**, 20 n; **79**, 4 n; **81**, 12-14; **94**, 1 n; Ap. 443, 447, 448.
 Srôshô-karanâm, Dd. **79**, 9 n.
 Srûvar, snake, Dd. **72**, 4; Ap. 370, 371, 374, 381.
 Star station in the sky, Dd. **92**, 5.
 Step, meas., Ap. 433-435, 436 n.
 Stipend, Dd. **44**, 4, 6-8, 11, 12, 14-17; **68**, 6; **83**, 4, 6; **85**, 4-6; **86**, 2, 4; **87**, 2; **88**, 13.
 Stîr (tetradrachm), Dd. **52**, 1 n; **56**, 2, 9; **59**, 2; **78**, 13-15; **79**, 9.
 Sûdkar nask, Int. 28; Dd. **90**, 8 n; Ap. 370, 371 n, 372, 373.
 Supreme high-priest, Int. 13; Ep. II, i, 9 n, 13 n.
 Tâkhmôrûp, king, Dd. **2**, 10; **37**, 35; **65**, 5.
 Tanâpûhar sin, Dd. **40**, 4 n; **78**, (13); **79**, 9 n; Ap. (426).
 Tap, demon, Dd. **37**, 51.
 Tarômat, demon, Dd. **39**, 28 n; **94**, 2.
 Tâûîrêv, demon, Ep. I, x, 9.
 Taurus, Dd. **31**, 14.
 Teherân, town, Ep. II, i, 13 n.
 Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, Mr., Int. 16, 24; Ep. III, 11; Ap. 373 n.
 Text (avistâk), Dd. **48**, 25, 38; **78**, 13; (mânsar), Dd. 1, 7.
 Third night after death, Dd. **8**, 1; **13**, 2; **20**, 3; **81**, 14.
 Thraêtaona, king, Dd. **2**, 10 n; **37**, 97 n.
 Three days after a death, Dd. **28**, 1; **48**, 40; **81**, 3-8, 10, 12-14.
 — nights' account, Dd. **14**, 4, 5; **28**, 5.
 — — after death, Dd. **8**, 4; **16**, 7; **20**, 2; **24**, 1-5; **25**, 1-5; **55**, 1, 2; **72**, 11; **78**, 17 n.
 — — punishment, Dd. **14**, 6 n, 7; **41**, 8.
 Thrita, man, Ap. 369.
 Tigris, river, Dd. **92**, 2 n.
 Time, unlimited, Dd. **37**, 16.
 Tîr, angel, Ap. 418; month, Dd. 1, 17.

- Tīstar, angel, Dd. 48, 32 n; 90, 3 n; 93, 1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17; Ap. 418 n.
- Tortoise, origin of, Ap. 419.
- Transliteration of Pahlavi, Int. 20-22.
- Tree of all seeds, Dd. 17, 18 n; 90, 3 n.
- Tughazghuz, tribe, Int. 14, 25, 27; Ep. II, i, 12, v, 3 n.
- Tūr, Dd. 70, 3; 90, 3 n.
- ī Aūrvaîtā-sang, man, Ap. 412, 413.
- ī Brādar-vakhsh, man, Dd. 72, 8.
- Tûrân, land, Dd. 90, 6.
- Tûrânians, Ap. 413 n.
- Tûs, man, Dd. 36, 3; Ap. 371 n.
- Udai, woman, Dd. 78, 2 n.
- Ukshyad-ereta, apostle, Dd. 2, 10 n.
- nemangh, apostle, Dd. 2, 10 n.
- Unnatural intercourse, Dd. 72, 1, 6, 7, 10-12; 73, 1-3; 74, 1-3; 75, 1, 2, 5; 76, 1; 77, 1, 8-12.
- Upasnâteē, Av., Ep. II, iii, 2, ix, 2.
- Urvâkshaya, man, Ap. 369, 370.
- Urvâsna, Av., Ap. 446 n.
- Urvais lake, Dd. 37, 118 n.
- Ushi-darena m., Dd. 30, 2 n.
- Vadak, woman, Dd. 72, 5; 78, 2.
- Vadhaghana, title, Dd. 72, 5 n.
- Vâê the bad, demon, Dd. 30, 4; 37, 44, 52; Ep. II, iii, 15, viii, 5.
- the good, angel, Dd. 28, 2 n; 30, (4); 31, 4 n; 36, 3; 44, 20 n.
- Vaéska, land, Ap. 371 n.
- Vâg, see Inward prayer.
- Vâhrâm, angel, Dd. 31, 7 n.
- Vâhrâm-shâd, priest, Ep. I, iii, 10 n.
- Varahrân, angel, Dd. 31, 7; fire of, Dd. 48, 34 n, 39 n; 81, 18; 90, 2 n, 6 n.
- Vâredad-gadman, man, Dd. 36, 4, 5.
- Varedad-bvarenô, man, Dd. 36, 4 n.
- Varenô, demon, Dd. 37, 44; 94, 2.
- Vareshava, man, Ap. 370.
- Varst mânâsar nask, Ap. 371 n, 394.
- Vendidad, book, Dd. 45, 6 n; 47, 1 n; 71, 2 n, 3 n; 78, 13 n; Ep. I, iv, 13 n; Ap. 372 n, 453; service, Dd. 48, 26 n; Ep. I, vii, 10, 12, 13; II, ix, 10 n; Ap. 447, 451. See Quotations.
- Pahlavi, Int. 28, 29; Ep. I, iv, 17 n, v, 1 n, 8 n; Ap. 394, 427 n. See Quotations.
- Vendidad sâdah, book, Ap. 372 n.
- Verethraghna, angel, Dd. 31, 7 n.
- Veskô, land, Ap. 371.
- Vêvan, man, Dd. 36, 3.
- Vibâzu, meas., Ap. 432 n, 447.
- Vidadâfsh, region, Dd. 36, 5.
- Vidbirisâ, man, Dd. 48, 33.
- Vigirkard-î Dinîk, book, Ap. 414.
- Vikaya, Av., Ep. I, vi, 6; II, ii, 7.
- Vipinîdak, Dd. 72, 7.
- Viptak, Dd. 72, 6.
- Virâf, priest, Ap. 397, 398.
- Visparad, book, Dd. 36, 1 n; service, Dd. 45, 6; 81, 13.
- Virtâsp, king, Dd. 78, 2 n; 90, 8 n; Ap. 373 n, 380, 444; earth of, Ap. 436. See Kai-Virtâsp.
- yast, book, Dd. 47, 1 n; Pahlavi, Ap. 392 n.
- Vivangha, man, Dd. 37, 95; 39, 16.
- Vizarâsh, demon, Dd. 30, 4 n; 32, 4, 7; 37, 44; Ep. II, v, 13 n.
- Vobu-fryân fire, Dd. 17, 18 n; 48, 34 n.
- Vohû-gaona, scent, Ap. 446 n.
- kereti, scent, Ap. 446 n.
- Vohûman, angel, Dd. 3, 13, 14, 16, 17; 7, 7; 14, 2; 31, 5, 11; 40, 2; 48, 1 n; 72, 10 n; 94, 1 n; Ep. I, iii, 1; Ap. 415, 443; man, Ap. 393.
- Vohûman's garment, Dd. 39, 19; 40, 2 n; 48, 9.
- Vôrûbarst, region, Dd. 36, 5.
- Vôrûgarst, region, Dd. 36, 5.
- Vouru-nemô, man, Dd. 36, 4 n.
- savô, man, Dd. 36, 4 n.
- Weevil, origin of, Ap. 419.
- Westergaard, Prof., Int. 15, 29; Dd. 48, 25 n; Cor. 479.
- Whirlwinds, Dd. 93, 7-9.
- Wide-formed ocean, Dd. 17, 18 n; 92, 2, 5. See Ocean.
- Wife, only child, Dd. 54, 13 n; privileged, Dd. 54, 9, 13 n; 55, 2; 56, 2, 8; 58, 3; 62, 3, 4; 81, 4; serving, Dd. 56, 4 n, 7.
- Will (testament), Dd. 54, 9; 62, 3.
- Wind, angel, Ap. 372 n; demon, Ap. 372, 376, 377.
- Wine-drinking, Dd. 50, 3; 51, 1-11.
- selling, Dd. 50, 1-4.

- Wisdom, acquired and instinctive, Dd. 40, 3 n; Ap. 409.
- Witchcraft, Ap. 417, 430.
- Witches, Dd. 24, 5; 37, 55, 56; 39, 11; Ap. 384, 418-420, 424, 428.
- Wives, five kinds, Dd. 54, 9 n.
- Wizards, Dd. 72, 8; Ap. 384, 420, 424.
- Worst existence, Dd. 14, 7; 38, 3; 41, 5, 6.
- Worthy of death, Dd. 41, 3, 5; 42, 6; 57, 2, 4; 76, 2; Ep. III, 19; Ap. 392, 408, 417, 424, 426.
- Yakbmâyûsad*, chief, Dd. 90, 3, 8 n.
- Yasna, book, Dd. 39, 1 n; Ap. 384 n; rite, Dd. 45, 6 n; 48, 26 n; Ep. II, ix, 10 n. See Quotations.
- haptanghâiti, Ap. 371 n.
- Pahlavi, Ap. 394, 428. See Quotations.
- Yastô, see Ceremony.
- Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, Ap. 371 n, 386 n, 448, 454. See Ahunavar.
- Yazdakard, king, Int. 14; Ep. III, 21.
- Yazdân, see Angels, Sacred beings.
- pânak, man, Int. 25; Ep. I, xi, 6, 10.
- Yazîn, see Ceremonial.
- Yênhê-hâtâm formula, Ap. 371 n.
- Yim, king, Dd. 2, 10; 36, 2; 37, 35, 80, 94 n, 95; 39, 16, 22, 23, 28; 66, 5; Ap. 418, 419; his enclosure, Dd. 37, 95.
- Yimak, queen, Ap. 418, 419.
- Yôstô, chief, Dd. 90, 3, 8 n; Ap. 411 n.
- Yûdân-Yim, priest, Int. 13; Dd. 0; 1, 1; 94, 13; Ep. I, o, iii, 10, vii, 5, xi, 12; II, o, ix, 12; III, o, 1, 2, 21.
- Zâd-sparam, priest, Int. 13-16, 19, 25-27; Ep. I, o, i, 2 n, ii, 6 n, iv, 7 n, 8 n, v, 1 n, 5 n, 7 n, x, 3 n, 13 n, xi, 3 n, 10 n; II, o, i, 2 n, 7 n, 12 n, ii, 1 n, v, 3 n, 14 n, vii, 2 n, ix, 8 n; III, 2, 17; Ap. 394, 455.
- Zâirîk, demon, Dd. 37, 52; Ep. I, x, 9.
- Zand, Dd. 1, 7; 45, (2); 66, 1, 3; Ep. I, iv, 11; II, iii, 14 n, ix, 10.
- Zaratûst, apostle, Dd. 1, 23 n; 2, (10), 11 n, 12; 4, 6; 48, 16, 30; 94, 14; Ep. II, i, 14, v, 11; Ap. 369, 386, 410, 444 n; addressed by evil spirit, Dd. 72, 5 n; Avesta of, Ap. 447; blessed (*yartô-fravâhar*), Dd. 48, 30; his early home, Dd. 21, 2 n; his origin, Dd. 48, 16; law of, Ep. II, iv, 1, 2; perfect (*pâshûm*), Ep. II, ix, 15; III, 23; preaches, Ap. 412, 413; righteous, Dd. 37, 36; sees Keresâsp, Ap. 371-373, 379-381; slain, Dd. 72, 8 n; talks with *Aûharmazd*, Dd. 7, 7; Ep. I, iii, 8, vii, 10-12; II, i, 10; Ap. 381, 415-417, 419-423, 431, 436, 437, 455; the Spîtamân, Dd. 4, 4; 19, 3; 36, (2); 37, 43; 39, 19, 23; 94, 14; Ep. I, iv, 3, x, 9; II, vi, 2, ix, 14; III, 22; Ap. 379, 380 n, 432.
- supreme, Ep. I, iv, 11.
- the club-footed, priest, Int. 26; Ep. II, i, 13.
- Zaremâyâ, month, Int. 24; Dd. 31, 14.
- Zarmân, demon, Dd. 37, 44, 52.
- Zindah-ravân rites, Dd. 81, 1 n.
- Zôr, see Holy-water.
- Zoroastrian religion, Int. 14.
- Zoroastrians, Int. 14.
- Zôtô, see Priest, officiating.

CORRECTIONS.

- P. 66, line 15; p. 67, l. 7; for 'Mitrô' read 'Mitrô.'
- P. 108, lines 1, 3, for 'the *Supreme* Being' and 'the Being' read 'God (yêdatô),' and cancel note 1.
- P. 109, note 2, add 'Malkôs has also been read Markûs and traced to Av. mahrkûrô (see Fragment VIII, 2 in Westergaard's Zend-Avesta, p. 334), which appears to be the title of some demon, regarding whom very little can be ascertained from the text that mentions him.'
- P. 143, l. 12; 145, l. 6; 150, note 6; 252, l. 6; 289, note 2; 318, ll. 26, 27; 346, l. 24; for 'Âtûr' and 'Âtûrô' read 'Âtûr' and 'Âtûrô.'

The following emendations depend upon the meaning to be attached to the word vâspôharak, or vâspûharak, which in Mkh. I, 7 was traced to Pers. bâ, 'with,' and sipihrah, 'sphere, world, universe,' and supposed to mean 'world-renowned,' being rendered by vîkhyâtîmat in Sanskrit. The objections to this etymology are that Pers. bâ is Pahl. avâk (not vâ), which is nearly always replaced by Huz. levatman, and that vâspûhar appears to be the correct form of the word vaspûr, which explains the Huz. barbêtâ, literally 'son of the house' in the Pahlavi Farhang (p. 9, ed. H.); the latter word having been the highest title of the Persian nobility, probably confined to the heads of seven families (see Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, pp. 71, 501). Such nobles are called barbêtân in the Hâ-gîâbâd inscription, line 6, and vâspûharakan in the Naq-i Rustam inscription, line 6; they may perhaps be styled 'princes,' and their title, vâspûhar, may be traced to the ancient Persian equivalent of Av. vîsô puthra (Vend. VII, 114), literally 'son of the village or borough.' It may be noted, however, that the word 'sphere' does really occur in a form very similar to this title, in the word aspiharakânîkîhâ, 'as regards the spheres,' in Dd. 60, 4.

- P. 78, ll. 11-13, read 'But those who are the more princely (vâspûharakânîktar) producers of the renovation are said to be seven . . .'
- P. 91, ll. 11, 12, read ' . . . and he made the princes (vâspûharakânîhâ) contented.'

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- P. 172, ll. 26, 27, read '... a minder of the princes of the religion (dîn-vâspûharakânö), the angels, and *with* pure thoughts ...'
- P. 262, ll. 15, 16, read '... and its position is most princely (vâspûharakânîktar).'
- P. 281, ll. 17, 18, read 'On account of the princeliness (vâspûharakânîh) of the good *people* of Khvanîras ...'
- P. 289, ll. 14, 15, read '... I *am* more applauding the princes (vâspûharakânö-zâhtar) about the property of the profession ...'
- P. 306, ll. 23, 24, read '... to keep in use the equal measure *which is* more *the custom* of his own superiors (nafsman vâspûharakântar).'
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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
				III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.									
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬕	𐬌	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	k
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬖	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	kh
3 Media	g			ग	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q			𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)			𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	h, hs
8 " lenis	,			𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	
9 " asper faucalis	'h			𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h			𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	
11 " asper fricatus	'h			𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h			𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
14 " aspirata	kh			𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
15 Media	g			𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
16 " aspirata	gh			𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	
17 " Nasalis	ñ			𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	ی	ی	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y')			𐬨 init.					
20 " lenis		(y)			𐬨					
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬨					
22 " lenis assibilatus		z			𐬨					z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬨	𐬨			ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬨	𐬨			ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬨	𐬨				
27 " aspirata	dh			ध	𐬨	𐬨				
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬨	𐬨			נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬨	𐬨			ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l				𐬨				
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬨	𐬨			ש	s
34 " asper 2			S (S)							
35 " lenis	z								ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)							

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	II Class.									
1 Neutralis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ū			ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī			री	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " " " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " " " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " " " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " " " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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COMPONENTS	MISCELLANEOUS ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	..	..	क	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	..	..	ख	𐬕𐬌	𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	kh
3 Media	g	..	..	ग	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	...
4 " aspirata	gh	..	..	घ	𐬕𐬌	𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	...
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	..	..	...	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬌𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬌	...
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	..	..	ह	𐬕 (ng)	𐬕 (ng)	𐬕 (ng)	𐬕 (ng)	𐬕 (ng)	h, hs
7 Spiritus asper	h	..	..	ह	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	...
8 " lenis	,	..	..	...	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	...
9 " asper faucalis	ʔ	..	..	...	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	...
10 " lenis faucalis	ʔ	..	..	...	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	...
11 " asper fricatus	'h	..	..	...	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	...
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	..	..	...	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	𐬕 (h)	...
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	k	..	..	क	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
14 " aspirata	kh	..	..	ख	𐬕𐬌	𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	kh
15 Media	g	..	..	ग	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	...
16 " aspirata	gh	..	..	घ	𐬕𐬌	𐬌𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	...
17 " Nasalis	ṅ	..	..	ङ	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	...

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	...	(y')	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus	...	s	...	श	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	s
22 " lenis assibilatus	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	th
25 " assibilata	...	...	TH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata	...	...	DH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1	...	l	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2	...	...	L	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	s (S)	स	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2	...	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1	...	...	z (z)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2	...	...	z (z)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...

FOR THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		f	th	d	dh	n	r	h	sh	...
38 Tenuis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
39 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 Media	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
41 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
44 " fricata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45 " diacritica	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47 " lenis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.		p	ph	b	bh	p	m	w	hw	f
48 Tenuis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
49 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50 Media	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52 Tenuissima	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54 Semivocalis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57 " lenis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58 Anusvāra	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS.

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.								
1 Neutralis	0									ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē									...
3 " labialis	ō									...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	ay	ay	ay	ا	א	a
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	ay	ay	ay	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	ī	ī	ī	ي	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	ī	ī	ī	י	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ē			ए						...
9 " longa	ā			ऐ						...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि						...
11 " longa	rī			री						...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ						...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ						...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	Ε(ε) Ζ(ε)	...	...	...	...	e
15 " longa	ā (ai)	(e)		ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	ā
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	ai
17 " " " " " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	ei, ēi
18 " " " " " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	oi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	o
20 " longa	ā (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	ā
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	au
22 " " " " " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	eu
23 " " " " " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	ou
24 Gutturalis fracta	ā			...	...	...	...	...	...	ā
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	ī
26 Labialis fracta	ti			...	...	...	...	...	...	ti
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	ō

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XIX

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1883

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ES SE

THE
FO-SHO-HING-TSAN-KING

A LIFE OF BUDDHA

BY

ASVAGHOSHA BODHISATTVA

TRANSLATED FROM SANSKRIT INTO CHINESE

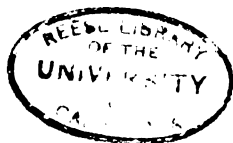
BY

DHARMARAKSHA, A.D. 420

AND FROM CHINESE INTO ENGLISH

BY

SAMUEL BEAL



Orford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1883

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INTRODUCTION.

HAVING been asked by the Editor of 'the Sacred Books of the East' to contribute to the series a volume from the Buddhist literature of China, I undertook, with some distrust, to translate from that language the Phû-yau-king, which is the second version of the Lalita Vistara, known in China, and dated A. D. 308.

After some months of rather disappointing work I found the text so corrupt and imperfect, and the style of the composition so inflated, that I gave up my task, having completed the translation of six chapters (kiouen) of the text, out of eight.

The editor being still desirous to have one book at least from the Chinese Tripiṭaka in his collection of translations (and more especially a translation of some Life of Buddha, the date of which could be fixed), kindly renewed his request, and proposed that the Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, which professed to be a translation of Āśvaghosha's *Buddha-carita*, made by an Indian priest called Dharmaraksha (or Dharmākshara), about the year 420 A. D., should be substituted for the work first selected.

This is the work here translated. The difficulties have been many, and the result can only be regarded as tentative. The text itself, and I have had only one Chinese text to work on, is in many places corrupt, and the style of the composition, especially in the metaphysical portions of it, is abstruse and technical. The original Sanskrit, I am told, differs considerably from the Chinese translation, and except in the restoration of proper names, in which the editor of these books has most readily helped me, the assistance derived from it has been very little. I offer the

result of my work, therefore, with some mistrust, and yet with this confidence, that due allowance will be made for imperfections in the preparation of a first translation of a text comprising nearly 10,000 lines of poetry, printed in the original without stops or notes of any sort, and in a difficult style of Chinese composition.

NORTHERN BUDDHISM.

This term is now well recognised. It is used to denote the Buddhism of Nepal, Thibet, China, Japan, and Mongolia, as distinguished from the Buddhism of Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam. The radical difference between the two schools is this, that Northern Buddhism is the system developed after contact with Northern tribes settled on the Indus, while the Southern school, on the contrary, represents the primitive form of the Buddhist faith as it came (presumably) from the hands of its founder and his immediate successors. We might, without being far wrong, denote the developed school as the Buddhism of the valley of the Indus, whilst the earlier school is the Buddhism of the valley of the Ganges. In China there is a curious mixture of the teaching of both schools. The books of the contemplative sect in Southern China are translations or accommodations from the teaching of men belonging to the South of India, whilst in the North we find the books principally followed are those brought by priests from the countries bordering on the Indus, and therefore representing the developed school of the later complex system.

Northern Buddhism, again, may be divided into two, if not three, distinct periods of development, or epochs. The earliest includes in it the period during which the teaching of the immediate followers of Buddha, who brought their books or traditions northward and there disseminated them, generally prevailed; this is called the teaching of the 'little vehicle' (Hīnayāna), or 'imperfect means of conveyance' (across the sea of sense). The second period is that during which the expanded form of belief denoted as the 'great

vehicle' (Mahāyāna) was accepted; here the radical idea is that the teaching of Buddha provides 'universal salvation' for the world. Thirdly, the 'indefinitely expanded' form, known as Vaipulya, which is founded on the idea of a universal nature, to which all living things belong, and which, by recovering itself in each case, secures for the subject complete restoration to the one nature from which all living things have wandered. This is evidently a form of pure Pantheism, and denotes the period when the distinctive belief of Buddhism merged into later Brahmanism, if indeed it did not originate it.

We cannot lay down any sharp line of division (either as to time or minute difference of doctrine) between these forms of thought as they are found in the books; but they may be traced back, through the teaching of the sects into which the system became separated, to the great schism of the primitive Buddhist church at Vaisālī, 100 years after the Nirvāṇa.

With respect to this schism the statement made in the *Dīpavamsa*¹ is this: 'The wicked Bhikkus, the Vaggiputtakas (i. e. the Vaisālī Buddhists), who had been excommunicated by the Theras, gained another party; and many people, holding a wrong doctrine, ten thousand, assembled and (also) held a council. Therefore this Dhamma Council is called the Great Council (Mahāsaṅgīti),' (Oldenberg's translation, p. 140.) Turning now to the Mahāsaṅghika version of the Vinaya, which was translated into Chinese by Fa-hien (circ. 420 A. D.), who brought it from Pāṭaliputra (chap. XXXVI), we read (K. 40, fol. 23 b), 'After the Nirvāṇa (Ni-pan, i. e. Nibbāna) of Buddha the Great Kāśyapa, collecting the Vinaya Piṭaka, was the (first) Great Master (Mahāsthavira), and his collection of the Dharmapiṭaka was in 80,000 divisions. After the death (mih to, destruction) of the great Kāśyapa the next master (lord) was Ānanda, who also held the Dharmapiṭaka in 80,000 (divisions). After him the honourable (lord) Mo-yan-tin (Madhyāntika) was chief, and he also held the Dharmapiṭaka in 80,000 (divisions). After him came

¹ The *Dīpavamsa*, an early historical record of Buddhism compiled in Ceylon between the beginning of the fourth and the first third of the fifth century A. D.

Sanavāsa (she-na-po-sa), who also held the Dharmapiṭaka in 80,000 (divisions). After him came Upagupta, of whom the lord of the world (Buddha) predicted that as "a Buddha without marks" (*alakṣaṇako Buddha*; see Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 378, note 1) he should overcome Māra, which is related in the Avadānas (*yin ün*). This (master) could not hold the 80,000 divisions of the Dharmapiṭaka. After him there were five schools (the school of the "Great Assembly" being the first of the five) to which the following names were given: (1) Dharmaguptas, (2) Mahāsakas, (3) Kāśyapiyas, (4) Sarvāstivādas. This last is also called the school "that holds the existence of all," because it maintains the distinct nature of (things existing in) past, present, and future time. Each of these schools had its own president and distinctive doctrine. Because of this in the time of Aśoka, when the king was in doubt what was right and what was wrong, he consulted the priests as to what should be done to settle the matter. They replied, "The law (*dharma*) ought to be settled by the majority." The king said, "If it be so, let the matter be put to the vote (by lots or tokens of wood), and so let it be seen who is right (in the majority)." On this they cast lots, and our sect (i.e. the Mahāsaṅghikas) was in great preponderance. Therefore it is called the Mahāsaṅgīti or Great Assembly.'

From this it appears that the Mahāsaṅghikas, on their part, claimed to be the original portion of the Buddhist church, and that they regarded the four sects, whose names are given, to be heretical. The same colophon has a further notice respecting this subject. It states that 'There was in former times in Mid-India a wicked king who ruled the world. From him all the Sramanas fled, and the sacred books were scattered far and wide. This wicked king having died, there was a good king who in his turn requested the Sramanas to come back to their country to receive his protection (nurture). At this time in Pāṭaliputra there were 500 priests who wished to decide (matters of faith), but there was no copy of the Vinaya, or teacher who knew the Vinaya, to be found. They therefore sent forthwith to the Gṛtavana Vihāra to copy out the Vinaya in its original character, as

it had been handed down to that period. Fa-hien, when he was in the country of Magadha, in the town of Pāṭaliputra, in the temple of Asokarāga, in the Vihāra of the Southern Devarāga (Virūdhaka), copied out the Sanskrit (Fan) original and brought it back with him to P'ing kau, and in the twelfth year of the title I-hi (417 A. D.) [416 according to the cyclical characters] and the tenth month, he translated it.' Here we seem to have an obscure allusion to a first and second Asoka. Is it possible that the reference is to an actual council held at Pāṭaliputra in opposition to the orthodox assembly under Moggaliputta? The 500 priests who were sent to the Getavana might have represented the popular party, and being without a copy of their version of the Vinaya, they procured one from Srāvastī. This may or may not be so, and in the absence of further details we cannot give it much weight.

On examining the copy of the Vinaya alluded to by Fa-hien, viz. that belonging to the Mahāsaṅghikas, we find ample reason for adhering to the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, viz. 'that the members of the great congregation proclaimed a doctrine against the faith' (p. 139 op. cit.) The sections illustrating the Parāgika and other rules are of a gross and offensive character. The rules are illustrated by an abundance of tales or *gātakas* introduced in the text (this seems to favour the presence of a Northern element in the redaction). The account of the two councils differs from that found in the other copies of the Vinaya, and in the history of the second council at Vaisālī there is mention made only of one of the sins of the 'Vaggiputtakas,' viz. receiving money; but the council itself is called, according to this account, for the purpose of revising the canon. Now this seems to show that the Mahāsaṅghika school took its rise at this time, and that a redaction of the canon was prepared by that school distinct from that in common use. According to the statement found in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, 'they composed other Suttas and another Vinaya' (p. 141, § 36). This is confirmed by an account which we have given us in a work belonging to the Vinaya class in the Chinese Tripitaka, called 'The Questions of Sāri-

putra' (Catalogue, case 48, miscellaneous). I thought this might be the work referred to in the edict of Asoka as the 'Questions of Upatissa,' but on examination it appears to be a production of the Mahāsaṅghika school, and not exclusively bearing on questions of the Vinaya. Perhaps it was written and named in opposition to the orthodox text alluded to in the edict. To exhibit the teaching of the school to which it belongs I will briefly allude to the earlier portion of this Sūtra. The scene is laid in Rāga-grīha, the question proposed by Sāriputra is, 'Who is the true disciple of Buddha, and who not?' Buddha replies, 'The true disciple is one who attends to and obeys the precepts, as the Bhikṣu Pao-sse, i. e. precious thing (Yasa), who hearing the statement of Buddha that all things (*samskāra*) were impermanent, immediately perceived the whole truth. The disciple who attends to the tradition of the church is also a true one, as the Bhikṣu who attended to Sāriputra's statement respecting Kāludāyi's drinking wine. Those, on the other hand, who neglect either the direct instruction of Buddha, or that of his successors—these are not true disciples.' Sāriputra then proceeds to ask what are the permissions and what the prohibitions made by Buddha in the rules of the Vinaya, especially in respect of food, as, for example, where Buddha forbids an early meal at the invitation of a villager, or where he permits the use of fish and other condiments. Buddha replies that these things must depend on circumstances, and that the rule of the true disciple is to follow the directions of the president of the church. For instance, after my Nirvāṇa (he proceeds) the great Kāśyapa will have authority equal to mine; after Kāśyapa, Ānanda; after Ānanda, Madhyāntika; after Madhyāntika, Sanakavāsa; after Sanakavāsa, Upagupta; after Upagupta there will be a Maurya (king) Ku-ko (Asoka), who will rule the world and extend the Scriptures (Dharmavinaya). His grandson will be called Pushyamitra (Fu-sha-mih-to-lo), who will succeed to the empire of the righteous king (or who will succeed directly to the empire of the king, or the royal estate). This one will ask his ministers what he must

do to gain an undying fame; and being told he must either patronise religion as his predecessor or persecute it, he will adopt the latter course, overthrow the pagodas (dâgobas), destroy the Scriptures, murder the people. Five hundred Arhats, however, will escape the persecution. Meantime the Scriptures being taken up to Maitreya, he will preserve them. At last the king and his army being destroyed (by a mountain cast on them), this line of kings will perish. Afterwards a righteous king will succeed, and Maitreya will send down 300 youths, born apparitionally among men, who will recover the law from the 500 Arhats, and go amongst men instructing them, so that once more the Scriptures, which had been taken to heaven by Maitreya, will be disseminated in the world. At this time the king of the country will divide the Dharmavinaya into many parts, and will build a stronghold in which to preserve them, and so make it difficult for those wishing to consult them, to do so. Then an old Bhikshu of good repute will write a remonstrance, and selecting such passages of the Vinaya as are in accordance with Kâśyapa's council, and known as the Vinaya of the 'Great Congregation' (will make them known); the other party will, on their part, include with these the false additions that have been since made. Thus will begin the contention and wrangling. At length the king will order the two schools to assemble, and the matter to be put to the vote, in this way,—taking a number of slips of wood, some black, the others white, he will say, 'let the adherents of the old school take the black slips, and the new school the white slips.' Then those taking the black slips will be myriads in number, those taking the white only hundreds. Thus there will be a separation. The old school will be called 'the Mahâsaṅghikas,' the new 'the school of the elders,' and hence also named 'the Ta-pi-lo' (Sthâvira (school)).

This obscure account tends at any rate to show that the original separation of the church, from which resulted the later schisms, began at the time of the Great Assembly at Vaisâlî. Whether we are to gather that a second and final separation took place afterwards when the good king was

reigning (Dharma-Aśoka?) is not certain, but it seems to be implied in this and the former record, and is in every respect probable. This would therefore account for the silence of the Northern school respecting the Council at Pāṭaliputra, and would fully explain why the Sthāvira school insists on that council as the charter, so to speak, of their orthodoxy.

LIVES OF BUDDHA.

There is no life of Buddha in the Southern school. Facts connected with his life are found in the different canonical books, and these being put together give an outline of his career, though there is no single work devoted to the account of his life. But there are many such works in the Chinese collection of books. Some of them still exist, others have been lost. The earliest of which we have any record was translated by *Ku-fa-lan* (Gobharāṇa) between A. D. 68 and A. D. 70. It was called the

(I) Fo-pen-hing-king 佛本行經

in five chapters. It is lost, but there are quotations from it found in Chinese Buddhist books which indicate its character. In the commentary, for example, of Taou-shih, who edited a life of Buddha by Wong pūh, there is frequent reference to a work, Pen-hing-king, which in all probability is the book under our present consideration. This we gather from a comparison of these quotations with the text of other works that bear a similar title. For instance, there is a book called Fo-pen-hing-tsih-king, which is stated to be a Chinese version of the Abhinishkramaṇa Sūtra, that is sometimes quoted as the Pen-hing-king, but the passages given by Taou-shih are not to be found in this work. Neither are they taken from the Pen-hing-king, written by Paou-Yun, nor are they to be found in the Pen-hing-king by Asvaghosha. We may justly argue therefore that the commentator, Taou-shih, in quoting from the Pen-hing-king, refers to the work translated by *Ku-fa-lan*, which is

now lost. If so, the book can have differed in no material point from the common legendary account of Buddha's early career. In § 8 the Pen-hing is quoted in reference to the selection of Buddha's birth-place; in § 11 the dream of Mâyâ at the conception of the child is referred to. In § 23 there is the history of Asita and his horoscope. In § 27 the trial in athletic sports. In § 29 the enjoyment of the prince in his palace for ten years. In § 31 the account of the excursion beyond the walls and the sights of suffering. In § 33 the interview with his father before his flight from the palace. In § 38 the act of cutting his hair with his sword and the intervention of Sakra. In § 39 his exchange of garments with the hunter. In § 40 his visit to the Rîshis in the snowy mountains. In § 41 the account of his six years' fast at Gayâ. In § 44 there is allusion to the Nâgas Kalika and Muñilinda. In § 46 the rice milk given by the two daughters of Sugâta. Here the quotations from the Pen-hing come to an end. We can scarcely doubt therefore that this work ended with the account of the supreme enlightenment of Buddha. It is said that the Fo-pen-hing was in five kiouen; it could not therefore have been a short abstract, but must have been a complete history of Buddha from his birth to the period of his victory over Mâra. It would thus correspond with what is termed the 'intermediate epoch,' in the Southern records. We may conclude therefore that such a life of Buddha was in circulation in India in a written form at or before the beginning of our era. It was brought thence by Ku-fa-lan, and translated into Chinese A. D. 67-70. M. Stanislas Julien, in the well-known communication found on p. xvii n. of the translation of the *Lalita Vistara* from Tibetan by M. Foucaux, speaks of this work as the first version of the *Lalita Vistara* into Chinese.

We have next to consider a work translated into Chinese by two Sramanas from India in the year A. D. 194, and named

(2) Siu-hing-pen-k'i-king.

修行本起經

[19]

b

This work belongs to case lxviii in my Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka, and is numbered 664 by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. It was translated by *Ku-ta-lih* (Mahâbâla) and *Kong-mang-tsiang*. As the title indicates, it is a brief memoir of Buddha's preparatory career (i. e. preparatory to his enlightenment), in two parts¹ and seven vargas. It is stated in the work, *Kao-săng-fu*, K. i, fol. 8, that this book was brought from Kapilavastu by the *Sramana* Dharma-phala (Tan-kwo). This is also repeated in the work *Lai-tai-san-pao*, K. iv, fol. 18. The opening scene therefore lies in Kapilavastu. Its language is sufficiently exaggerated, but not to that wearisome degree found in the later Sûtras. It begins with the nomination of Buddha by Dîpaṅkara, and ends with the defeat of Mâra under the tree of knowledge. It therefore includes both the distant and the intermediate epochs. I shall give the headings of the seven vargas, with some remarks on the character of the narrative.

Varga 1 (pp. 1-9). 'Exhibiting change.' The scene is laid in Kapilavastu, in the Nyagrodha Vihâra. Surrounded by a vast assembly of disciples, Buddha enquires of Maudgalyâyana, 'Can you for the sake of all living things² declare the origin of my career (pen k'i)?' On this Maudgalyâyana, addressing Buddha in the usual orthodox way, asks him to recite the history in virtue of his own inherent spiritual power. On this Buddha declares how he had been born during innumerable kalpas in every character of life for the sake of stemming the tide of lust and covetousness which engulfed the world, and by a life of continual progress through the exercise of the virtues of wisdom, patience, charity, &c. had arrived at the final condition of enlightenment. He then gives the history of his nomination when Dîpaṅkara was Buddha, and of his successive births until finally, after having been born as Vessantara, he occupied the Tushita heaven, and thence descended to be

¹ Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 10.

² This is given in Chinese *Ta-sa-ho-kie*, which can only be restored to *Tasâ*. See Childers, *sub voce*.

born in Kapilavastu as the Bodhisattva about to accomplish his career as Buddha.

Varga 2. Bodhisattva descends as a spirit. In this section we find an account of Bodhisattva's conception. He descends under the form¹ of a white elephant, and is seen by Mâyâ in a dream: 'She beholds in the middle of heaven a white elephant resplendent with glory, and lighting up the world, accompanied by music and sounds of rejoicing, and whilst accompanying Devas scatter flowers and incense, the elephant approaches her, and for a moment hovers above the spot and disappears.' The dream is interpreted by the sooth-sayers as an exceedingly fortunate one, because 'it indicated the descent of a holy spirit (Shing-shin) into the womb.' The child born therefore would be either a wheel-turning flying-as-he-goes (fi-hing), universal monarch, or a Buddha 'born to save the world.' The queen from that moment leads a pure, uncontaminate life.

'Now on account of this conception,
Bearing as I do a Mahâsattva,
I give up all false, polluting ways,
And both in heart and body rest in purity.'

The kings of neighbouring countries bring their presents of gold, silver, jewels, and robes, and on the eighth day of the fourth month the child is born under an Asoka tree. The angels sing for joy, and thirty-two supernatural events indicate the nativity. We need not enumerate all these events; the first, however, is that the earth was greatly shaken, and all rough and hilly places became smooth. The fifteenth is, the star Pushya came down and appeared waiting on the prince. The last is that the tree spirit (i. e. the spirit residing in the tree under which the Bodhisattva was born) appearing from it as a man bowed his head in worship². We then have an account of Asita's visit and prediction. The

¹ Or, riding on a white elephant. The phrase in the Chinese is ambiguous. There is reason to suppose that the original thought was that the Bodhisattva was riding on an elephant, but was invisible as a spirit.

² Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xci, fig. 4.

varga concludes with the account of his superiority over his teachers.

Varga 3. The athletic contest. This section contains an account of the prince's marriage with Ku-i (Gopî) after the exhibition of his strength in fighting, wrestling, and archery. The prince in this account restores the elephant to life which Devadatta had killed, and is charged by Devadatta and his followers as being strengthened by Mâra (the devil) in doing the wonders he did. He marries Gopî, and with 60,000 attendant women dwells in his palace. But his heart is not at rest.

Varga 4. The excursion for observation. This is the usual account of the prince's visit to the garden and the sights he beheld. The charioteer is accompanied by 1000 other chariots and 10,000 cavalry. A Suddha Deva called Nandahara assumes the form of an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a Sramana successively, and thus determines the prince to leave the world (worldly life) and become an ascetic. In order to distract his mind the king requests the prince to attend a ploughing festival. Whilst thus engaged he beholds the suffering of the oxen, and the heat and toil of the men, and the countless insects being destroyed and devoured by the birds. Retiring under the shadow of a Gambu tree¹ he enters Dhyâna (profound meditation). The king hearing where he was proceeds to the spot, and observes the branches of the trees bent down² over the prince, and on approaching the horses bend their knees in reverence. The king and his retinue then return to the city. On entering the gate he is met by countless thousands of people with flowers and incense, whilst the soothsayers shout with joy, 'O king! live for ever!' The king enquiring the reason, the Brahmans tell him that to-morrow the seven treasures would appear, and the king would become a 'holy ruler' (a Kakravartin).

Varga 5. Leaving his home. The prince without ceasing

¹ Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xxv, fig. 1, where the three buildings represent the three palaces built for the prince.

² The leaves are bent down in the plate (op. cit.)

meditated on the joy of a contemplative life in the desert. Being now nineteen years old, he vowed on the seventh day of the fourth month to leave his home. In the middle of the night he was addressed by Ku-i his wife, who had been troubled by five dreams. Having appeased her, the gods determined, ere he composed himself again, to induce him to leave his home. They sent Ou-suh-man [is this *Wésamuna*? (Manual of Buddhism, p. 51)] to lull the people to sleep, whilst the Deva Nandahara causes all the women of the palace to appear in loathsome attitudes, &c. The prince beholding the sight, and regarding all things that exist 'as a phantom, a vision, a dream, an echo,' called his coachman to bring his horse, and accompanied by countless divine beings left the city. Leaving the city they fled on their way, till at morning light they had gone 480 lis, and arrived at the A-nu-ma country (the river Anavamâ or Anomâ; a Chinese note explains it as the 'ever-full'). Here he dismisses his attendant and sends him back with the horse and his jewels to Kapilavastu. Having cut off his hair, he proceeded to the Magadha country, and there has an interview with Bimbisâra râga. To the enquiry whence he came and what his title was, he replies, 'I come from Ka-wei (Kapila or Kavila) to the east of the fragrant mountains and north of the snowy mountains.' On this Bimbisâra asks him in haste, 'Surely you are not that celebrated Siddhârtha?' On his replying in the affirmative, the king bows down at his feet, and asks why one so richly endowed and so distinguished in his person was not a universal monarch, and why he had left his home. The prince replies that he had gone forth to seek deliverance from old age, disease, and death. On this follows a long series of lines (geyas), beginning, 'Suppose we could.' Finally Bodhisattva leaves the king and encounters Arâta and Kâlâma (i. e. Ârâla Kâlâma), but not satisfied with their teaching he again departs.

Varga 6. Six years' austerities. Bodhisattva goes forward and arrives at the valley (river-valley (*kuen*)) of Se-na. This valley was level and full of fruit trees, with no noxious insects or snakes. Here dwelt the *Rishi* (Tao-sse) Se-na, with 500 followers. Here Bodhisattva took his

residence under a Sâla tree. The gods offer him nectar (sweet dew), but he receives it not, but vows to take one grain of millet (hemp) a day. When he had continued thus for six years, and reduced himself to the verge of death, the two daughters of Se-na have a dream, in which they see a lily having seven colours wither away ; there comes a man who waters it, and it revives, whilst other buds spring up on the face of the water. Awaking they ask their father to explain the dream, but neither he nor his followers can do so. On this Sakra descends under the form of a Brahmaârin, who explains the dream. The girls having prepared a dish of cream convey it to Bodhisattva ; he receives it, and his strength revives. Having washed his hands and flung the dish into the river, whence it is carried by a golden-winged bird to heaven, he proceeds to the Bodhi tree.

Varga 7. Defeats Mâra. Seated under the tree he causes a stream of light to proceed from between his eyes and to enter the dwelling of Mâra. Mâra, greatly disconcerted, knowing that the Bodhisattva if he fulfils his purpose will overthrow his power, resolves to oppose him. His son Sumati warns him against such an attempt, but Mâra, summoning his three daughters, acquaints them with his design. They robe themselves in their choicest attire, and with 500 attendants go to the spot where Bodhisattva was. They proceed to tempt him with lascivious offers. Bodhisattva with a word changes their appearance into that of old women. On this Mâra, enraged, summons the king of the demon spirits (kwei-shin) to assemble with eighteen myriads of others. They surround the tree for a distance of thirty-six yoganâs, and assuming every shape (lions, bears, tigers, elephants, oxen, horses, dogs, monkeys, &c.) they belch forth smoke and fire. Bodhisattva sits unmoved. Mâra then advances and endeavours to induce him to give up his purpose. Bodhisattva replies in loving words, and finally the entire host is dispersed. Buddha then arrives at perfect wisdom, the condition which neither Brahma nor any other being had yet attained, and so completes his purpose.

The following life of Buddha, although named in the catalogues, has not come under my notice :

(3) Siau-pen-k'i-king
 小本起經

in two kiouen ; translated by the Sramana K'i-yau, A. D. 196.

The next history of Buddha in point of the date of its translation is the

(4) Ta-tseu-sui-ying-pen-k'i-king.
 太子瑞應本起經

This is the work of an Upāsaka belonging to the Wu dynasty (222–264 A.D.), who came to China towards the end of the After-Han dynasty, and was a diligent translator. The work before us is a brief one, divided into two parts, without any subdivision into sections. The first part, which resembles the translation last noticed, takes us to the defeat of Māra. The second includes in it a description of Buddha's condition as the 'fully enlightened,' and also the conversion of the fire-worshipping Kāsyapas. With respect to his work of preaching, this book has the peculiarity of excluding all mention of the journey to Benares after the enlightenment. It makes the conversion of the five men take place near the Bodhi tree in Magadha, and omits all mention of Yasa, Sâriputra, or Maudgalyāyana. The account of the conversion of the Kāsyapas is full and circumstantial. It agrees in a marked way with the particulars given in the Manual of Buddhism (Spence Hardy, pp. 188–191). The illustrations of this event, given in the Sanchi Sculptures (plates xxiv, xxxi, xxxii, 1st ed.), show that it was a popular episode in the history of Buddha at the time of the completion of the Sanchi Stûpa. It is also given in the following pages in Asvaghosha's work, so that we cannot doubt this event formed part of the recognised work of Buddha as a teacher. This short life therefore includes in it the three portions known in the South as the distant, intermediate, and proximate epochs. The last named, however, differs materially from the more expanded account found in other books, and is in fact

confined to the labour of the conversion of the five men and the three Kâsyapa brothers.

We now come to the consideration of the life of Buddha known as the

(5) *Kung-pen-k'i-king.*

中本起經

This translation was made by the Sramaza Dharmaphala in conjunction with Kong-mang-tsiang, about the year 208 A.D. It was brought by Dharmaphala from Kapilavastu, and it is said to be extracted from the Dīrghāgama (the long Āgama), which is undoubtedly a primitive and, as we should say, a canonical work. This translation is in two parts, divided into 15 vargas.

Varga 1. Turning the wheel of the law. This section begins with Buddha's interview with Upaka, after he had attained enlightenment, and gives an account of the conversion of the five men.

Varga 2. Indicating changes. Contains the history of Yasa, and the conversion of his four friends (Fu-nai, Puṇya-git; Vimala; Kiu-yen-pih, Gavāmpati; Su-to, Subāhu).

Varga 3. The conversion of Kâsyapa.

Varga 4. Converts Bimbisāra rāga.

Varga 5. Conversion of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

Varga 6. Returns to his own country.

Varga 7. The history of Su-ta (i. e. Sudatta or Anāthapindada).

Varga 8. The history of the queen of Udyāna, king of Kausāmbī. She would not comply with the king's wishes, because it was a fast day.

Varga 9. Gautamī becomes a Bhikṣuṇī.

Varga 10. Inconstancy. Contains the history of Prasena-git's interview with Buddha, and of the minister who had lost his child.

Varga 11. Self-love. Contains the history of an interview with Prasena-git, and a sermon preached by Buddha on self-love.

Varga 12. Conversion of Mahākâsyapa (Agnidatta).

Varga 13. Conversion of Ambapālī.

Varga 14. Discussion with the Nirgranthas.

Varga 15. Buddha eats the food fit for horses¹.

It will be seen from the above summary, that so early at least as the end of the second century A.D. a life of Buddha, with the details above named, was in circulation in Kapilavastu.

The next life of Buddha, in point of date, is the second version of the Lalita Vistara, known in China as the

(6) Phô-yau-king.

普曜經

This was translated by the Indian priest Dharmaraksha, during the Western Tsin dynasty, about A.D. 300. It is in eight chapters, and belongs to the expanded class of Buddhist literature. The story of Buddha's life is here told from his birth to his death, but in the exaggerated and wearisome form peculiar to the works of this (expanded) school. It would seem as if the idea of merit attaching to the reproduction of every word of the sacred books had led the later writers, not only to reproduce the original, but to introduce, by an easy but tiresome method, the repetition of a simple idea under a multitude of verbal forms, and so secure additional merit².

There is another life of Buddha named in the Chinese Catalogues, translated A. D. 420 by Buddhahadra, who was a descendant of Amritodana, the uncle of Buddha. This life is named

(7) Kwo-hu-yin-ko-king.

過去因果經

It is in four kiouen. It has not come under my notice; but another translation of the same text, likewise in four kiouen, and made shortly after Buddhahadra by a native of Mid-India called Guṇabhadra (A.D. 436), is before me. This work is called

¹ See Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 52.

² To show the character of this style of composition we give at the end (Note II) a section from this Sûtra relating to the birth of Bodhisattva.

(8) Kwo-hu-hien-tsai-yin-ko-king.

過去現在因果經

It is not divided into sections, but each kiouen embraces a distinct portion of the history.

Kiouen I contains an account of Sumedhas and his nomination by Dīpaṅkara Buddha. It then proceeds to narrate the events attending the conception, incarnation, and early years of the Bodhisattva until his tenth year, and his superiority at school (p. 26).

Kiouen II begins with the martial contest and victory of Bodhisattva over his compeers, and ends with the flight from his palace at nineteen years of age (p. 27).

Kiouen III begins with Bodhisattva's interview with the different *Rishis*, and concludes with the conversion of the five men after Buddha's enlightenment (p. 34).

Kiouen IV begins with the conversion of Yasa and his father, and afterwards his fifty friends. It then gives in great detail the history of the Kāśyapas, and ends with an account of the gift of the *Getavana*. This life of Buddha is of a circumstantial character, and is full of interesting episodes.

The next memoir in point of time of translation is the history of Buddha as it occurs in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. I shall take as my example the *Vinaya* according to the *Mahīśāsaka* school. In the 15th and 16th chapters of this work is a brief life of Buddha. This copy of the *Vinaya* was brought from Ceylon by Fa-hien at the beginning of the fifth century (A.D. 414); it was not translated by him, but by Buddhagiva, a native of Cophene, A.D. 423 (see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 21), with the assistance of Tao-sing (*Ku-tao-sing*), a *Sramāṇa* of Khoten.

In this life the order of events (and the precise words occasionally) agree with the Pāli of the *Mahāvagga*, as published by Oldenberg. It begins, however, with the history of the origin of the *Sākyas*, and in this it resembles the account in the *Manual of Buddhism*¹, except that in the Chinese the

¹ Spence Hardy, p. 130.

description of Ganta, the son of Ambā, is that he was contemptible and ugly, whilst in the Singhalese account he is described as lovely and well-favoured. After the complete enlightenment, Buddha sits in contemplation at the foot of different trees. Here there occurs a divergence from the Pāli, as it is in the interval of his remaining thus in contemplation that he visits the village of Senāpati, and gives to his daughter Sugâtā the two refuges in Buddha and the law. This is a curious statement, as it seems to imply that at that time the triple refuge was not known; in other words, that there was no Saṅgha, or Church.

The interview with Upaka is identical with the Pāli. The sermon at Benares and the conversion of the five men, the visit to and conversion of Bimbisāra, the conversion of Yasa and his friends, the visit to Uruvilva and the Kāśyapas, the conversion of Upatishya and Kolita—all this is as in the Southern account. The narrative then breaks off suddenly, and the rules of the Vinaya with respect to teacher and pupil &c. are introduced. This notice of Buddha's life, although not translated in China before the fifth century, must date back from the time when the Southern copy of the Vinaya, which Fa-hien brought from China, was first put together. The Mahāsāsika school was an offshoot from the Āryasthāvira branch of the Buddhist church, and in all probability was regarded in Ceylon as orthodox, in opposition to the Mahāsaṅghikas. It is curious that in the Mahāsaṅghika copy of the Vinaya which Fa-hien brought from Patna, and which he himself translated into Chinese, there is no section corresponding to the one just adduced, that is, this copy of the Vinaya contains no record of Buddha's life. This may be accounted for on the ground that the two redactions were made at different times and at places far apart. But yet it is curious that a copy of the Vinaya brought from Patna, and said to have been copied from an authentic original, should differ so widely from a copy found by the same person at the same time in Ceylon¹. This circumstance at any rate will

¹ Fa-hien, p. 144.

show the mixed character of Buddhist books in China, and the difficulty of classifying them in any distinct order.

We come now to notice a life of Buddha translated by a native Chinese priest. It is called the

(9) Fo-pen-hing-king
佛本行經

and was translated by Pao-yun, a companion of Fa-hien in his travels in India, about A. D. 420. It is in seven chapters, and composed in varying measures or verses of 4, 5 or 7 symbols to the line. We have no means of determining the name of the original work from which Pao-yun translated his book, but it evidently was not the *Buddha-karita-kāvya* of Asvaghosha. It resembles it in no particular, except that it is in verse. The contents of this work I have already given elsewhere (Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 100); so that there is no need to allude to it here at any length.

Nor need I refer, except to name it, to the Chinese version of the *Lalitā Vistara*. This translation was made by the *Sramaṇa Divākara* during the Tang dynasty. He was a native of Mid-India, and flourished in China A. D. 676. It is in 12 chapters and 27 sections. The headings of these chapters have been given elsewhere (Catalogue, pp. 18, 19). The contents of the Chinese version agree in the main with the Tibetan. It is named

(10) Fang-kwang-tai-śwang-yan-king.
方廣大莊嚴經

There is a life of Buddha translated by an Indian priest of Cophene, about A. D. 445, which is called

(11) Sāṅg-kia-lo-c'ha-sho-tsih-fo-hing-king.
僧伽羅剎所集佛行經

This appears to have been written by a priest called *Saṅgharakṣa*, who was born in the kingdom of Su-lai, and came to Gandhāra when Kanishka flourished. This monarch is called in the text *Kien-to-ki-ni-wang*. The

symbols Kien-to correspond with the family title given elsewhere to Kanishka, viz. *Kan-tan*, i. e. *Kandana* or sandalwood (see the work *Tsah-pao-tsang-king* in the Indian Office Collection of Buddhist Books, kiouen vi, fol. 12 [Catalogue, case lxvi]). This Chinese title may probably correspond with the tribal name of Gushan, or perhaps (according to Oldenberg) with the title *Koiranos*, of the coins. But in any case *Saṅgharaksha* is said to have lived during the time of this monarch, and to have written the life of Buddha, which was afterwards translated into Chinese by *Saṅghabhadanta* (?). This work is in 5 kiouen; it comprises the usual stories from the birth of Buddha to the distribution of his relics after his death. There is at the end a curious story about *Asoka*, who reigned 100 years after the *Nirvāṇa*. He is said to have had a dream which induced him to assemble the *Bhikshus* in a convocation. He was told by them that there was in *Râgagriha* a casket on which there was a record enshrined, or a gold plate, which had been delivered by Buddha. On opening the casket a prophecy was found stating that in *Magadha*, in the city of *Râgagriha*, there were two householders whose two sons were called *Vigayamitra* and *Vasudatta*; of these the former, in consequence of his merit in giving a ball of earth to Buddha, should be born 100 years after as *Asoka râga* of the *Maurya* family. In consequence of this prophecy *Asoka* built 84,000 shrines for the relics of Buddha, obeying in this the direction of his dream, that he should cause the *saṃsāras* of the holy one to be everywhere diffused.

Another life of Buddha is one I have partly translated in the *Romantic History of Buddha*. It is called

(12) *Fo-pen-hing-tsih-king*
 佛本行集經

and was translated by *Gñānagupta* or *Gñānakūta* of the *Tsui* dynasty (circ. A. D. 588). It is said to be the same as the *Abhinishkramaṇa Sūtra*, but of this there is no positive evidence. It is in 60 kiouen, and embraces Buddha's history from the beginning to the time of the conversion of the *Kāśyapas* and others.

The following is the title of a life of Buddha, translated by Fă-khin of the Sung dynasty (began 960 A.D.), and named

(13) Fo-shwo-*lung*-hu-mo-ho-ti-king
佛說衆許摩訶帝經

which is, as it appears, a work of the Sammatiya school of Buddhism, corresponding with the Mahāvastu. The phrase 衆許 is used in the introductory chapter to denote Sammata, who was 'chosen by all' to be the first king; and 摩訶帝 is the Chinese form of Mahāvastu, 'the great (thing).' This memoir is in 2 vols. and 13 kiouen; it is very complete, agreeing in its details with the notices found in the Manual of Buddhism, and in Bigandet's Life of Godama. It was probably in the original a Pāli work.

The last version of the Lalita Vistara, known as the

(14) Shin-t'ung-yaou-hi-king,
神童遊戲經

has not come under my notice.

ASVAGHOSHA.

The most reliable of the lives of Buddha known in China is that translated in the present volume, the Buddha-*karita-kāvya*. It was no doubt written by the Bodhisattva Asvaghosha, who was the twelfth Buddhist patriarch, and a contemporary of Kanishka¹. Translators in China attribute both this book and the work which I have called the 'Sermons of Asvaghosha' (ta *kwang yǎn king lun*) to him, and there is no reason to question it. Kumāragīva, who translated the latter work, was too familiar with Indian subjects to be mistaken in this particular, and Dharmaraksha (we will employ this restoration of his name) was also a native of Mid-India, and deeply versed in Buddhist

¹ There is no absolute certainty about the date of Kanishka; it may probably be referred to the beginning of the latter half of the first century A. D. (see next page).

literature (he became a disciple at six years of age). Both these translators lived about A. D. 400.

I am told, however, by Mr. Rockhill, that Tārānātha, the Tibetan author, mentions three writers of the name of Asvaghosha, the 'great one,' the younger, and one who lived in the eighth century A. D. This latter, who was also called Çura, could not be the Asvaghosha of our text, as the translation of the work dates from the fifth century. And as of the other two, one was called 'the great' and the other 'the younger,' it admits of little question that the Bodhisattva would be the former. But in the Chinese Catalogues, so far as I have searched, there is no mention made of more than one writer called by this name, and he is ever affirmed to have been a contemporary of Kanishka. In the book *Tsah-pao-tsang-king*, for instance (kiouen vi), there are several tales told of the *Kandan* 'Kanika' or 'Kanishka,' in one of which (fol. 13) Asvaghosha is distinctly named as his religious adviser, and he is there called 'the Bodhisattva;' so that, according to evidence derived from Chinese sources, there seems no reason to doubt that the author of the book I have here translated was living at and before the time of the Scythian invasion of Magadha under the *Kandan* king Kanishka. With respect to the date of this monarch we have no positive evidence; the weight of authority sides with those who place him at the beginning of the Saka period, i. e. A. D. 78. It is therefore possible that the emissaries who left China A. D. 64 and returned A. D. 67 may have brought back with them some knowledge of the work of Asvaghosha called *Fo-pen-hing*, or of the original then circulating in India, on which Asvaghosha founded his poem. It is singular at least that the work of Asvaghosha is in five chapters as well as that translated by *Ku-fa-lan*. In any case we may conclude that as early as about A. D. 70, if not before, there was in India a work known as *Buddhaḥarita* (*Fo-pen-hing*).

As to the origin of such a work, it seems likely to have sprung from an enlargement of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. We know that the record of the history of Buddha's last

days was extant under this title from early times, and nothing would be simpler than the gradual enlargement of such a record, so as to include in it not only his last days, but his work throughout his life. Each district in which Buddha taught had probably its own recollections on this point, and to any zealous writer the task of connecting these several histories would be an easy one. Such a man was Asvaghosha. Brought up in Central India, travelling throughout his life as a preacher and musician, and finally a follower of Kanishka through his Northern campaigns; such a man would naturally be led to put together the various tales or traditions he had gathered as to the birth and life of his great master, and connect them with the already recognised account of his end or last days on earth. The detailed account of Buddha's death, recorded in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, finds a place at the end of the present work; this account being well known to Asvaghosha, there can be no difficulty in understanding how he came to write an entire poem on the subject of the master's life and death.

I am told by Professor Max Müller that the Sanskrit versions of the *Buddhaḥarita* break off at the end of *varga* 17, that is, after the account of the conversion of the great Kāśyapa. Whether this is accidental, or whether it indicates the original extent of the poem, I have no means of judging. One thing is certain, that at the time when the translation was made by Dharmaraksha (viz. about A.D. 420), the work was of the size of the present volume. There is no *à priori* reason for supposing the later portion to have been added by a writer subsequent to Asvaghosha. A poem does not easily admit of 'a continuation' by another author; nor can we think that a distinguished writer like Asvaghosha would omit in his biography the account of the death of his hero, especially as the materials were at hand, and the dramatic effect of the poem would be undoubtedly increased by the addition of such a popular record. It seems therefore more natural to suppose that the Sanskrit MSS. are incomplete copies of the original, and that the Chinese version before us is in

fact a translation of the entire poem as it came from its author's hands.

There is little to add, with respect to the history of Asvaghosha, to the few notices I have given elsewhere (Abstract, &c., p. 95 sqq.) One or two allusions to him will be found in the work of Wong pûh (Shing tau ki, §§ 186 and 190). These only confirm the general tradition that he was originally a distinguished Brahman and became a convert to Buddhism¹. The *Buddha-karita* contains sufficient proof of his acquaintance with and hostility to Brahmanical teaching, and the frequent discussions found therein relative to the non-existence of 'I' (an individual self) illustrate the record contained in § 190 of the work (Shing tau) named above, 'that Vira, a writer of *Sâstras* (Lun sse), a disciple of Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, wrote a treatise in 100 gâthâs on the subject of "non-individuality" (wou 'ngo lun), which the heretics were unable to gainsay.' With reference to this doctrine of the non-existence of the individual subject, it is not possible in such a work as this to say much. I shall be glad to place on record, however, my belief that in Buddhism this question is much more than a speculative question of philosophy. It touches the skirt of the highest moral truth. For the individual self in Buddhism is the evil or carnal self, the origin of sorrow. This, the Buddhist says (at least as I read his confession of faith), does not exist; the evil self is not a separate reality, it is the delusion of 'sense;' it is 'nothing.' Destroy this idea of self and there will be light. If we regard the question thus, it assumes a form more interesting and vital than that of any philosophical enquiry. As I said above, it touches the skirt of the highest truth; and in this approach to truth lies the power of the Buddhist doctrine.

THE FAITHFULNESS OF CHINESE TRANSLATIONS.

It is wonderful to look through the large collection of Buddhist books translated into Chinese from the dialects

¹ Mr. Rockhill has kindly given me an extract from a Tibetan work, *Mañ-gus-fmûl-tantra*, in which Asvaghosha is identified with *Mâtrigâta* or *Mâtrigita*, concerning whom, see Abstract, &c., p. 141.

of India, principally by Indian or Indo-Scythian priests. I use this last expression to indicate the nationality of those translators who came to China from Cabul and regions north of the Indus. For 600 years and more a succession of Buddhist teachers and preachers followed one another from India and Central Asia towards China with little interruption. The result is, that the Buddhist Tripiṭaka (canon) as we have it in that country is a collection of translations without connection of parts, denoting the Buddhism of India and neighbouring countries, in every period of its development. Hence side by side with the early teaching of the faith found in such books as the Dharma-pada (Tan poh), we have the gross form of Tantra worship contained in the 'Dhāraṇī of *Kandā*,' *Kandā* being in fact the same as Kālī or Durgā or *Gagatmātri*. Nevertheless this collection of translations is a most important one. Its importance has yet to be realised. To the student of Buddhism it is an inexhaustible mine of wealth. And to the student of history some knowledge of it is indispensable.

The question presents itself, therefore, can we rely on the truthfulness of the work done by these men in China? To this question only a qualified answer can be given; we may rely on the work of men of known ability. And in other cases we may test the work done by comparison with the originals. We should have no reluctance, I think, in accepting the translations of men like Kumāragīva, to whom both Chinese and Sanskrit must have been familiar, and whose work may be tested by comparison with Sanskrit texts. And if he may be trusted, so may others also who worked with him or in his time. Amongst these was Dharmarakṣa, the translator of the *Buddhacarita* of this volume. He was a man of Mid-India, and became a disciple at six years of age, and daily recited 10,000 words of Scripture. At first he belonged to the school of the lesser development, and was well acquainted with the discourses of the five Vidyās. Afterwards he became a follower of the greater development. He arrived in China in the year 412 A.D. and worked at translations till A.D. 454. Now

we can hardly suppose that a man of such natural gifts as Dharmaraksha could have laboured for forty-two years at translations, without being worthy of trust. Moreover we find that Kumâragîva was working at this period in China, and that he translated the work of Asvaghosha called *Ta-kwang-yan-king-lun*, which appears to be related to the *Ta-kwang-yan-king*, another name for the *Life of Buddha* (*Lalita Vistara*). Is it likely that the two translators were unknown to one another?

It is true, indeed, that I have not been able to test the translation of Dharmaraksha by comparison with the Sanskrit. As I understand Professor Max Müller, the Sanskrit text is not always easy to interpret, and differs in many places from the Chinese version. Sometimes it is possible to see how it happened that the Chinese translator misunderstood the text before him. Sometimes it would seem that he omitted intentionally whole passages which would be either unintelligible or uninteresting to Chinese readers. As there is some prospect of the Sanskrit text of Asvaghosha's work being published, we may hope to arrive in time at something like certainty on the point under consideration.

But with respect to the trustworthiness of Chinese translations in general, it depends, as I said before, on the character of the individual scholar. There is no reason at all why a Brahman should not have become familiar with Chinese, and when we add to this the extraordinary facilities afforded the Buddhist missionaries in China for executing their work, in the way I mean of royal patronage and able coadjutors, there is no reason to suspect the result of their labours. Yet doubtless there are many unreliable versions of sacred texts to be found. Every zealous Upâsaka who came to China was not thereby duly qualified for the work of translation; and as a rule we should be cautious in attaching entire credence to the literary labours of such persons.

ASVAGHOSHA'S STYLE.

The Chinese priest I-tsing says that the hymns used in the Buddhist church during his visit to India were composed and arranged by Asvaghosha (Nan-hae, § 32). There can be little doubt that he was a musician as well as poet. He travelled about, we are told, with a body of musicians, and was the means of converting many persons of distinction by his skill (Abstract, &c., p. 97). The work before us gives proof of his poetical talent. In translating his verses, even from the Chinese, an impulse to follow in his poetical vein has been felt. But the requirements of a literal translation forbid any such diversion. Nevertheless the reader will observe many passages that would have easily allowed a more 'flowery diction.' The passage in verse 629 and following verses is very touching—the consuming grief of Yasodharā until 'her breath grew less and sinking thus, she fell upon the dusty ground.' The account of Buddha's enlightenment in verse 1166 and following is also striking: 'Thus did he complete the end of self, as fire goes out for want of grass; thus he had done what he would have men do; he first had found the way of perfect knowledge. He finished thus the first great lesson; entering the great *Rishi's* house, the darkness disappeared, light burst upon him; perfectly silent and at rest, he reached the last exhaustless source of truth; lustrous with all wisdom the great *Rishi* sat, perfect in gifts, whilst one convulsive throe shook the wide earth.'

There are many passages throughout the poem of great beauty; there is much also that is dry and abstruse, yet we cannot doubt that in that day and among these people the 'great poem' of Asvaghosha must have had considerable popularity. Hence the translations of it are numerous; it must have tested Dharmaraksha's powers to have turned it into Chinese. There is also a Tibetan copy of it; and whether it was originally composed in Sanskrit or not, we know that there are now various editions of it in that language. I do not pretend to have

found the author's meaning in all cases; the Chinese is not easy; but in the main drift of the poem I have followed my text as faithfully and literally as possible. The concluding portion of the last section, as it seems to support the idea of only one Asoka, first fierce and then gentle, or religious, is, to say the least, a curious passage. But we may not attach too much weight to an isolated statement of this sort; there may have been reasons more than we know of why the orthodox tradition of the Dharma-Asoka, the patron of the Theravâdi school, should have been ignored by a friend of Kanishka. But in any case the evidence is too slight to build upon; we can only say that in Asvaghosha's time it had become usual to put the Council of Pâṭaliputra out of sight, and to regard the Theravâdi school as one opposed to the generally received traditions of the North.

I cannot conclude this Introduction without expressing my thanks to Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, who kindly suggested emendations of my translation of some passages at the beginning of the work, and also to Professor Max Müller, to whom I am indebted for the restoration of many of the proper names that occur throughout the text.

S. BEAL.

THE RECTORY, WARK,
NORTHUMBERLAND,
Feb. 4, 1883.

FO-SHO-HING-TSAN-KING.

FO-SHO-HING-TSAN-KING.

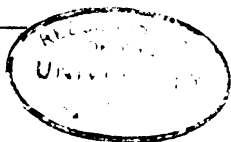
A METRICAL VERSION

OF THE

LIFE OF BUDDHA BY MA-MENG-PU-SA.

(ASVAGHOSHA BODHISATTVA.)

KIOUEN I.



VARGA 1. THE BIRTH.

(There was) a descendant of the Ikshvâku¹ (family), an invincible² Sâkya monarch, pure in mind (mental gifts) and of unspotted virtue, called therefore 'Pure-
rice' (Suddhodana). 1

Joyously revered by all men (or, 'beings'), as the new moon (is welcomed by the world), the king indeed (was) like the heaven-ruler Sakra³, his queen like (the divine) Saññ. 2

Strong and calm of purpose as the earth, pure in mind as the water-lily, her name, figuratively assumed, Mâyâ, she was in truth incapable of class-comparison. 3

¹ The Ikshvâku (sugar-cane) family of Potala. Suddhodana was the father of the Bodhisattva.

² Wou-shing; this is the equivalent for the Agitavati (river). But it here refers to the Sâkyas, as a race of Kakravartin monarchs.

³ Or, like Sakra, king of Devas, the husband of Saññ.

On her in likeness as the heavenly queen descended the spirit and entered her womb. A mother, but free from grief or pain, (she was) without any false or illusory¹ mind. 4

Disliking the clamorous ways of the world, (she remembered) the excellent garden of Lumbint, a pleasant spot, a quiet forest retreat, (with its) trickling fountains, and blooming flowers and fruits. 5

Quiet and peaceful, delighting in meditation, respectfully she asked the king for liberty to roam therein; the king, understanding her earnest desire, was seized with a seldom-felt anxiety (to grant her request). 6

He commanded his kinsfolk, within and without (the palace), to repair with her to that garden shade; and now the queen Mâyâ knew that her time for child-bearing was come. 7

She rested calmly on a beautiful couch, (surrounded by) a hundred thousand female attendants; (it was) the eighth day of the fourth moon, a season of serene and agreeable character. 8

Whilst she (thus) religiously observed² the rules of a pure discipline, Bodhisattva was born from her right side, (come) to deliver the world, constrained by great pity, without causing his mother pain or anguish. 9

As king Yu-liu³ was born from the thigh, as king Pi-t'au⁴ was born from the hand, as king Man-to⁵

¹ Here there seems to be a play on the word wan 幻, which is the equivalent for Mâyâ or illusion. The Sanskrit text reads Mâyâ-pagatâ-iva Mâyâ, i. e. Mâyâ without deceit.

² Or, (the season for) religiously observing the rules of abstinence.

³ Aurva.

⁴ Prîthu, born from the arm of Vena.

⁵ Mândhâtî.

was born from the top of the head, as king Kia-k'ha¹ was born from the arm-pit, 10

So also was Bodhisattva on the day of his birth produced from the right side; gradually emerging from the womb, he shed in every direction the rays of his glory. 11

As one (born) from recumbent space², and not through the gates of life, through countless kalpas, practising virtue, self-conscious he came forth to life, without confusion. 12

Calm and collected, not falling headlong (was he born), gloriously manifested, perfectly adorned, sparkling with light he came from the womb³, as when the sun first rises (from the East). 13

(Men) indeed regarded⁴ his exceeding great glory, yet their sight remained uninjured: he allowed them to gaze, the brightness of his person concealed for the time, as when we look upon the moon in the heavens. 14

His body, nevertheless, was effulgent with light, and like the sun which eclipses the shining of the lamp, so the true gold-like beauty of Bodhisattva shone forth and was diffused everywhere. 15

Upright and firm and unconfused in mind, he deliberately took seven steps⁵, the soles of his feet

¹ Kakshivat. These names are supplied from the Sanskrit text.

² This may also be translated 'as one who falls from space,' i.e. miraculously born from space.

³ He passed from the womb to be born. The idea seems to be that though conceived in the womb, he was born supernaturally from the side.

⁴ Kwan-tsai, weighed and considered.

⁵ These seven steps are frequently figured by seven lotus-marks. I-tsing refers to such marks at Nālanda, where Buddha walked seven steps, forward and backward; they are also figured on the

resting evenly upon the ground as he went, his foot-marks remained bright as seven stars. 16

Moving like the lion, king of beasts, and looking earnestly towards the four quarters, penetrating to the centre the principles of truth, he spake thus with the fullest assurance: 17

‘This birth is in the condition of a Buddha¹; after this I have done with renewed birth; now only am I born this once, for the purpose of saving all the world.’ 18

And now from the midst of heaven there descended two streams of pure water, one warm, the other cold, and baptized his head², causing refreshment to his body. 19

And now he is placed in the precious palace hall, a jewelled couch for him to sleep upon, and the heavenly kings with their golden flowery hands hold fast the four feet of the bed. 20

Meanwhile the Devas in space, seizing their jewelled canopies, attending, raise in responsive harmony their heavenly songs, to encourage him to accomplish his perfect purpose³. 21

Then the Nāga-rāgas filled with joy, earnestly desiring to show their reverence for the most excellent law⁴, as they had paid honour to the former Buddhas, now went to meet Bodhisattva; 22

cloth held by the attendants at the birth of Bodhisattva. See Tree and Serpent Worship, plate lxxv, figure 2, middle scene.

¹ This birth is a Buddha-birth.

² He was thus consecrated to be a king; see Childers, Pāli Dict., sub *Abhisiñhāti*; also Eitel, Handbook, sub *Mūrdhā-bhishikta*.

³ Inviting him to perfect the way of Buddha.

⁴ That is, ‘to advance the cause of true religion.’

They scattered before him Mandâra flowers, rejoicing with heartfelt joy to pay such religious homage; (and so, again,) Tathâgata having appeared in the world, the Suddha¹ angels rejoiced with gladness; 23

With no selfish or partial joy, but for the sake of religion they rejoiced, because creation², engulfed in the ocean of pain, was now to obtain perfect release. 24

Then the precious Mountain-râga, Sume(ru)³, firmly holding this great earth⁴ when Bodhisattva appeared in the world, was swayed by the wind of his perfected merit. 25

On every hand the world was greatly shaken, as the wind drives the tossing boat; so also the minutest atoms of sandal perfume, and the hidden sweetness of precious lilies, 26

Floated on the air and rose through space and then commingling came back to earth; so again the garments of Devas descending from heaven touching the body, caused delightful thrills of joy; 27

The sun and moon with constant course redoubled the brilliancy of their light, whilst in the world the

¹ The Suddha-vâsas, 'beings dressed in pure garments.' A class of heavenly beings, supposed to take peculiar interest in the religious welfare of men.

² 'Creation,' in the sense of 'all that lives.'

³ Sumeru, written also Sumē and Meru. The primeval mountain; the Alborz, Atlas, or Olympus of other tribes. It is explained as 'the high, or resplendent, mountain.' On it was the heaven of the gods (the thirty-three gods).

⁴ It would seem from this that the original idea of Sumeru was 'the mountain of Heaven;' the visible heaven, or firmament, which 'firmly holds the earth.'

fire's gleam of itself prevailed without the use of fuel. 28

Pure water, cool and refreshing from the springs, flowed here and there, self-caused; in the palace all the waiting women were filled with joy at such an unprecedented event. 29

Proceeding all in company, they drink and bathe themselves; in all arose calm and delightful thoughts; countless inferior Devas (bhûtas), delighting in religion, like clouds assembled. 30

In the garden of Lumbini, filling the spaces between the trees, rare and special flowers, in great abundance, bloomed out of season. 31

All cruel and malevolent kinds of beings, together conceived a loving heart; all diseases and afflictions among men without a cure applied, of themselves were healed. 32

The various cries and confused sounds of beasts were hushed and silence reigned; the stagnant water of the river-courses flowed apace, whilst the polluted streams became clear and pure. 33

No clouds gathered throughout the heavens, whilst angelic music, self-caused, was heard around; the whole world of sentient creatures enjoyed peace and universal tranquillity. 34

Just as when a country visited by desolation, suddenly obtains an enlightened ruler, so when Bodhi-sattva was born, he came to remove the sorrows of all living things. 35

Mâra¹, the heavenly monarch, alone was grieved and rejoiced not. The Royal Father (Suddhodana)

¹ Mâra, the king of the world of desire. According to the Buddhist theogony he is the god of sensual love. He holds the

beholding his son¹, strange and miraculous², as to his birth, 36

Though self-possessed and assured in his soul, was yet moved with astonishment and his countenance changed, whilst he alternately weighed with himself the meaning (of such an event), now rejoiced and now distressed. 37

The queen-mother beholding her child, born thus contrary to laws of nature, her timorous woman's heart was doubtful; her mind through fear, swayed between extremes: 38

Not distinguishing the happy from the sad portents, again and again she gave way to grief³; and now the aged women of the world, (of the 'long night'⁴) in a confused way supplicating heavenly guidance, 39

Implored the gods to whom their rites were paid, to bless the child; (cause peace to rest upon the royal child.) Now there was at this time in the grove, a certain soothsayer⁵, a Brahman, 40

Of dignified mien and wide-spread renown, famed for his skill and scholarship: beholding the signs⁶, his

world in sin. He was the enemy of Buddha, and endeavoured in every way to defeat him. He is also described as the king of death.

¹ Beholding his 'born son,' or 'begotten son.'

² K'i-teh, truly unique (Williams' Dict.) Mi tsang yau, unseen before, miraculous.

³ The text seems to point to alternately recurring hope and grief.

⁴ The text here is difficult. I take *Khang-suh* to be equal to *Khang-yê*, which is a frequent expression to denote the 'long night' of transmigration or ignorance. If this be not so, then *Khang-suh* may be simply 'aged.'

⁵ *Khi Siang*, a discernor of signs or portents.

⁶ That is, either the signs on the child's body, or the occurrences attending his birth.

heart rejoiced, and he exulted at the miraculous event. 41

Knowing the king's mind to be somewhat perplexed, he addressed him (thus) with truth and earnestness, 'Men born in the world, chiefly desire to have a son the most renowned¹; 42

'But now the king, like the moon when full, should feel in himself a perfect joy, having begotten an unequalled² son, (for by this the king) will become illustrious among his race; 43

'Let then his heart be joyful and glad, banish all anxiety and doubt, the spiritual omens that are everywhere manifested indicate for your house and dominion a course of continued prosperity³. 44

'The most excellently endowed child now born will bring deliverance to the entire world⁴, none but a heavenly teacher has a body such as this⁵, golden colour'd, gloriously resplendent. 45

'One endowed with such transcendent marks, must reach the state of "Samyak⁶-Sambodhi," or if he be induced to engage in worldly delights, then he must become a universal monarch⁷; 46

¹ Or, a most victorious son; or, a son most renowned.

² K'i-teh, truly unique; strange or wonderful; (p. 7, n. 2.)

³ Increasing or advancing prosperity.

⁴ Must assuredly save the world.

⁵ A body, such a masterpiece.

⁶ K'ing-hsio, perfect illumination, Samyak-Sambuddha; or, as in the text.

⁷ A wheel-turning monarch. A monarch like the sun 'that flies as he goes;' the old conceit of a king of the age of gold^a; the expectation of peace and prosperity resulting from the universal authority of such a righteous king, is an old, perhaps a primitive, one. The *Kakravartin* is the eastern form of the myth.

^a That is, probably, 'a golden (wheel) king.'

‘Everywhere recognised as the ruler of the great earth, mighty in his righteous government, as a monarch ruling the four empires¹, uniting under his sway all other rulers; 47

‘As among all lesser lights, the sun’s brightness is by far the most excellent. But if he seek a dwelling among the mountain forests, with single heart searching for deliverance², 48

‘Having arrived at the perfection of true wisdom, he will become illustrious³ throughout the world; for as mount Sumeru is monarch among all mountains, 49

‘Or, as gold is chief among all precious things, or, as the ocean is supreme among all streams⁴, or, as the moon is first among the stars, or, as the sun is brightest of all luminaries, 50

‘So Tathâgata, born in the world, is the most eminent⁵ of men; his eyes clear and expanding⁶, the lashes both above and below moving with the lid, 51

‘The iris of the eye of a clear blue colour⁷, in shape like the moon when half full, such characteristics as these, without contradiction, foreshadow the most excellent condition of perfect (wisdom).’ 52.

¹ The four empires, that is, the four continents or quarters of the world.

² Deliverance, that is, from sin; or sorrow the result of sin (moksha).

³ Shine universally; as the light of the sun.

⁴ The ocean is always in Buddhist works, as in Homer, associated with ‘flowings.’ The expression in the Chinese, liu-hai, corresponds exactly with *ᾠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα*.

⁵ The most worshipful.

⁶ Widening more and more.

⁷ Of a deep purple or violet colour.

At this time the king addressed the twice-born¹,
 'If it be as you say, with respect to these miraculous signs, that they indicate such consequences, 53

'Then no such case has happened with former kings, nor down to our time has such a thing occurred.' The Brahman addressed the king thus, 'Say not so; for it is not right; 54

'For with regard to renown and wisdom, personal celebrity, and worldly substance, these four things indeed are not to be considered according to precedent or subsequence; 55

'But whatever is produced according to nature², such things are liable to the law of cause and effect: but now whilst I recount some parallels let the king attentively listen; 56

'Bhrîgu, Ângira³ (Ângiras?), these two of *Rîshi* family⁴, having passed many years apart from men, each begat an excellently-endowed son, 57

'Brîhaspati with Sukra, skilful in making royal treatises, not derived from former families (or, tribes); 58

'Sârasvata, the *Rîshi*, whose works⁵ have long disappeared, begat a son, Po-lo-sa⁶, who compiled illustrious *Sûtras*⁷ and *Shâstras*; 59

¹ That is, the Brahman; wearing the twice-born thread.

² Or, whatever is born according to the nature of things.

³ I restore these names according to the Sanskrit text, supplied by Professor Max Müller.

⁴ That is, belonging to the *Rîshi* tribe; in other words, 'these two *Rîshis*.'

⁵ Or, it may, perhaps more correctly, be rendered 'separated by a long period from *Sûtras* or *Shâstras*,' or, when these works had long been lost.

⁶ Is this Parâsara, the reputed father of Vyâsa? (see Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 479.)

⁷ Illustrious *Sûtras* (Ming King) may possibly refer to the Vedas, but the five vidyâs are also called by this name (Jul. II, 73).

‘That which now we know and see, is not therefore dependent on previous connection; Vyâsa, the *Rîshi*, the author of numerous treatises, 60

‘After his death had among his descendants, Poh-mi (*Vâlmîki*), who extensively collected *Gâthâ* sections; Atri, the *Rîshi*, not understanding the sectional treatise on medicine, 61

‘Afterwards begat Âtreya, who was able to control diseases; the twice-born *Rîshi* Kusi (*Kusika*), not occupied with heretical treatises, 62

‘Afterwards (begat) *Kia-ti-na râga*, who thoroughly understood heretical systems; the sugar-cane monarch¹, who began his line, could not restrain the tide of the sea, 63

‘But *Sagara-râga*, his descendant, who begat a thousand royal sons, he could control the tide of the great sea so that it should come no further. 64

‘*Ganaka*, the *Rîshi*, without a teacher acquired power of abstraction. All these, who obtained such renown, acquired powers of themselves²; 65

‘Those distinguished before, were afterwards forgotten; those before forgotten, became afterwards distinguished³; kings like these and godlike *Rîshis* have no need of family inheritance, 66

‘And therefore the world need not regard those going before or following. So, mighty king! is it with you, you should experience true joy of heart, 67

‘And because of this joy should banish for ever doubt or anxiety.’ The king hearing the words

¹ That is, the first of the *Ikshvâku* monarchs who reigned at *Potala* (*Tatta*) at the mouth of the *Indus*.

² Or, were born by their own power.

³ Or, the former were better, the later inferior; the former inferior, the later better.

of the seer was glad, and offered him increased gifts¹. 68

‘Now have I begotten a valiant (excellent) son (he said), who will establish a wheel authority, whilst I, when old and grey-headed, will go forth to lead a hermit’s life², 69

‘So that my holy king-like son may not give up the world and wander through mountain forests.’ And now near the spot within the garden, there was a *Rishi*, leading the life of an ascetic³; 70

His name was Asita, wonderfully skilful in the interpretation of signs; he approached the gate of the palace; the king (beholding him) exclaimed, ‘This is none other but Brahmadeva, 71

‘Himself enduring penance from love of true religion, these two characteristics⁴ so plainly visible as marks of his austerities.’ Then the king was much rejoiced; 72

And forthwith he invited him within the palace, and with reverence set before him entertainment, whilst he, entering the inner palace, rejoiced only (in prospect of) seeing the royal child. 73

Although surrounded by the crowd of court-ladies, yet still he was as if in desert solitude; and now they place a preaching throne and pay him increased honour and religious reverence, 74

As Antideva *râga* revered the priest *Vasishtha*. Then the king addressing the *Rishi*, said, ‘Most fortunate am I, 75

‘Great *Rishi*! that you have condescended to

¹ Or, extended his religious offerings.

² Leaving my home will practise a pure (Brahman) life.

³ Practising austerities.

⁴ That is, ‘purity’ and ‘penance.’

come here to receive from me becoming gifts and reverence; I pray you therefore enter on your exhortation.' 76

Thus requested and invited the *Rishi* felt unutterable joy, and said, 'All hail, ever victorious monarch! possessed of all noble (virtuous) qualities¹, 77

'Loving to meet the desires of those who seek, nobly generous in honouring the true law, conspicuous as a race for wisdom and humanity, with humble mind you pay me homage, as you are bound. 78

'Because of your righteous deeds in former lives², now are manifested these excellent fruits; listen to me, then, whilst I declare the reason of the present meeting. 79

'As I was coming on the sun's way³, I heard the Devas in space declare that the king had born to him (begotten) a royal son, who would arrive at perfect intelligence⁴; 80

'Moreover I beheld such other portents⁵, as have

¹ The Chinese symbol 'teh' properly means 'virtue,' as in the title of Laou Tseu's work, *Tau-teh-king*. But in Buddhist books it generally corresponds with the Sanskrit *guṇa*, in the sense of a 'quality' or 'characteristic.'

² The expression *suh kkih* points to conduct in former conditions of existence. It properly means 'a night's rest' or 'a lodging one night' (Williams), but in Buddhist books it commonly refers to abodes or conditions of life, occupied during the night (long night) of transmigration.

³ Following the way of the sun.

⁴ Complete the way of true wisdom (Sambodhi or Sambuddha).

⁵ Such miraculous portents going before. It would seem from Asita's description that he came from the East following the sun, and as he came he saw before him miraculous portents.

constrained me now to seek your presence; desiring to see the Śākya monarch who will erect the standard of the true law.' 81

The king hearing the *Rishi's* words was fully assured; escaping from the net of doubt, he ordered an attendant to bring the prince, to exhibit him to the *Rishi*. 82

The *Rishi*, beholding the prince, the thousand-rayed wheel on the soles of his feet, the web-like filament between his fingers¹, between his eyebrows the white² wool-like prominence, 83

His privy parts hidden as those of the horse, his complexion bright and lustrous; seeing these wonderful birth-portents, the seer wept and sighed deeply. 84

The king beholding the tears of the *Rishi*, thinking of his son, his soul was overcome, and his breath fast held his swelling heart. Thus alarmed and ill at ease, 85

Unconsciously he arose from his seat, and bowing his head at the *Rishi's* feet he addressed him in these words, 'This son of mine, born thus wonderfully, 86

'Beautiful in face, and surpassingly graceful, little different from the gods in form, giving promise of superiority in the world, ah! why has he caused thee grief and pain? 87

'Forbid it, that my son should die! (should be short-lived!)—(the thought) creates in me grief and

¹ Or, his fingers and his toes.

² That is, the *ūrṇā*. This white wool-like mark seems to have been derived in the first instance from the circle of hair on the forehead of the bull. Moschus describes the bull that carried off Europa as having this 'silver white circle' on his forehead.

anxiety; that one athirst, within reach of the eternal draught¹, should after all reject and lose it! sad indeed! 88

'Forbid it, he should lose his wealth and treasure! dead to his house! lost to his country! for he who has² a prosperous son in life, gives pledge that his country's weal is well secured; 89

'And then, coming to die, my heart will rest content, rejoicing in the thought of offspring surviving me; even as a man possessed of two eyes, one of which keeps watch, while the other sleeps; 90

'Not like the frost-flower of autumn, which though it seems to bloom, is not a reality. A man who, midst his tribe and kindred, deeply loves a spotless son, 91

'At every proper time in recollection of it has joy; O! that you would cause me to revive³!' The *Rîshi*, knowing the king-sire to be thus greatly afflicted at heart, 92

Immediately addressed the Mahârâga: 'Let not the king be for a moment anxious! the words I have spoken to the king, let him ponder these, and not permit himself to doubt; 93

'The portents now are as they were before, cherish

¹ The 'eternal draught' or 'sweet dew' of Ambrosia. This expression is constantly used in Buddhist writings. It corresponds with the Pâli *amataṃ*, which Childers explains as the 'drink of the gods.'

² Or, if I have.

³ This sloka may be translated otherwise thus: 'A man among all his kindred loves deeply a spotless^a son; at this time, in recollection thereof, speaking, cause me to revive;' or the latter lines may still be rendered, 'in memory of what you said before, cause me now, by speaking as before, to revive.'

^a Wou-kwo-tseu; either 'a faultless son' or 'nothing beyond his son.'

then no other thoughts! But recollecting I myself am old, on that account I could not hold my tears; 94

‘For now my end is coming on. But this son of thine will rule the world, born for the sake of all that lives¹! this is indeed one difficult to meet with; 95

‘He shall give up his royal estate, escape from the domain of the five desires², with resolution and with diligence practise austerities, and then awakening, grasp the truth. 96

‘Then constantly, for the world’s sake (all living things), destroying the impediments of ignorance and darkness, he shall give to all enduring light, the brightness of the sun of perfect wisdom. 97

‘All flesh submerged in the sea of sorrow; all diseases collected as the bubbling froth; decay and age like the wild billows; death like the engulfing ocean; 98

‘Embarking lightly in the boat of wisdom he will save the world from all these perils, by wisdom stemming back the flood. His pure teaching like to the neighbouring shore, 99

‘The power of meditation, like a cool lake, will be enough for all the unexpected birds; thus deep and full and wide is the great river of the true law; 100

‘All creatures parched by the drought of lust may freely drink thereof, without stint; those

¹ This line may be also rendered ‘because he has done with birth, therefore he is born.’ The text is full of such double-meanings.

² The five desires, or five appetites of sight, smell, taste, hearing, and touch.

enchained in the domain of the five desires, those driven along by many sorrows, 101

'And deceived amid the wilderness of birth and death, in ignorance of the way of escape, for these Bodhisattva has been born in the world, to open out a way of salvation¹. 102

'The fire of lust and covetousness, burning with the fuel of the objects of sense, (on the flames) he has caused the cloud of his mercy to rise, so that the rain of the law may extinguish them. 103

'The heavy gates of gloomy unbelief, fast kept by covetousness and lust, within which are confined all living things, he opens and gives free deliverance. 104

'With the tweezers of his diamond wisdom he plucks out the opposing principles of lustful desire. In the self-twined meshes of folly and ignorance all flesh poor and in misery, helplessly (lying), 105

'The king of the law has come forth, to rescue these from bondage. Let not the king in respect of this his son encourage in himself one thought of doubt or pain; 106

'But rather let him grieve on account of the world, led captive by desire, opposed to truth; but I, indeed, amid the ruins of old age and death, am far removed from the meritorious condition of the holy one², 107

'Possessed indeed of powers of abstraction, yet

¹ The word 'salvation' corresponds to the Sanskrit *moksha*, deliverance or escape. The garden of Lumbini is sometimes called the 'garden of deliverance,' because Mâyâ was there delivered of her child.

² Or, removed from an opportunity of reaping merit by the teaching of the holy one.

not within reach of the gain he will give, to be derived from his teaching as the Bodhisattva; not permitted to hear his righteous law, 108

‘My body worn out, after death, alas! (destined) to be born as a Deva¹ still liable to the three calamities (old age, decay, and death), (therefore I weep).’ The king and all his household attendants, hearing the words of the *Rishi*, 109

Knowing the cause of his regretful sorrow, banished from their minds all further anxiety: ‘And now (the king said) to have begotten this excellent son, gives me rest at heart; 110

‘But that he should leave his kingdom and home, and practise the life of an ascetic, not anxious to ensure the stability of the kingdom, the thought of this still brings with it pain.’ 111

At this time the *Rishi*, turning to the king with true words, said, ‘It must be even as the king anticipates, he will surely arrive at perfect enlightenment.’ 112

Thus having appeased every anxious heart among the king’s household, (the *Rishi*) by his own inherent spiritual power ascended into space and disappeared. 113

At this time *Suddhodana rāga*, seeing the excellent marks (predictive signs) of his son, and, moreover, hearing the words of *Asita*, certifying that which would surely happen, 114

Was greatly affected with reverence to the child, he redoubled measures for its protection, and (was

¹ The condition of the highest Deva, according to Buddhism, does not exempt him from re-birth; subject to the calamities incident on such a renewal of life.

filled) with constant thought; (moreover) he issued decrees through the empire, to liberate all captives in prison, 115.

According to the custom when a (royal) son was born, giving the usual largess, in agreement with the directions of the Sacred Books, and extending his gifts to all; (or, all these things he did completely). 116

The child¹ when ten days old, (his father's) mind being now quite tranquil, he announced a sacrifice to all the gods, and prepared to give liberal offerings to all the religious bodies; 117

Srâmanas and Brâhmanas invoked by their prayers a blessing from the gods, whilst he bestowed gifts on the royal kinspeople and the ministers and the poor within the country; 118

The women who dwelt in the city or the villages, (all those who needed) cattle or horses or elephants or money, each, according to his necessities, was liberally supplied; 119

Then selecting by divination a lucky time, they took the child back to his own palace, with a double-feeding white-pure-tooth², carried in a richly-adorned chariot (cradle), 120

With ornaments of every kind and colour round his neck; shining with beauty, exceedingly resplendent with unguents. The queen embracing

¹ 'Shing-tseu,' the born or begotten child.

² I am unable to translate this line except literally, 'two-feeding white pure ivory (or, tooth),' 'rh fan pih tsing 'nga. [I am informed, however, by Professor Max Müller that it refers to the 'elephant.' The elephant is called dvipa, the twice-drinker, corresponding to 'rh fan (for 'rh yin), the double-feeder (drinker), in the Chinese.]

him in her arms, going around, worshipped the heavenly spirits. 121

Afterwards she remounted her precious chariot, surrounded by her waiting women; the king, with his ministers and people, and all the crowd of attendants, leading the way and following, 122

Even as the ruler of heaven, Sakra, is surrounded by crowds of Devas; as Mahesvara, when suddenly his six-faced child was born, 123

Arranging every kind of present, gave gifts, and asked for blessings; so now the king, when his royal son was born, made all his arrangements in like manner; 124

So Vaisravana, the heavenly king, when Nalakûvara¹ was born, surrounded by a concourse of Devas, was filled with joy and much gladness; 125

So the king, now the royal prince was born, in the kingdom of Kapila, his people and all his subjects were likewise filled with joy. 126

VARGA 2. LIVING IN THE PALACE.

And now in the household of Suddhodana râga, because of the birth of the royal prince, his clansmen and younger brethren (namesakes), with his ministers, were all generously disposed, 127

Whilst elephants, horses and chariots and the wealth of the country and precious² vessels, daily increased and abounded, being produced wherever requisite³; 128

¹ Na-lo-kiu-po. Nalakûvara was the son of Vaisravana.

² Vessels of the seven precious (substances).

³ According to occasion in abundance produced. The expression 'tsah' may either refer to variety or number. Thus the

So too countless hidden treasures came of themselves from the earth. From the midst of the pure snowy mountains, a wild herd of white elephants, 129

Without noise, of themselves, came; not curbed by any, self-subdued, every kind of colour'd¹ horse, in shape and quality surpassingly excellent, 130

With sparkling jewelled manes and flowing tails, came prancing round, as if with wings; these too, born in the desert, came at the right time, of themselves. 131

A (herd of) pure-colour'd, well-proportioned cows, fat and fleshy, and remarkable for beauty, giving fragrant and pure milk with equal flow, came together in great number² at this propitious time: 132

Enmity and envy gave way to peace; content and rest prevailed on every side, whilst there was closer union amongst the true of heart, discord and variance were entirely appeased; 133

The gentle air distilled a seasonable rain, no crash of storm or tempest was heard, the springing seeds, not waiting for their time, grew up apace and yielded abundant increase; 134

The five cereals grew ripe with scented grain, soft and glutinous, easy of digestion; all creatures big with young, possessed their bodies in ease and their frames well-gathered; 135

All men, even those who had not received the seeds of instruction derived from the four holy

convocation of the Arhats at Vaisâli is called 'tsah'; a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes or tales is called by the same name.

¹ Or, every kind of party-colour'd horse.

² Like the clouds.

ones¹; all these, throughout the world, born under the control of selfish appetite, without any thought for others' goods, 136

Had no proud, envious longings; no angry, hateful thoughts. All men and women² were grave (profound) as the first man of the age (kalpa). 137

All the temples of the gods and sacred shrines, the gardens, wells, and fountains, all these like things in heaven, produced of themselves, at the proper time, (their several adornments). 138

There was no famishing hunger, the soldiers' weapons were at rest, all diseases disappeared; throughout the kingdom all the people were bound close in family love and friendship; 139

Piously affectioned they indulged in mutual pleasures, there were no impure or polluting desires, they sought their daily gain righteously, no covetous money-loving spirit prevailed, 140

But with religious purpose they gave liberally; there was no thought of any reward (return), but all practised the four rules of purity; and every hateful thought was suppressed and destroyed. 141

Even as in days gone by, Manu rāga begat a child (called) 'Brilliancy of the Sun,' on which there prevailed through the country great prosperity, and all wickedness came to an end; 142

¹ This seems to mean that those who had not received benefit from the teaching of the four previous Buddhas, that even these were placable and well-disposed.

² This is a difficult verse, it may be translated literally thus, 'All learned women (or, all the wives of sages) were profoundly grave as the first man of the kalpa.' Whether it refers to the docility of the otherwise quarrelsome women, or to their gravity and learning, it is not easy to say.

So now the king having begotten a royal prince, these marks of prosperity were seen ; and because of such a concourse of propitious signs, the child was named Siddhârtha¹. 143

And now his royal mother, the queen Mâyâ, beholding her son born under such circumstances, beautiful as a child of heaven, adorned with every excellent distinction, 144

From excessive joy which could not be controlled died, and was born in heaven². Then Pragâpatî Gautamî, beholding the prince, like an angel, 145

With beauty seldom seen on earth, seeing him thus born and now his mother dead, loved and nourished him as her own child ; and the child regarded her as his mother. 146

So as the light of the sun or the moon, little by little increases, the royal child also increased each day in every mental excellency and beauty of person ; 147

(His body exhaled) the perfume of priceless sandal wood, (decorated with) the famed Gambunâda gold (gems) ; divine medicines (there were) to preserve him in health, glittering necklaces upon his person ; 148

The members of tributary states, hearing that

¹ The description here given of the peace and content prevailing in the world on the birth of Bodhisattva (and his name given to him in consequence) resembles the account of the golden age in classic authors.

² Mâyâ is generally stated to have died after seven days from the birth of her child. But here the context seems to require a longer interval, as he was ten days old when taken to the temple. Mâyâ was born in the Trayastîmas Heaven, or the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. The legend states that Buddha after his enlightenment proceeded there to convert her.

the king had an heir born to him, sent their presents and gifts of various kinds, oxen, sheep, deer, horses, and chariots, 149

Precious vessels and elegant ornaments, fit to delight the heart of the prince; but though presented with such pleasing trifles, the necklaces and other pretty ornaments, 150

The mind (nature) of the prince was unmoved, his bodily frame small indeed, but his heart established; his mind at rest within its own high purposes¹, was not to be disturbed by glittering baubles. 151

And now he was brought to learn the useful arts, when lo! once instructed (at one hearing) he surpassed his teachers. His father, the king, seeing his exceeding talent, and his deep purpose to have done with the world and its allurements, 152

Began to enquire as to the names of those in his tribe who were renowned for elegance and refinement. Elegant and graceful, and a lovely maiden, was she whom they called Yasodharâ; 153

In every way fitting to become a consort for the prince; and to allure by pleasant wiles his heart. The prince with a mind so far removed (from the world), with qualities so distinguished, and with so charming an appearance, 154

Like the elder son of Brahmadeva, Sanatkumâra (She-na Kiu-ma-lo); the virtuous damsel, lovely and refined, gentle and subdued in manner; 155

Majestic like the queen of heaven, constant ever,

¹ His mind resting on its high and excellent purpose; so at least the expression K'ai, domain or precinct, may sometimes be rendered. It means, 'within the limits of its own high excellent (purpose).'

cheerful night and day, establishing the palace in purity and quiet, full of dignity and exceeding grace, 156

Like a lofty hill rising up in space¹; or as a white autumn cloud; warm or cool according to the season; choosing a proper dwelling according to the year, 157

Surrounded by a return of singing women, who join (their voices) in harmonious heavenly concord, without any jarring or unpleasant sound, exciting (in the hearers) forgetfulness of worldly cares. 158

As the heavenly Gandharvas² of themselves in their beauteous palaces (cause) the singing women to raise heavenly strains, the sounds of which and their beauty ravish both eyes and heart; 159

(So) Bodhisattva dwelt in his lofty palace, with music such as this. The king his father, for the prince's sake, dwelt purely in his palace, practising every virtue; 160

Delighting³ in the teaching of the true law, he⁴ put away from him every evil companion, (that) his heart might not be polluted by lust; regarding inordinate desire as poison, 161

Keeping his passion and his body in due control, destroying and repressing all trivial thoughts, desiring to enjoy virtuous conversation, loving⁵ instruction (fit) to subdue the hearts of men, 162

¹ That is, rising from the earth above other hills.

² Gandharvas, heavenly musicians; muses.

³ With nobleness of purpose (*gin*) loving the transforming power of the true law. That is, leading a religious life.

⁴ That is, as I understand it, the king himself, for his son's sake, devoted himself to piety.

⁵ Or, by means of loving instruction subduing men's hearts; or, by love, teaching to subdue men's hearts.

Aiming to accomplish the conversion of unbelievers; removing all schemes of opposition¹ (from whatever source they came), by the enlightening power of his doctrine, aiming to save the entire world; (thus he desired) that the body of people should obtain rest; 163

Even as we desire to give peace to our children, so did he long to give rest to the world². He also attended to his religious duties (sacrificing by fire to all the spirits), with clasped hands adoring the moon (drinking the moon's brightness); 164

Bathing his body in the waters of the Ganges; cleansing his heart in the waters of religion, performing his duties with no private aim, but regarding his child and the people at large, 165

Loving righteous conversation³, righteous words with loving (aim), loving words with no mixture of falsehood, true words imbued by love, 166

And yet withal so modest and self-distrustful, unable on that account to speak as confident of truth; loving to all, and yet not loving the world, with no thought of selfishness or covetous desire, 167

Aiming to restrain the tongue and in quietness to find rest from wordy contentions, not seeking in the

¹ Or, every kind of doctrine (magical art) that opposed religion.

² Or, (he said) like as I desire rest for my child, so &c.

³ This and the whole of the context is obscure; the account evidently refers to Suddhodana; the line which I have translated 'loving righteous conversation' may be rendered 'loving conversation (or, converse), opposing a want of truth or righteousness (i),' or, 'loving an absence of all unrighteousness in conversation.' The next line, which is evidently in contrast with the previous one, may be translated, 'Righteous words, opposed to an absence of love.' The next line is, 'Loving words, opposed to that which is not true.' And then follows, 'Truthful words, opposed to that which is not love.'

multitude of religious duties to condone for a worldly principle in action¹; 168

But aiming to benefit the world, by a liberal and unostentatious charity; the heart without any contentious thought, but resolved by goodness to subdue the contentious, 169

Composing the one², whilst protecting the seven, removing the seven, guarding and adjusting the five, reaching to the three, by having learned the three, knowing the two, and removing the two; 170

Desiring to mortify the passions, and to destroy every enemy of virtue, not multiplying coarse or unseemly words, but exhorting to virtue in the use of courteous language, 171

Full of sympathy and ready charity, pointing out and practising the way of mutual dependence, receiving and understanding the wisdom of spirits and *Rishis*, crushing and destroying every cruel and hateful thought; 172

Thus his fame and virtue were widely renowned, (and yet himself) finally (or, for ever) separate from the ties of the world, showing the ability of a master builder, laying a good foundation of virtue, an example for all the earth; 173

So a man's heart composed and at rest, his limbs and all his members will also be at ease. And now

¹ I would rather translate these two lines thus, 'Not regarding so much the assemblies convoked for sacrificing to the gods, as excelling in the merit (happiness) of separation from worldly things;' or the word 'sse' may mean 'sacrifice' itself (as *ποιέω* in Greek), and then it would be 'excelling in merit without sacrifice.'

² These four lines are enigmatical. They perhaps have some reference to the teaching of the seven *Rishis*, or the number seven may refer to the 'seven passions.'

the son of Suddhodana, and his virtuous wife Yasodharâ, 174

As time went on, growing to full estate, their child Râhula was born; and then Suddhodana râga considered thus, 'My son, the prince, having a son born to him, 175

'The affairs of the empire will be handed down in succession, and there will be no end to its righteous government; the prince having begotten a son, will love his son as I love him¹, 176

'And no longer think about leaving his home as an ascetic, but devote himself to the practice of virtue; I now have found complete rest of heart, like one just born to heavenly joys.' 177

Like as in the first days of the kalpa, Rîshi-kings by the way in which (they walked), practising pure and spotless deeds, offered up religious offerings, without harm to living thing, 178

And illustriously prepared an excellent karma, so the king excelling in the excellence of purity², in family and excellency of wealth, excelling in strength and every exhibition of prowess, 179

Reflected the glory of his name through the world, as the sun sheds abroad his thousand rays. But now, being the king of men (or, a king among men), he deemed it right to exhibit his son's (prowess), 180

For the sake of his family and kin, to exhibit him; to increase his family's renown, his glory spread so high as even to obtain the name of 'God begotten;' and having partaken of these heavenly joys, 181

¹ Or, loving his son, and loving me also.

² We have here a succession of lines in which there is a play on the word 'excellency' (shing), or 'victorious' (gina).

Enjoying the happiness of increased wisdom; understanding the truth, by his own righteousness derived from previous hearing of the truth; the reward of previous acts, widely known¹. 182

Would that this might lead my son (he prayed) to love his child and not forsake his home; the kings of all countries, whose sons have not yet grown up, 183

Have prevented them exercising authority in the empire, in order to give their minds relaxation, and for this purpose have provided them with worldly indulgences, so that they may perpetuate the royal seed; 184

So now the king, having begotten a royal son, indulged him in every sort of pleasure; desiring that he might enjoy these worldly delights, and not wish to wander from his home in search of wisdom; 185

In former times the Bodhisattva kings, although their way (life) has been restrained (severe), have yet enjoyed the pleasures of the world, and when they have begotten a son, then separating themselves from family ties, 186

Have afterwards entered the solitude of the mountains, to prepare themselves in the way of a silent recluse. 187

VARGA 3. DISGUST AT SORROW².

Without are pleasant garden glades, flowing fountains, pure refreshing lakes, with every kind of

¹ These verses are very obscure, and can only be understood by comparison with the Sanskrit.

² In this section we have an account of the excursion of the royal prince without the precincts of the palace, and the sights which affected his mind with a desire to leave the world.

flower, and trees with fruit, arranged in rows, deep shade beneath. 188

There, too, are various kinds of wondrous birds, flying and sporting in the midst, and on the surface of the water the four kinds of flowers, bright colour'd, giving out their floating scent; 189

Minstrel maidens¹ cause their songs, and chorded music, to invite the prince. He, hearing the sounds of singing, sighs for the pleasures of the garden shades, 190

And cherishing within these happy thoughts², he dwelt upon the joys of an outside excursion; even as the chained elephant ever longs for the free desert wilds. 191

The royal father, hearing that the prince would enjoy to wander through the gardens, first ordered all his attendant officers to adorn and arrange them, after their several offices: 192

To make level and smooth the king's highway, to remove from the path all offensive matter, all old persons, diseased or deformed, all those suffering through poverty or great grief, 193

So that his son in his present humour might see nothing likely to afflict his heart. The adornments being duly made, the prince was invited to an audience; 194

The king seeing his son approach, patted his head and looking at the colour of his face, feelings of sorrow and joy intermingled, bound him. His mouth willing to speak, his heart restrained. 195

(Now see) the jewel-fronted gaudy chariot; the four equally-pacing, stately horses; good-tempered

¹ Otherwise, singing-women.

² Or, thoughts of happiness.

and well-trained; young and of graceful appearance; 196

Perfectly pure and white, and draped with flowery coverings. In the same chariot stands the (stately) driver; the streets were scattered over with flowers; precious drapery fixed on either side of the way, 197

With dwarfed trees lining the road, costly vessels employed for decoration, hanging canopies and variegated banners, silken curtains, moved by the rustling breeze, 198

Spectators arranged on either side of the path. With bodies bent and glistening eyes, eagerly gazing, but not rudely staring, as the blue lotus flower (they bent) drooping in the air, 199

Ministers and attendants flocking round him, as stars following the chief of the constellation¹; all uttering the same suppressed whisper of admiration, at a sight so seldom seen in the world; 200

Rich and poor, humble and exalted, old and young and middle-aged, all paid the greatest respect, and invoked blessings on the occasion: 201

So the country-folk and the town-folk, hearing that the prince was coming forth, the well-to-do not waiting for their servants, those asleep and awake not mutually calling to one another, 202

The six kinds of creatures not gathered together and penned, the money not collected and locked up, the doors and gates not fastened, all went pouring along the way on foot; 203

The towers were filled and the mounds by the trees, the windows and the terraces along the streets; with bent body fearing to lift their eyes, carefully

¹ As stars following the constellation-king.

seeing that there was nothing about them to offend, 204

Those seated on high addressing those seated on the ground, those going on the road addressing those passing on high, the mind intent on one object alone ; so that if a heavenly form had flown past, 205

Or a form entitled to highest respect, there would have been no distraction visible, so intent was the body and so immovable the limbs. And now beautiful as the opening lily, 206

He advances towards the garden glades, wishing to accomplish the words of the holy prophet (*Rishi*). The prince seeing the ways prepared and watered, and the joyous holiday appearance of the people, 207

(Seeing too) the drapery and the chariot pure, bright, shining, his heart exulted greatly and rejoiced. The people (on their part) gazed at the prince, so beautifully adorned, with all his retinue, 208

Like an assembled company of kings (gathered) to see a heaven-born prince. And now a Deva-râga of the Pure abode, suddenly appears by the side of the road ; 209

His form changed into that of an old man, struggling for life, his heart weak and oppressed. The prince seeing the old man, filled with apprehension, asked his charioteer, 210

‘What kind of man is this? his head white and his shoulders bent, his eyes bleared and his body withered, holding a stick to support him along the way. 211

‘Is his body suddenly dried up by the heat, or has he been born in this way?’ The charioteer, his heart much embarrassed, scarcely dared to answer truly, 212

Till the pure-born (Deva) added his spiritual power, and caused him to frame a reply in true words: 'His appearance changed, his vital powers decayed, filled with sorrow, with little pleasure, 213

'His spirits gone, his members nerveless, these are the indications of what is called "old age." This man was once a sucking child, brought up and nourished at his mother's breast, 214

'And as a youth full of sportive life, handsome, and in enjoyment of the five pleasures; as years passed on, his frame decaying, he is brought now to the waste of age.' 215

The prince greatly agitated and moved, asked his charioteer another question and said, 'Is yonder man the only one afflicted with age, or shall I, and others also, be such as he?' 216

The charioteer again replied and said, 'Your highness also inherits this lot, as time goes on, the form itself is changed, and this must doubtless come, beyond all hindrance: 217

'The youthful form must wear the garb of age, throughout the world, this is the common lot.' Bodhisattva, who had long prepared the foundation of pure and spotless wisdom, 218

Broadly setting the root of every high quality, with a view to gather large fruit in his present life, hearing these words respecting the sorrow of age, was afflicted in mind, and his hair stood upright. 219

Just as the roll of the thunder and the storm alarm and put to flight the cattle; so was Bodhisattva affected by the words; shaking with apprehension, he deeply sighed; 220

Constrained at heart because of the pain of 'age;'

with shaking head and constant gaze, he thought upon this misery of decay; what joy or pleasure can men take (he thought), 221

In that which soon must wither, stricken by the marks of age; affecting all without exception; though gifted now with youth and strength, yet not one but soon must change and pine away. 222

The eye beholding such signs as these before it, how can it not be oppressed by a desire to escape¹? Bodhisattva then addressed his charioteer, 'Quickly turn your chariot and go back, 223

'Ever thinking on this subject of old age approaching, what pleasures now can these gardens afford, the years of my life like the fast-flying wind; turn your chariot, and with speedy wheels take me to my palace.' 224

And so his heart keeping in the same sad tone, (he was) as one who returns to a place of entombment; unaffected by any engagement or employment, so he found no rest in anything within his home. 225

The king hearing of his son's sadness urged (his companions) to induce him again to go abroad, and forthwith incited his ministers and attendants to decorate the gardens even more than before. 226

The Deva then caused himself to appear as a sick man; struggling for life, he stood by the wayside, his body swollen and disfigured, sighing with deep-drawn groans, 227

His hands and knees contracted and sore with disease, his tears flowing as he piteously muttered (his petition). The prince asked his charioteer, 'What sort of man, again, is this?' 228

¹ How can a man not (desire) to remove it (i. e. old age) as a hateful thing?

Replying he said, 'This is a sick man. The four elements all confused and disordered, worn and feeble, with no remaining strength, bent down with weakness, looking to his fellow-men for help.' 229

The prince hearing the words thus spoken, immediately became sad and depressed in heart, and asked, 'Is this the only man afflicted thus, or are others liable to the same (calamity)?' 230

In reply he said, 'Through all the world, men are subject to the same condition; those who have bodies must endure affliction, the poor and ignorant, as well as the rich and great.' 231

The prince, when these words met his ears, was oppressed with anxious thought and grief; his body and his mind were moved throughout, just as the moon upon the ruffled tide. 232

'Placed thus in the great furnace of affliction, say! what rest or quiet can there be! Alas! that worldly men, (blinded by) ignorance and oppressed with dark delusion, 233

'Though the robber sickness may appear at any time, yet live with blithe and joyous hearts!' On this, turning his chariot back again, he grieved to think upon the pain of sickness. 234

As a man beaten and wounded sore, with body weakened, leans upon his staff, so dwelt he in the seclusion of his palace, lone-seeking, hating worldly pleasures. 235

The king hearing once more of his son's return, asked anxiously the reason why, and in reply was told—'he saw the pain of sickness.' The king in fear like one beside himself, 236

Roundly blamed the keepers of the way; his heart constrained, his lips spoke not; again he

increased the crowd of music women, the sounds of merriment twice louder than aforetime, 237

If by these sounds and sights (the prince) might be gratified; and indulging worldly feelings, might not hate his home. Night and day the charm of melody increased, but his heart was still unmoved by it. 238

The king himself then went forth to observe everything successively, and to make the gardens even yet more attractive, selecting with care the attendant women, that they might excel in every point of personal beauty; 239

Quick in wit and able to arrange matters well, fit to ensnare men by their winning looks; he placed additional keepers along the king's way, he strictly ordered every offensive sight to be removed, 240

And earnestly exhorted the illustrious coachman, to look well and pick out the road as he went. And now that Deva of the pure abode, again caused the appearance of a dead man; 241

Four persons carrying the corpse lifted it on high, and appeared (to be going on) in front of Bodhisattva; the surrounding people saw it not, but only Bodhisattva and the charioteer; 242

(Once more) he asked, 'What is this they carry? with streamers and flowers of every choice description, whilst the followers are overwhelmed with grief, tearing their hair and wailing piteously.' 243

And now the gods instructing the coachman, he replied and said, 'This is a "dead man," all his powers of body destroyed, life departed; his heart without thought, his intellect dispersed; 244

'His spirit gone, his form withered and decayed; stretched out as a dead log; family ties broken

—all his friends who once loved him, clad in white ceremonies, 245

‘Now no longer delighting to behold him, remove him to lie in some hollow ditch (tomb).’ The prince hearing the name of DEATH, his heart constrained by painful thoughts, 246

He asked, ‘Is this the only dead man, or does the world contain like instances?’ Replying thus he said, ‘All, everywhere, the same; he who begins his life must end it likewise; 247

‘The strong and lusty and the middle-aged, having a body, cannot but decay (and die).’ The prince now harassed and perplexed in mind; his body bent upon the chariot leaning-board, 248

With bated breath and struggling accents, stammered thus, ‘Oh worldly men! how fatally deluded! beholding everywhere the body brought to dust, yet everywhere the more carelessly living; 249

‘The heart is neither lifeless wood nor stone, and yet it thinks not “all is vanishing!”’ Then turning, he directed his chariot to go back, and no longer waste his time in wandering. 250

How could he, whilst in fear of instant death, go wandering here and there with lightened heart! The charioteer remembering the king’s exhortation feared much nor dared go back; 251

Straightforward then he pressed his panting steeds, passed onward to the gardens, (came to) the groves and babbling streams of crystal water, the pleasant trees, spread out with gaudy verdure, 252

The noble living things and varied beasts so wonderful, the flying creatures and their notes melodious, all charming and delightful to the eye and ear, even as the heavenly Nandavana. 253

VARGA 4. PUTTING AWAY DESIRE.

The prince on entering the garden, the women came around to pay him court; and to arouse in him thoughts frivolous; with ogling ways and deep design, 254

Each one setting herself off to best advantage; or joining together in harmonious concert, clapping their hands, or moving their feet in unison, or joining close, body to body, limb to limb; 255

Or indulging in smart repartees, and mutual smiles; or assuming a thoughtful saddened countenance, and so by sympathy to please the prince, and provoke in him a heart affected by love. 256

But all the women beheld the prince, clouded in brow, and his godlike body not exhibiting its wonted signs of beauty; fair in bodily appearance, surpassingly lovely¹, 257

All looked upwards as they gazed, as when we call upon the moon Deva to come²; but all their subtle devices³ were ineffectual to move Bodhi-sattva's heart. 258

At last commingling together they join and look astonished and in fear, silent without a word. Then there was a Brahmaputra, whose name was called Udâyi⁴ (Yau-to-i). 259

(He) addressing the women, said, 'Now all of

¹ Surpassingly adorned or magnificent.

² Or, as when the moon Deva (first) comes.

³ In every way practising subtle devices (upâya).

⁴ There is mention of Udâyi in the Fo-pen-hing-tsa-h-king, chap. XIV. See also note 1, p. 124, Romantic History of Buddha.

you, so graceful and fair, (see if you cannot) by your combined power hit on some device; for beauty's power is not for ever. 260

'Still it holds the world in bondage, by secret ways and lustful arts; but no such loveliness in all the world (as yours), equal to that of heavenly nymphs¹; 261

'The gods beholding it would leave their queens, spirits and *Rishis* would be misled by it; why not then the prince, the son of an earthly king²? why should not his feelings be aroused? 262

'This prince indeed, though he restrains his heart and holds it fixed³, pure-minded, with virtue uncontaminated, not to be overcome by power of women; 263

'(Yet) of old there was Sundarī (Su-to-li) able to destroy the great *Rishi*, and to lead him to indulge in love, and so degrade his boasted eminence⁴; 264

'Undergoing long penance, Gautama fell likewise (by the arts of) a heavenly queen; Shing-kū, a *Rishi* putra, practising lustful indulgences according to fancy⁵, (was lost). 265

'The Brahman *Rishi* Visvāmitra (Pi-she-po), living religiously⁶ for ten thousand years, deeply

¹ In appearance equal to Devis.

² Or, what then is man (to do), though son of a king, that his feelings should not be aroused?

³ Holding his will, though firmly fixed.

⁴ And bend his head beneath her feet.

⁵ The phrase which ends this line is obscure. It may be rendered thus, 'Shing-kū, the *Rishi* putra, practised lustful ways, beside the flowings of the fountain.' [See a similar case, Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, p. 259.] The Sanskrit text is as follows: '*Rishyasringa*, the son of a Muni, unlearned with women.'

⁶ Practising religious rules, or, preparing a religious life.

ensnared by a heavenly queen, in one day was completely shipwreck'd in faith¹; 266

'Thus those enticing women, by their power, overcame the Brahman ascetics; how much more may ye, by your arts, overpower (the resolves) of the king's son; 267

'Strive therefore after new devices², let not the king fail in a successor to the throne; women, altho' naturally weak³, are high and potent in the way of ruling men. 268

'What may not their arts accomplish in promoting in men a lustful (impure) desire?' At this time all the attendant women, hearing throughout the words of Udâyi, 269

Increasing their powers of pleasing, as the quiet horse when touched by the whip, went into the presence of the royal prince, and each one strove in the practice of every kind of art, 270

(They) joined in music and in smiling conversation, raising their eyebrows, showing their white teeth, with ogling looks, glancing one at the other, their light drapery exhibiting their white bodies, 271

Daintily moving with mincing gait, acting the part of a bride as if coming gradually nearer⁴, desiring to promote in him a feeling of love, remembering the words of the great king⁵, 272

¹ Completely ruined. The name of the queen was *Ghrîtâkî*.

² The Chinese 'fong pien' denotes the use of 'means to an end;' generally it can be rendered 'expedients.'

³ Or, the nature of women although weak.

⁴ So I understand the passage, as if a coy wife gradually approached her husband.

⁵ Who the great king is I do not find, but I take the two lines following to be a quotation. [The great king was probably the father of Buddha.]

‘With dissolute form and slightly clad, forgetful of modesty and womanly reserve.’ The prince with resolute heart was silent and still, with unmoved face (he sat); 273

Even as the great elephant-dragon, whilst the entire herd moves round him¹; so nothing could disturb or move his heart, dwelling in their midst as in a confined room². 274

Like the divine Sakra, around whom all the Devis assemble, so was the prince as he dwelt in the gardens; (the maidens) encircling him thus; 275

Some arranging their dress, others washing their hands or feet, others perfuming their bodies with scent, others twining flowers for decoration, 276

Others making strings for jewelled necklets, others rubbing or striking their bodies, others resting, or lying, one beside the other, others, with head inclined, whispering secret words, 277

Others engaged in common sports, others talking of amorous things, others assuming lustful attitudes, striving thus to move his heart; 278

But Bodhisattva, peaceful and collected, firm as a rock, difficult to move, hearing all these women’s talk, unaffected either to joy or sorrow, 279

Was driven still more to serious thought, sighing to witness such strange conduct, and beginning to understand the women’s design, by these means to disconcert his mind, 280

‘Not knowing that youthful beauty soon falls, destroyed by old age and death, fading and perishing! This is the great distress! What ignor-

¹ Or, surrounded by the entire herd.

² That is, cramped in the midst of the encircling crowd of girls.

ance and delusion (he reflected) overshadow their minds, 281

‘Surely they ought to consider old age, disease, and death, and day and night stir themselves up to exertion, whilst this sharp double-edged sword hangs over the neck. What room for sport or laughter, 282

‘Beholding those (monsters) old age, disease, and death? A man who is unable to resort to this inward knowledge, what is he but a wooden or a plaster man, what heart-consideration in such a case! 283

‘Like the double tree that appears in the desert, with leaves and fruit all perfect and ripe, the first cut down and destroyed, the other unmoved by apprehension, 284

‘So it is in the case of the mass of men, they have no understanding either!’ At this time Udâyi came to the place where the prince was, 285

And observing his silent and thoughtful mien, unmoved by any desire for indulgence (the five desires), he forthwith addressed the prince, and said, ‘The Mahârâga, by his former appointment¹, 286

‘Has selected me to act as friend to his son; may I therefore speak some friendly words? an enlightened friendship (or, friend) is of three sorts, that which removes things unprofitable, 287

‘Promotes that which is real gain, and stands by a friend in adversity. I claim the name of

¹ This passage is obscure; literally it is ‘former—seeing—command.’

"enlightened friend," and would renounce all that is magisterial, 288

'But yet not speak lightly or with indifference. What then are the three sources of advantage? listen, and I will now utter true words, and prove myself a true and sincere adviser. 289

'When the years are fresh and ripening, beauty and pleasing qualities in bloom, not to give proper weight to woman's influence, this is a weak man's policy (body)¹. 290

'It is right sometimes to be of a crafty mind, submitting to those little subterfuges, which find a place in the heart's undercurrents, and obeying what those thoughts suggest, 291

'In way of pleasures to be got from dalliance, this is no wrong in woman's (eye)! even if now the heart has no desire, yet it is fair to follow such devices; 292

'Agreement (acquiescence) is the joy of woman's heart, acquiescence is the substance (the full) of true adornment; but if a man reject these overtures, he's like a tree deprived of leaves and fruits; 293

'Why then ought you to yield and acquiesce? that you may share in all these things. Because in taking, there's an end of trouble—no light and changeful thoughts then worry us— 294

'For pleasure is the first and foremost thought of all, the gods themselves cannot dispense with it. Lord Sakra was drawn by it to love the wife of Gautama the *Rishi*; 295

'So likewise the *Rishi* Agastya, through a long

¹ 'This is the character of non-victorious men.' Again there is a play on the word 'Shing' a Gina. The Sanskrit renders it 'rudeness.' The Chinese *fi-shing-gin* may also mean coarse or unpolished.

period of discipline¹, practising austerities, from hankering after a heavenly queen (Devī), lost all reward of his religious endeavours, 296

‘The *Rishi* *Br̥haspati*, and *Kandradeva* putra; the *Rishi* *Parāśara*, and *Kavaṇḍigara* (Kia-pin-*ke-lo*)²: 297

‘All these, out of many others, were overcome by woman’s love. How much more then, in your case, should you partake in such pleasant joys; 298

‘Nor refuse, with wilful heart, to participate in the worldly delights, which your present station, possessed of such advantages, offers you, in the presence of these attendants.’ 299

At this time the royal prince, hearing the words of his friend Udāyi, so skilfully put, with such fine distinction, cleverly citing worldly instances, 300

Answered thus to Udāyi: ‘Thank you for having spoken sincerely to me, let me likewise answer you in the same way, and let your heart suspend its judgment whilst you listen; 301

‘It is not that I am careless about beauty, or am ignorant of (the power of) human joys, but only that I see on all the impress of change; therefore my heart is sad and heavy; 302

‘If these things were sure of lasting, without the ills of age, disease, and death, then would I too take my fill of love; and to the end find no disgust or sadness; 303

‘If you will undertake to cause these women’s beauty not after-while to change or wither, then, though the joy of love may have its evil, still it might hold the mind in thralldom; 304

(‘To know that other) men grow old, sicken, and

¹ ‘Kang-yê,’ the long night.

² The Sanskrit text has, ‘Vasishṭha begat Kapiṇḍalāda.’

die, would be enough to rob such joys of satisfaction; yet how much more in their own case (knowing this) would discontentment fill the mind; 305

‘(To know) such pleasures hasten to decay, and their bodies likewise; if, notwithstanding this, men yield to the power of love, their case indeed is like the very beasts. 306

‘And now you cite the names of many *Rishis*, who practised lustful ways in life; their cases likewise cause me sorrow, for in that they did these things, they perished. 307

‘Again, you cite the name of that illustrious king, who freely gratified his passions, but he, in like way, perished in the act; know, then, that he was not a conqueror (*Gina*); 308

‘With smooth words to conceal an intrigue, and to persuade one’s neighbour to consent, and by consenting to defile his mind; how can this be called a just device? 309

‘It is but to seduce one with a hollow lie,—such ways are not for me to practise; or, for those who love the truth and honesty; for they are, forsooth, unrighteous ways, 310

‘And such a disposition is hard to reverence; shaping one’s conduct after one’s likings, liking this or that, and seeing no harm in it, what method of experience is this! 311

‘A hollow compliance, and a protesting heart, such method is not for me to follow; but this I know, old age, disease, and death, these are the great afflictions which accumulate, 312

‘And overwhelm me with their presence; on these I find no friend to speak, alas! alas! *Udāyi*! these, after all, are the great concerns; 313

‘The pain of birth, old age, disease, and death; this grief is that we have to fear; the eyes see all things falling to decay, and yet the heart finds joy in following them; 314

‘But I have little strength of purpose, or command; this heart of mine is feeble and distraught, reflecting thus on age, disease, and death. Distracted, as I never was before; 315

‘Sleepless by night and day, how can I then indulge in pleasure? Old age, disease, and death consuming me, their certainty beyond a doubt, 316

‘And still to have no heavy thoughts, in truth my heart would be a log or stone.’ Thus the prince, for Uda’s sake, used every kind of skilful argument, 317

Describing all the pains of pleasure; and not perceiving that the day declined. And now the waiting women all, with music and their various attractions, 318

Seeing that all were useless for the end, with shame began to flock back to the city; the prince beholding all the gardens, bereft of their gaudy ornaments, 319

The women all returning home, the place becoming silent and deserted, felt with twofold strength the thought of impermanence. With saddened mien going back, he entered his palace; 320

The king, his father, hearing of the prince, his heart estranged from thoughts of pleasure, was greatly overcome with sorrow, and like a sword it pierced his heart. 321

Forthwith assembling all his council, he sought of them some means to gain his end; they all replied, ‘These sources of desire are not enough to hold and captivate his heart.’ 322

VARGA 5. LEAVING THE CITY.

And so the king increased the means for gratifying the appetite for pleasure; both night and day the joys of music wore out the prince, opposed to pleasure; 323

Disgusted with them, he desired their absence, his mind was weaned from all such thoughts, he only thought of age, disease, and death; as the lion wounded by an arrow. 324

The king then sent his chief ministers, and the most distinguished of his family, young in years and eminent for beauty, as well as for wisdom and dignity of manners, 325

To accompany, and rest with him, both night and day, in order to influence the prince's mind. And now within a little interval, the prince again requested the king that he might go abroad. 326

Once more the chariot and the well-paced horses were prepared, adorned with precious substances and every gem; and then with all the nobles, his associates, surrounding him, he left the city gates: 327

Just as the four kinds of flower¹, when the sun shines, open out their leaves, so was the prince in all his spiritual splendour; effulgent in the beauty of his youth time; 328

As he proceeded to the gardens from the city, the road was well prepared, smooth, and wide, the trees were bright with flowers and fruit, his heart was joyous, and forgetful of its care. 329

¹ It may be a description of some particular flower, 'four-seed (kind)-flower.'

Now by the roadside as he beheld the ploughmen, plodding along the furrows, and the writhing worms, his heart again was moved with piteous feeling, and anguish pierced his soul afresh ; 330

To see those labourers at their toil, struggling with painful work, their bodies bent, their hair dishevelled, the dripping sweat upon their faces, their persons fouled with mud and dust ; 331

The ploughing oxen, too, bent by the yokes, their lolling tongues and gaping mouths ; the nature of the prince, loving, compassionate, his mind conceived most poignant sorrow, 332

And nobly moved to sympathy, he groaned with pain ; then stooping down he sat upon the ground, and watched this painful scene of suffering ; reflecting on the ways of birth and death ! 333

‘ Alas ! he cried, for all the world ! how dark and ignorant, void of understanding ! ’ And then to give his followers chance of rest, he bade them each repose where’er they list ; 334

Whilst he beneath the shadow of a Gambu tree, gracefully seated, gave himself to thought. He pondered on the fact of life and death, inconstancy, and endless progress to decay. 335

His heart thus fixed without confusion, the five desires (senses) covered and clouded over, lost in possession of enlightenment and insight, he entered on the first pure state of ecstasy. 336

All low desire removed, most perfect peace ensued ; and fully now in Samādhi (he saw) the misery and utter sorrow of the world ; the ruin wrought by age, disease, and death ; 337

The great misery following on the body’s death ; and yet men not awakened to the truth ! oppressed

with others' suffering (age, disease, and death), this load of sorrow weigh'd his mind ; 338

'I now will seek (he said) a noble law, unlike the worldly methods known to men, I will oppose disease and age and death, and strive against the mischief wrought by these on men.' 339

Thus lost in tranquil contemplation, (he considered that) youth, vigour, and strength of life, constantly renewing themselves, without long stay, in the end fulfil the rule of ultimate destruction ; 340

(Thus he pondered) without excessive joy or grief, without hesitation or confusion of thought, without dreaminess or extreme longing, without aversion or discontent, 341

But perfectly at peace, with no hindrance, radiant with the beams of increased illumination. At this time a Deva of the Pure abode, transforming himself into the shape of a Bhikshu, 342

Came to the place where the prince was seated ; the prince with due consideration rose to meet him, and asked him who he was. In reply he said, 'I am a Shâman, 343

'Depressed and sad at thought of age, disease, and death, I have left my home to seek some way of rescue, but everywhere I find old age, disease, and death, all (things) hasten to decay and there is no permanency ; 344

'Therefore I search for the happiness of something that decays not, that never perishes, that never knows beginning, that looks with equal mind on enemy and friend, that heeds not wealth nor beauty, 345

'The happiness of one who finds repose alone in

solitude, in some unfrequented dell, free from molestation, all thoughts about the world destroyed, dwelling in some lonely hermitage, 346

‘Untouched by any worldly source of pollution, begging for food sufficient for the body.’ And forthwith as he stood before the prince, gradually rising up he disappeared in space. 347

The prince with joyful mind, considering, recollected former Buddhas, established thus in perfect dignity of manner; with noble mien and presence, as this visitor. 348

Thus calling things to mind with perfect self-possession, he reached the thought of righteousness, and by what means it can be gained. Indulging thus for length of time in thoughts of religious solitude, 349

He now suppressed his feelings and controlled his members, and rising turned again towards the city. His followers all flocked after him, calling him to stop and not go far from them, 350

But in his mind these secret thoughts so held him, devising means by which to escape from the world, that tho’ his body moved along the road, his heart was far away among the mountains; 351

Even as the bound and captive elephant, ever thinks about his desert wilds. The prince now entering the city, there met him men and women, earnest for their several ends; 352

The old besought him for their children, the young sought something for the wife, others sought something for their brethren; all those allied by kinship or by family, 353

Aimed to obtain their several suits, all of them joined in relationship dreading the pain (expectation)

of separation. And now the prince's heart was filled with joy, as he suddenly heard those words 'separation and association.' 354

'These are joyful sounds to me,' he said, 'they assure me that my vow shall be accomplished.' Then deeply pondering the joy of 'snapped relationship,' the idea of Nirvâna, deepened and widened in him¹, 355

His body as a peak of the Golden Mount, his shoulder like the elephant's, his voice like the spring-thunder, his deep-blue eye like that of the king of oxen, 356

His mind full of religious thoughts (aims), his face bright as the full moon, his step like that of the lion king, thus he entered his palace, 357

Even as the son of Lord Sakra (or, Sakra-putra) his mind reverential, his person dignified, he went straight to his father's presence, and with head inclined, enquired, 'Is the king well?' 358

Then he explained his dread of age, disease, and death, and sought respectfully permission to become a hermit. 'For all things in the world' (he said), 'though now united, tend to separation;' 359

Therefore he prayed to leave the world; desiring to find 'true deliverance.' His royal father hearing the words 'leave the world,' was forthwith seized with great heart-trembling, 360

Even as the strong wild elephant shakes with his weight the boughs of some young sapling; going forward, seizing the prince's hands, with falling tears, he spake as follows: 361

¹ Literally, 'deeply widened the mind of Nirvâna (Ni-pan).'

‘Stop! nor speak such words, the time is not yet come for “a religious life,” you are young and strong, your heart beats full, to lead a religious life frequently involves trouble, 362

‘It is rarely possible to hold the desires in check, the heart not yet estranged from their enjoyment; to leave your home and lead a painful ascetic life, your heart can hardly yet resolve on such a course; 363

‘To dwell amidst the desert wilds or lonely dells, this heart of yours would not be perfectly at rest, for though you love religious matters, you are not yet like me in years; 364

‘You should undertake the kingdom’s government, and let me first adopt ascetic life; but to give up your father and your sacred duties, this is not to act religiously; 365

‘You should suppress this thought of “leaving home,” and undertake your worldly duties, find your delight in getting an illustrious name, and after this give up your home and family.’ 366

The prince, with proper reverence and respectful feelings, again besought his royal father; but promised if he could be saved from four calamities, that he would give up the thought of ‘leaving home;’ 367

If he would grant him life without end, no disease, nor undesirable old age, and no decay of earthly possessions; then he would obey and give up the thought of ‘leaving home.’ 368

The royal father then addressed the prince, ‘Speak not such words as these, for with respect to these four things, who is there able to prevent them, or say nay to their approach; 369

‘Asking such things as these (four things), you would provoke men’s laughter! But put away this thought of “leaving home,” and once more take yourself to pleasure.’ 370

The prince again besought his father, ‘If you may not grant me these four prayers, then let me go I pray, and leave my home. O! place no difficulties in my path; 371

‘Your son is dwelling in a burning house, would you indeed prevent his leaving it! To solve a doubt is only reasonable, who could forbid a man to seek its explanation? 372

‘Or if he were forbidden, then by self-destruction he might solve the difficulty, in an unrighteous way: and if he were to do so, who could restrain him after death?’ 373

The royal father, seeing his son’s mind so firmly fixed that it could not be turned, and that it would be waste of strength to bandy further words or arguments, 374

Forthwith commanded more attendant women, to provoke still more his mind to pleasure; day and night (he ordered them) to keep the roads and ways, to the end that he might not leave his palace; 375

(He moreover ordered) all the ministers of the country to come to the place where dwelt the prince, to quote and illustrate the rules of filial piety, hoping to cause him to obey the wishes of the king. 376

The prince, beholding his royal father bathed with tears and o’erwhelmed with grief, forthwith returned to his abode, and sat himself in silence to consider; 377

All the women of the palace, coming towards him, waited as they circled him, and gazed in silence on his beauteous form. They gazed upon him not with furtive glance, 378

But like the deer in autumn brake looks wistfully at the hunter; around the prince's straight and handsome form, (bright) as the mountain of true gold (Sumeru), 379

The dancing women gathered doubtingly, waiting to hear him bid them sound their music; repressing every feeling of the heart through fear, even as the deer within the brake; 380

Now gradually the day began to wane, the prince still sitting in the evening light, his glory streaming forth in splendour, as the sun lights up Mount Sumeru; 381

Thus seated on his jewelled couch, surrounded by the fumes of sandal-wood, the dancing women took their places round; then sounded forth their heavenly (Gandharva) music, 382

Even as Vaisaman (Vaisravana) produces every kind of rare and heavenly sounds. The thoughts which dwelt within the prince's mind entirely drove from him desire for music, 383

And tho' the sounds filled all the place, they fell upon his ear unnoticed. At this time the Deva of the Pure abode, knowing the prince's time was come, 384

The destined time for quitting home, suddenly assumed a form and came to earth, to make the shapes of all the women unattractive, so that they might create disgust, 385

And no desire arise from thought of beauty. Their half-clad forms bent in ungainly attitudes,

forgetful in their sleep, their bodies crooked or supine, the instruments of music lying scattered in disorder ; 386

Leaning and facing one another, or with back to back, or like those beings thrown into the abyss, their jewelled necklets bound about like chains, their clothes and undergarments swathed around their persons ; 387

Grasping their instruments, stretched along the earth, even as those undergoing punishment at the hands of keepers (eunuchs), their garments in confusion, or like the broken kani flower (poppy?) ; 388

Or some with bodies leaning in sleep against the wall, in fashion like a hanging bow or horn, or with their hands holding to the window-frames, and looking like an outstretched corpse ; 389

Their mouths half opened or else gaping wide, the loathsome dribble trickling forth, their heads uncovered and in wild disorder, like some unreasoning madman's ; 390

The flower wreaths torn and hanging across their face, or slipping off the face upon the ground ; others with body raised as if in fearful dread, just like the lonely desert (?) bird ; 391

Or others pillowed on their neighbour's lap, their hands and feet entwined together, whilst others smiled or knit their brows in turn, some with eyes closed and open mouth, 392

Their bodies lying in wild disorder, stretched here and there, like corpses thrown together. And now the prince seated, in his beauty, looked with thought on all the waiting women ; 393

Before, they had appeared exceeding lovely, their laughing words, their hearts so light and gay, their

forms so plump and young, their looks so bright ; but now, how changed ! so uninviting and repulsive. 394

And such is woman's disposition ! how can they, then, be ever dear, or closely trusted ; such false appearances ! and unreal pretences ; they only mad-den and delude the minds of men. 395

And now (he said), 'I have awakened to the truth ! Resolved am I to leave such false society.' At this time the Deva of the Pure abode descended and approached, unfastening the doors. 396

The prince, too, at this time rose and walked along, amid the prostrate forms of all the women ; with difficulty reaching to the inner hall, he called to *Kandaka*, in these words, 397

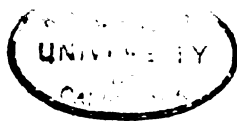
'My mind is now athirst and longing for the draught of the fountain of sweet dew, saddle then my horse, and quickly bring it here. I wish to reach the deathless city ; 398

'My heart is fixed beyond all change, resolved I am and bound by sacred oath ; these women, once so charming and enticing, now behold I altogether loathsome ; 399

'The gates, which were before fast-barred and locked, now stand free and open ! these evidences of something supernatural, point to a climax of my life.' 400

Then *Kandaka* stood reflecting inwardly, whether to obey or not the prince's order, without informing his royal father of it, and so incur the heaviest punishment. 401

The Devas then gave spiritual strength ; and unperceived the horse equipped came round, with even pace ; a gallant steed, with all his jewelled trappings for a rider ; 402



High-maned, with flowing tail, broad-backed, short-haired and ear'd, with belly like the deer's, head like the king of parrots, wide forehead, round and claw-shaped nostrils, 403

Breath like the dragon's, with breast and shoulders square, true and sufficient marks of his high breed. The royal prince, stroking the horse's neck, and rubbing down his body, said, 404

'My royal father ever rode on thee, and found thee brave in fight and fearless of the foe; now I desire to rely on thee alike! to carry me far off to the stream (ford) of endless life, 405

'To fight against and overcome the opposing force of men, the men who associate in search of pleasure, the men who engage in the search after wealth, the crowds who follow and flatter such persons; 406

'In opposing sorrow, friendly help is difficult (to find), in seeking religious truth there must be rare enlightenment, let us then be knit together thus as friends; then, at last, there will be rest from sorrow. 407

'But now I wish to go abroad, to give deliverance from pain; now then, for your own sake it is, and for the sake of all your kind, 408

'That you should exert your strength, with noble pace, without lagging or weariness.' Having thus exhorted him, he bestrode his horse, and grasping the reins, proceeded forth; 409

The man like the sun shining forth from his tabernacle (sun-palace-streams), the horse like the white floating cloud (the white cloud-pile), exerting himself but without exciting haste, his breath concealed and without snorting; 410

Four spirits (Devas) accompanying him, held up

his feet, heedfully concealing (his advance), silently and without noise; the heavy gates fastened and barred (locked), the heavenly spirits of themselves caused to open; 411

Reverencing deeply the virtuous (sinless) father, loving deeply the unequalled son, equally affected with love towards all the members of his family (these Devas took their place). 412

Suppressing his feelings, but not extinguishing his memory, lightly he advanced and proceeded beyond the city, pure and spotless as the lily flowers which spring from the mud; 413

Looking up with earnestness at his father's palace, he announced his purpose—unwitnessed and unwritten—'If I escape not birth, old age, and death, for evermore I pass not thus along;' 414

All the concourse of Devas, the space-filling Nâgas and spirits followed joyfully and exclaimed Well! well! (sâdhu), in confirmation of the true words (he spoke); 415

The Nâgas and the company of Devas acquired a condition of heart difficult to obtain, and each with his own inherent light led on the way shedding forth their brightness. 416

Thus man and horse both strong of heart went onwards, lost to sight, like streaming stars, but ere the eastern quarter flashed with light, they had advanced three yoganâs. 417

KIOUEN II.

VARGA 6. THE RETURN OF KANDAKA¹.

And now the night was in a moment gone, and sight restored to all created things, (when the royal prince) looked thro' the wood, and saw the abode of Po-ka, the *Rishi*; [the hermitage of the Bhârgavides, see Burnouf, Introduction to Ind. Bud. p. 385]; 418

The purling streams so exquisitely pure and sparkling, and the wild beasts all unalarmed at man, caused the royal prince's heart to exult. Tired, the horse² stopped of his own will, to breathe. 419

'This, then,' he thought, 'is a good sign and fortunate, and doubtless indicates divine approval³.' And now he saw belonging to the *Rishi*, the various vessels⁴ used for (asking) charity; 420

And (other things) arranged by him in order, without the slightest trace of negligence. Dis-mounting then he stroked his horse's head, and cried, 'You now have borne me (well)!' 421

¹ There was a tower erected on the spot where Bodhisattva dismissed his coachman. See Fah-hien, p. 92. The distance given by Aśvaghosha, viz. three yoganās, or about twenty miles, is much more probable than the eight hundred lī, given in later accounts as the length of Bodhisattva's journey. Compare Fah-hien p. 92, note 2.

The name 'Kanna' may perhaps be more properly restored to 'Kandaka.'

² The text here seems to require the alteration of 形 into 馬.

³ Mi-tsang-li, not-yet-advantage; or, unheard of, or miraculous, profit.

⁴ 'Ying' is often used for 'a proper measure vessel,' i. e. an alms dish.

With loving eyes he looked at *Kandaka*, (eyes) like the pure cool surface of a placid lake (and said), 'Swift-footed! like a horse in pace, yea! swift as any light-winged bird, 422

'Ever have you followed after me when riding, and deeply have I felt my debt of thanks, but not yet had you been tried in other ways; I only knew you as a man true-hearted, 423

'My mind now wonders at your active powers of body; these two I now begin to see (are yours); a man may have a heart most true and faithful, but strength of body may not too be his; 424

'Bodily strength and perfect honesty of heart, I now have proof enough are yours. (To be content) to leave¹ the tinselled world, and with swift foot to follow me, 425

'Who would do this but for some profit, if without profit to his kin², who would not shun it? but you, with no private aim, have followed me, not seeking any present recompense; 426

'As we nourish and bring up a child, to bind together and bring honour to a family; so we also reverence and obey a father, to gain (obedience and attention) from a begotten son; 427

'In this way all think of their own advantage; but you have come with me disdaining profit; with many words I cannot hold you here, so let me say in brief to you, 428

'We have now ended our relationship; take, then, my horse and ride back again; for me, during the

¹ To reject and leave. 捨 for 捐.

² It may also be, 'to himself and kin.'

long night past¹, that place I sought to reach now I have obtained.' 429

Then taking off his precious neck-chain, he handed it to *Kandaka*, 'Take this,' he said, 'I give it you, let it console you in your sorrow;' 430

The precious² jewel in the tire that bound his head, bright-shining, lighting up his person, taking off and placing in his extended palm, like the sun which lights up *Sumeru*, 431

He said, 'O *Kandaka*! take this gem, and going back to where my father is, take the jewel and lay it reverently³ before him, to signify my heart's relation to him; 432

'And then, for me, request the king to stifle every fickle feeling of affection, and say that I, to escape from birth and age and death, have entered on the wild (forest)⁴ of painful discipline, 433

'Not that I may get a heavenly birth, much less because I have no tenderness of heart, or that I

¹ The long night is the dark passage of continued transmigration, or change; the sense is, that Bodhisattva having sought for the condition of being, or life, he now has reached through a succession of previous births, the relationship or connection with his charioteer as master and man, is at an end.

² The head-jewel, or *kūṭā-māni*. This crest-jewel is figured in various ways in Buddhist art; as a rule it may be taken to indicate 'the highest' (the head), and in this form it is placed on the head of the figures of Buddha (in Ceylon); and is found at Sanchi and Amarāvati as an object of reverence; it symbolises the supreme authority of Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha.

³ Or, holding the jewel, worship reverently at the king's feet.

⁴ The 'forest of mortification,' i.e. the place where mortification was to be endured. For an account of Bodhisattva's penance (six years' penance [*Shadvarshika-vrata*]), see Rājendralāla Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, p. 26.

cherish any cause of bitterness, but only that I may escape this weight of sorrow ; 434

‘The accumulated long-night¹ weight of covetous desire (love), I now desire to ease the load (cause a break), so that it may be overthrown for ever ; therefore I seek the way (cause) of ultimate escape ; 435

‘If I should obtain emancipation, then shall I never need to put away my kindred², to leave my home, to sever ties of love. O ! grieve not for your son ! 436

‘The five desires of sense beget the sorrow³ ; those held by lust themselves induce the sorrow ; my very ancestors, victorious kings, thinking (their throne) established and immovable, 437

‘Have handed down to me their kingly wealth ; I, thinking only on religion, put it all away ; the royal mothers at the end of life their cherished treasures leave for their sons, 438

‘Those sons who covet much such worldly profit ; but I rejoice to have acquired religious wealth ; if you say that I am young and tender, and that the time for seeking wisdom is not come, 439

‘You ought to know that to seek true religion, there never is a time not fit ; impermanence and fickleness⁴, the hate of death, these ever follow us, 440

‘And therefore I (embrace) the present day, con-

¹ The ‘long night’ of previous life.

² As, for instance, in the *Vessantara Gâtaka* (birth), in which Bodhisattva gave up home, children, and wife, in pursuance of religious perfection.

³ The five desires are the root of sorrow.

⁴ This line may also be rendered, ‘impermanence, no fixed condition, this !’

vinced that now is time to seek religion¹. With such entreaties as the above, you must make matters plain on my behalf; 441

‘But, pray you, cause my father not to think longingly after me; let him destroy all recollection of me², and cut out from his soul the ties of love; 442

‘And you, grieve not³ because of what I say, but recollect to give the king my message.’ *Kandaka* hearing respectfully the words of exhortation, blinded and confused through choking sorrow, 443

With hands outstretched did worship; and answering the prince, he spoke, ‘The orders that you give me, will, I fear, add grief to grief, 444

‘And sorrow thus increased will deepen, as the elephant who struggles into deeper mire. When the ties of love are rudely snapped, who, that has any heart, would not grieve! 445

‘The golden ore may still by stamping be broken up, how much more the feelings choked with sorrow⁴! the prince has grown up in a palace⁵, with every care bestowed upon his tender person, 446

‘And now he gives his body to the rough and thorny forest; how will he be able to bear a life of privation⁶? When first you ordered me to equip your steed, my mind was indeed sorely troubled, 447

¹ Convinced (resolved) that this is the time to seek the practice of the law, i. e. to engage in the work of religion.

² Let him destroy all recollection of me as a form, or, a living person: this does not forbid him to recollect the office and dignity of *Bodhisattva*.

³ Or, let not slip my words.

⁴ How much rather, may the heart be broken, choked with sorrow!

⁵ Concealed or kept securely in his palace.

⁶ *Fu-hing*; the practice of austerities, or mortification.

‘ But the heavenly powers urged me on, causing me to hasten the preparation (of the horse¹), but what is the intention that urges the prince, to resolve thus to leave his secure palace? 448

‘ The people of Kapilavastu, and all the country afflicted with grief; your father, now an old man, mindful of his son, loving him moreover tenderly²; 449

‘ Surely this determination to leave your home, this is not according to duty; it is wrong, surely, to disregard father and mother,—we cannot speak of such a thing with propriety! 450

‘ Gotamī, too, who has nourished you so long, fed you with milk when a helpless child, such love as hers cannot easily be forgotten; it is impossible surely to turn the back on a benefactor; 451

‘ The highly gifted (virtuous) mother of a child, is ever respected by the most distinguished families³; to inherit distinction⁴ and then to turn round, is not the mark of a distinguished man: 452

‘ The illustrious child of Yasodharā, who has inherited a kingdom, rightly governed, his years now gradually ripening, should not thus go away from and forsake his home; 453

‘ But though he has gone away from his royal father, and forsaken his family and his kin, forbid it

¹ To hasten on the decoration, i.e. the harnessing, of the horse.

² Or, thinking his son beloved and in security.

³ Illustrious families or tribes are strong, or able, to wait upon or respect. There seems to be a play here on two words: first, shing, illustrious or distinguished, alluding to the Sākya as a race of Ginas or conquerors; secondly, neng, able, alluding to the origin of the word Sākya, i.e. able.

⁴ To obtain ‘distinction;’ still referring to the word shing; also in the next lines. Consult also p. 28, note 2 *supra*.

he should still drive me away, let me not depart from the feet of my master ; 454

‘My heart is bound to thee, as the heat is (bound up¹) in the boiling water ; I cannot return without thee to my country ; to return and leave the prince thus, in the midst of the solitude of the desert², 455

‘Then should I be like Sumanta³ (Sumantra), who left and forsook Râma ; and now if I return alone to the palace, what words can I address to the king ? 456

‘How can I reply to the reproaches of all the dwellers in the palace with suitable words ? Therefore let the prince rather tell me, how I may truly⁴ describe, 457

‘And with what device, the disfigured body, and the merit-seeking condition of the hermit ! I am full of fear and alarm, my tongue can utter no words ; 458

‘Tell me then what words to speak ; but who is there in the empire will believe me ? If I say that the moon’s rays are scorching, there are men, perhaps, who may believe me ; 459

‘But they will not believe that the prince, in his conduct, will act without piety ; (for) the prince’s heart is sincere and refined ; always actuated with pity and love to men. 460

‘To be deeply affected with love, and yet to

¹ Or, my heart is bound to thee, or cherishes thee, as the fire embraces the vessel set over it.

² I have here inverted the order of the lines, to bring out the sense.

³ Sumantra, the minister and charioteer of Dasaratha (Râmâyana II, 14, 30).

⁴ The order of these lines is again inverted, as they are complicated in the original. The word ‘hu,’ which I have translated ‘truly,’ may mean ‘dumbly,’ or, ‘unfeelingly.’

forsake (the object of love), this surely is opposed to a constant mind. O then, for pity's sake! return to your home, and thus appease my foolish longings.' 461

The prince having listened to *Kandaka*, pitying his grief expressed in so many words, with heart resolved and strong in its determination, spoke thus to him once more, and said: 462

'Why thus on my account do you feel the pain of separation? you should overcome this sorrowful mood, it is for you to comfort yourself; 463

'All creatures, each in its way, foolishly arguing that all things are constant, would influence me to-day not to forsake my kin and relatives; 464

'But when dead and come to be a ghost, how then, let them say, can I be kept? My loving mother when she bore me, with deep affection painfully carried me, 465

'And then when born she died, not permitted to nourish me. One alive, the other dead, gone by different roads, where now shall she be found? 466

'Like as in a wilderness on some high tree all the birds living with their mates assemble in the evening and at dawn disperse, so are the separations of the world; 467

'The floating clouds rise (like) a high mountain, from the four quarters they fill the void, in a moment again they are separated and disappear; so is it with the habitations of men; 468

'People from the beginning have erred thus, binding themselves in society and by the ties of love, and then, as after a dream, all is dispersed; do not then recount the names of my relatives; 469

'For like the wood which is produced in spring,

gradually grows and brings forth its leaves, which again fall in the autumn-chilly-dews—if the different parts of the same body are thus divided— 470

‘How much more men who are united in society! and how shall the ties of relationship escape rending? Cease therefore your grief and expostulation, obey my commands and return home; 471

‘The thought of your return alone will save me, and perhaps after your return I also may come back. The men of Kapilavastu, hearing that my heart is fixed, 472

‘Will dismiss from their minds all thought of me, but you may make known my words, “when I have escaped from the sad ocean of birth and death, then afterwards I will come back again; 473

“But I am resolved, if I obtain not my quest, my body shall perish in the mountain wilds.”’ The white horse hearing the prince, as he uttered these true and earnest words, 474

Bent his knee and licked his foot, whilst he sighed deeply and wept. Then the prince with his soft and glossy palm, (fondly) stroking the head of the white horse, 475

(Said), ‘Do not let sorrow rise (within), I grieve indeed at losing you, my gallant steed¹—so strong and active, your merit now has gained its end²; 476

‘You shall enjoy for long a respite from an evil birth³, but for the present take as your reward⁴

¹ Or, my gentle horse!

² This merit, or, meritorious deed, is now completed.

³ The idea is, that the horse, in consequence of the merit he has acquired by bearing the prince from his home, shall enjoy henceforward a higher state of existence.

⁴ ‘A superior reward now, for the present,’ or, ‘a better reward than that I now bestow,’ viz. the jewels &c.

these precious jewels and this glittering sword, and with them follow closely after *Kandaka*.' 477

The prince then drawing forth his sword, glancing in the light as the dragon's eye, (cut off) the knot of hair with its jewelled stud¹, and forthwith cast it into space; 478

Ascending upwards to the firmament, it floated there as the wings of the phoenix; then all the Devas of the *Trayastrimsa*² heavens seizing the hair, returned with it to their heavenly abodes; 479

Desiring always to adore the feet (offer religious service), how much rather now possessed of the crowning locks, with unfeigned piety do they increase their adoration, and shall do till the true law has died away. 480

Then the royal prince thought thus, 'My adornments now are gone for ever, there only now remain these silken garments, which are not in keeping with a hermit's life.' 481

Then the Deva of the Pure abode, knowing the heart-ponderings of the prince, transformed himself into a hunter's likeness, holding his bow, his arrows in his girdle, 482

His body girded with a *Kashâya*³ colour'd robe, thus he advanced in front of the prince. The prince

¹ That is, the '*kûdâ manî*,' or hair ornament. This ornament is represented at Sanchi and Bharhut (plates xxx and xvi respectively ['Tree and Serpent Worship' and 'The Stûpa of Bharhut']). In the former plate the figure on the upper floor with the women is probably Mâra seeing Bodhisattva fulfilling his purpose).

² That is, the heaven of the thirty-three gods supposed to be on the top of Sumeru.

³ *Kashâya*, the dark colour of the ground, adopted as the colour for their robes by the Buddhists.

considering **this** garment of his, the colour of the ground, a fitting pure attire, 483

Becoming to the utmost the person of a *Rishi*, not fit for¹ a hunter's dress, forthwith called to the hunter, as he stood before him, in accents soft, and thus addressed him : 484

'That dress of thine belikes me much, as if it were not **foul**², and this my dress I'll give thee in exchange, so please thee.' 485

The hunter then addressed the prince, 'Although I ill can spare (am not unattached to) this garment, which I use as a disguise among the deer, that alluring them within reach I may kill them, 486

'Notwithstanding, as it so pleases you, I am now willing to bestow it in exchange for yours.' The hunter having received the sumptuous dress, took again his heavenly body. 487

The prince and *Kandaka*, the coachman, seeing this, thought deeply³ thus, 'This garment is of no common character, it is not what a worldly man has worn ;' 488

And in (the prince's) heart great joy arose, as he regarded the coat with double reverence, and forthwith giving all the other things⁴ to *Kandaka*, he himself was clad in it, of *Kashâya* colour ; 489

¹ This may also be translated, 'a suitable colour for one who is the opposite of, i.e. opposed to the occupation of, a hunter.'

² That is, as if it were pure ; there is a play on the expression 'not foul' or 'impure,' meaning that the dress was itself of a dark or impure colour, and that the occupation of the hunter made it more so.

³ Thought 'deeply ;' the expression 奇持想 means 'rare,' or, 'seldom-felt thought.'

⁴ That is, as I understand it, giving the remaining articles of his dress to *Kandaka*.

Then like the dark and lowering cloud¹, that surrounds the disc of the sun or moon, he for a moment gazed, scanning his steps (way), then entered on the hermit's grot; 490

Kandaka following him with (wistful) eyes, his body disappeared, nor was it seen again. 'My lord and master now has left his father's house, his kinsfolk and myself (he cried), 491

'He now has clothed himself in hermit's garb², and entered the painful³ forest;' raising his hands he called on Heaven, o'erpowered with grief he could not move; 492

Till holding by the white steed's neck, he tottered forward on the homeward road, turning again and often looking back, his steps (body) going on, his heart back-hastening, 493

Now lost in thought and self-forgetful, now looking down to earth, then raising up his drooping (eye) to heaven, falling at times and then rising again, thus weeping as he went, he pursued his way homewards. 494

VARGA 7. ENTERING THE PLACE (WOOD) OF AUSTERITIES.

The prince having dismissed *Kandaka*, as he entered the *Rishis'* abode, his graceful body brightly

¹ I have supposed that 絳 is for 降. The robe is represented as the cloud surrounding the bright person of Bodhisattva.

² He now has put on a dark-colour'd robe.

³ The painful forest; that is, the forest or wood where painful mortification is practised. 苦行林.

shining, lit up on every side the forest 'place of suffering;' 495

Himself gifted with every excellence (Siddhārtha), according to his gifts, so were they reflected. As the lion, the king of beasts, when he enters among the herd of beasts, 496

Drives from their minds all thoughts of common things¹, as now they watch the true form of their kind², so those *Rishi* masters assembled there, suddenly perceiving the miraculous portent³, 497

Were struck with awe and fearful gladness⁴, as they gazed with earnest eyes and hands conjoined. The men and women too, engaged in various occupations, beholding him, with unchanged attitudes, 498

Gazed as the gods look on king Sakra, with constant look and eyes unmoved; so the *Rishis*, with their feet fixed fast, looked at him even thus; 499

Whatever in their hands they held, without releasing it, they stopped and looked; even as the ox when yoked to the wain, his body bound, his mind also restrained; 500

So also the followers of the holy *Rishis*, each called the other to behold the miracle. The peacocks and the other birds with cries commingled flapped their wings; 501

¹ That is, expels the recollection of all inferior shapes or forms.

² 'The true form of their kind,' I here take 道 to be equal to the 'way of birth.'

³ 'The miracle,' 未曾有.

⁴ 'Fearful gladness,' 驚喜.

The Brahma-kârins holding the rules of deer¹, following the deer wandering through mountain glades, (as the) deer coarse of nature, with flashing eyes [shen shih], regard (or see) the prince with fixed gaze; 502

So following the deer, those Brahma-kârins intently gaze likewise, looking at the exceeding glory of the Ikshvâku. As the glory of the rising sun 503

Is able to affect the herds of milch kine, so as to increase the quantity of their sweet-scented milk, so those Brahma-kârins, with wondrous joy, thus spoke one to the other: 504

'Surely this is one of the eight Vasu Devas²;' others, 'this is one of the two Āsvins³;' others, 'this is Mâra⁴;' others, 'this is one of the⁵ Brahmakâyikas;' 505

Others, 'this is Sûryadeva⁶ or Kandradeva, coming down; are they not seeking here a sacrifice which is their due? Come let us haste to offer our religious services!' 506

The prince, on his part, with respectful mien addressed to them polite salutation. Then Bodhisattva, looking with care in every direction on the Brahma-kârins occupying the wood, 507

¹ Is this a name of a sect of Brahman ascetics? holding-deer-rules.

² 八婆藪 the eight Vasus.

³ 二阿濕波.

⁴ Literally, 'the sixth Mâra,' i. e. 'Mâra of the sixth heaven,' or Mâra who rules over the six heavens of the Kâmaloka.

⁵ 梵迦夷天.

⁶ The sun Devaputra, or the moon Devaputra.

Each engaged in his religious duties, all desirous of the delights of heaven, addressed the senior Brahmacārin, and asked him as to the path of true religion¹. 508

'Now having but just come here, I do not yet know the rules of your religious life. I ask you therefore for information, and I pray explain to me what I ask.' 509

On this that twice-born (Brahman) in reply explained in succession all the modes of painful discipline, and the fruits expected as their result. 510

(How some ate) nothing brought from inhabited places (villages)², (but) that produced from pure water, (others) edible roots and tender twigs, (others) fruits and flowers fit for food, 511

Each according to the rules of his sect, clothing and food in each case different, some living amongst bird-kind, and like them capturing and eating food; 512

Others eating as the deer the grass (and herbs); others living like serpents, inhaling air; others eating nothing pounded in wood or stone; some eating with two teeth, till a wound be formed; 513

Others, again, begging their food and giving it in charity, taking only the remnants for themselves; others, again, who let water continually drip on their heads and those who offer up with fire; 514

¹ Or, 'an aged Brahmacārin:.' here we have the expression 'Khang suh,' 長宿, for 'aged' (as before).

² Literally, 'opposed to village coming out,' or, 'that which comes out of (所出) villages.'

Others who practise water-dwelling like fish¹; thus there are (he said) Brahma^karins of every sort, who practise austerities, that they may at the end of life obtain a birth in heaven, 515

And by their present sufferings afterwards obtain peaceable fruit. The lord of men², the excellent master, hearing all their modes of sorrow-producing penance, 516

Not perceiving any element of truth in them, experienced no joyful emotion in his heart; lost in thought, he regarded the men with pity, and with his heart in agreement his mouth thus spake: 517

‘Pitiful indeed are such sufferings! and merely in quest of a human or heavenly reward³, ever revolving in the cycle of birth or death, how great your sufferings, how small the recompence! 518

‘Leaving your friends, giving up honourable position; with a firm purpose to obtain the joys of heaven, although you may escape little sorrows, yet in the end involved in great sorrow; 519

‘Promoting the destruction of your outward form, and undergoing every kind of painful penance, and yet seeking to obtain another birth; increasing and prolonging the causes of the five desires, 520

‘Not considering that herefrom (result repeated) birth and death, undergoing suffering and, by that, seeking further suffering; thus it is that the world of men, though dreading the approach of death, 521

¹ That is, as I understand it, *Rishis* who live in water like fish. In the former case the ‘air-inhaling snake *Rishi*’ would be *Rishis* who endeavour to live on air like the boa.

² ‘The lord of two-footed creatures,’ i.e. of men.

³ *Gin-tien po*; if it had been *tien-gin po*, it would have simply meant ‘a heavenly reward.’

‘Yet strive after renewed birth; and being thus born, they must die again. Altho’ still dreading (the power of) suffering, yet prolonging their stay in the sea of pain: 522

‘Disliking from their heart their present kind of life, yet still striving incessantly after other life; enduring affliction that they may partake of joy; seeking a birth in heaven, to suffer further trouble; 523

‘Seeking joys, whilst the heart sinks with feebleness. For this is so with those who oppose right reason; they cannot but be cramped and poor at heart. But by earnestness and diligence, then we conquer. 524

‘Walking in the path of true wisdom, letting go both extremes¹, we then reach ultimate perfection; to mortify the body, (if) this is religion,² then to enjoy rest, is something not resulting from religion. 525

‘To walk religiously and afterwards to receive happiness, this is to make the fruit of religion something different from religion; but bodily exercise is but the cause of death, strength results alone from the mind’s intention; 526

¹ This line, which (with the following ones) is obscure, may be literally translated, ‘a double letting-go, eternal Nirvâna,’ where Nirvâna is in the original 無爲. The two extremes are worldly life and ascetic life.

² The word 法, like dharma, is difficult to translate. It may mean here either ‘religion’ or ‘something formal;’ but the idea of the whole verse seems to be this, ‘if suffering pain is a part of religion, then to enjoy rest is different from religion, therefore to practise religious austerities with the view of afterwards obtaining rest, is to make the fruit of religion something different from, or opposed to, religion itself.’

‘If you remove (from conduct) the purpose of the mind, the bodily act is but as rotten wood; wherefore, regulate the mind, and then the body will spontaneously go right. 527

‘(You say that) to eat pure things is a cause of religious merit, but the wild beasts and the children of poverty ever feed on these fruits and medicinal herbs; these then ought to gain much religious merit. 528

‘But if you say that the heart being good then bodily suffering is the cause of further merit, (then I ask) why may not those who walk (live) in ease, also possess a virtuous heart? 529

‘If joys are opposed to a virtuous heart, a virtuous heart may also be opposed to bodily suffering; if, for instance, all those heretics profess purity because they use water (in various ways), 530

‘Then those who thus use water among men, even with a wicked mind (karma), yet ought ever to be pure. But if righteousness is the groundwork of a *Rishi*’s purity, then the idea of a sacred spot as his dwelling, 531

‘Being the cause of his righteousness (is wrong). What is revered, should be known and seen¹. Reverence indeed is due to righteous conduct, but let it not redound to the place (or, mode of life).’ 532

Thus speaking at large on religious questions, they went on till the setting sun. He then beheld their rites in connection with sacrifice to fire, the drilling (for sparks) and the fanning into flame, 533

¹ This is, as it seems, the meaning of the line, or it may be rendered, ‘What is esteemed of weight ought to be seen in the world.’

Also the sprinkling of the butter libations, also the chanting of the mystic prayers, till the sun went down. The prince considering these acts, 534

Could not perceive the right reason of them, and was now desirous to turn and go. Then all those Brahmaçârins came together to him to request him to stay; 535

Regarding with reverence the dignity of Bodhisattva, very desirous, they earnestly besought him: 'You have come from an irreligious place, to this wood where true religion flourishes, 536

'And yet, now, you wish to go away; we beg you, then, on this account, to stay.' All the old Brahmaçârins, with their twisted hair and bark clothes, 537

Came following after Bodhisattva, asking him as a god¹ to stay a little while. Bodhisattva seeing these aged ones following him, their bodies worn with macerations, 538

Stood still and rested beneath a tree; and soothing them, urged them to return. Then all the Brahmaçârins, young and old, surrounding him, made their request with joined hands: 539

'You who have so unexpectedly arrived here, amid these garden glades so full² of attraction, why now are you leaving them and going away, to seek perfection in the wilderness? 540

'As a man loving (long) life, is unwilling to let go his body, so we are even thus; would that you would stop awhile. 541

¹ The original is 小留神; probably 神 is for 住.

² I am not sure whether I understand the original, or whether there is not a mistake in the text, which is 妙文滿.

‘This is a spot where Brahmans and *Rishis* have ever dwelt, royal *Rishis* and heavenly *Rishis*, these all have dwelt within these woods. The places on the borders of the snowy mountains, 542

‘Where men of high birth¹ undergo their penance, those places are not to be compared to this. All the body of learned masters from this place have reached heaven; 543

‘All the learned *Rishis* who have sought religious merit, have from this place and northwards (found it), those who have attained a knowledge of the true law, and gained divine wisdom come not from southwards; 544

‘If you indeed see us remiss and not earnest enough, practising rules not pure, and on that account are not pleased to stay, 545

‘Then we are the ones that ought to go; you can still remain and dwell here, all these different Brahmanas² ever desire to find companions in their penances. 546

‘And you, because you are conspicuous for your religious earnestness, should not so quickly cast away their society: if you can remain here, they will honour you as god Sakra, 547

‘Yea! as the Devas pay worship to *Bṛihaspati*² (or, *Virudhakapati*).’ Then Bodhisattva answered the Brahmanas and told them what his desires were: 548

‘I am seeking for a true method of escape, I desire solely to destroy all mundane influences; but you, with strong hearts, practise your rules as ascetics, 549

¹ Tsang-*khang gin*, 增長人.

² Pi-lai-ho.

‘And pay respectful attention to such visitors as may come. My heart indeed is moved with affection towards you, for pleasant conversation is agreeable to all, those who listen are affected thereby; 550

‘And so hearing your words, my mind is strengthened in religious feeling; you indeed have all paid me much respect, in agreement with the courtesy of your religious profession; 551

‘But now I am constrained to depart, my heart grieves thereat exceedingly, first of all, having left my own kindred, and now about to be separated from you. 552

‘The pain of separation from associates, this pain is as great as the other, it is impossible for my mind not to grieve, as it is not to see others’ faults¹. 553

‘But you, by suffering pain, desire earnestly to obtain the joys of birth in heaven; whilst I desire to escape from the three worlds, and therefore I give up what my reason (mind) tells me must be rejected². 554

‘The law which you practise, you inherit from the deeds of former teachers, but I, desiring to destroy all combination (accumulation), seek a law which admits of no such accident. 555

‘And therefore I cannot in this grove delay for a longer while in fruitless discussions.’ At this time all the Brahmacārins, hearing the words spoken by Bodhisattva, 556

¹ This and the previous line might perhaps be better rendered thus, ‘A joyless life (absence of joy) is opposed to my disposition, moreover (it is my disposition) not to observe the faults of others.’

² Literally, the form (body) turning from them even as (而) the mind rejects (非); or may it be rendered, ‘the body giving up, though the mind is still perverse.’

Words full of right reason and truth, very excellent in the distinction of principles, their hearts rejoiced and exulted greatly, and deep feelings of reverence were excited within them. 557

At this time there was one Brahma~~h~~arin, who always slept in the dust, with tangled hair and raiment of the bark of trees, his eyes bleared (yellow), preparing himself in an ascetic practice (called) 'high-nose¹.' 558

This one addressed Bodhisattva in the following words: 'Strong in will! bright in wisdom! firmly fixed in resolve to escape (pass beyond) the limits of birth, knowing that in escape from birth there alone is rest, 559

'Not affected by any desire after heavenly blessedness, the mind set upon the eternal destruction of the body (bodily form), you are indeed miraculous in appearance, (as you are) alone in the possession of such a mind. 560

'To sacrifice to the gods, and to practise every kind of austerity, all this is designed to secure a birth in heaven, but here there is no mortification of selfish desire, 561

'There is still a selfish personal aim; but to bend the will to seek final escape, this is indeed the work of a true teacher, this is the aim of an enlightened master; 562

'This place is no right halting-place for you, you ought to proceed to Mount Pinda (Pândava), there dwells a great Muni, whose name is A-lo-lam (Arâda Râma). 563

'He only has reached the end (of religious aims), the most excellent eye (of the law). Go therefore

¹ I.e. raising his nose to look up at the sun.

to the place where he dwells, and listen there to the true exposition of the law. 564

'This will make your heart rejoice, as you learn to follow the precepts of his system. As for me, beholding the joy of your resolve, and fearing that I shall not obtain rest, 565

'I must once more let go (dismiss) those following me, and seek other disciples; straighten my head (nose) and gaze with my full eyes; anoint my lips and cleanse my teeth, 566

'Cover my shoulders and make bright my face, smooth my tongue and make it pliable. Thus, O excellently marked, sir! fully drinking (at the fountain of) the water you give (glorious water)¹, 567

'I shall escape from the unfathomable depths. In the world nought is comparable to this, that which old men and *Rishis* have not known, that shall (I)² know and obtain.' 568

Bodhisattva having listened to these words, left the company of the *Rishis*, whilst they all, turning round him to the right, returned to their place. 569 ✓

VARGA 8. THE GENERAL GRIEF OF THE PALACE.

Kandaka leading back the horse, opening the way for his heart's sorrow, as he went on, lamented and wept: unable to disburthen his soul. 570

First of all with the royal prince, passing along the road for one night, but now dismissed and ordered

¹ This line and the context, again, is obscure. Perhaps 醃水 is a mistake for 甘水, which latter expression may mean the 'sweet dew' (*amṛita*) of Bodhisattva's doctrine.

² Or, that (you know) and will obtain.

to return. As the darkness of night closed on him, 571

Irresolute he wavered in mind. On the eighth day approaching the city, the noble horse pressed onwards, exhibiting all his qualities of speed ; 572

But yet hesitating as he looked around and beheld not the form of the royal prince ; his four members bent down with toil, his head and neck deprived of their glossy look, 573

Whinnying as he went on with grief, he refused night and day his grass and water, because he had lost his lord, the deliverer of men. Returning thus to Kapilavastu, 574

The whole country appeared withered and bare, as when one comes back to a deserted village ; or as when the sun hidden behind Sumeru causes darkness to spread over the world. 575

The fountains of water sparkled no more, the flowers and fruits were withered and dead, the men and women in the streets seemed lost in grief and dismay. 576

Thus *Kandaka* with the white horse went on sadly and with slow advance, silent to those enquiring, wearily progressing as when accompanying a funeral ; 577

So they went on, whilst all the spectators seeing *Kandaka*, but not observing the royal *Sākya* prince, raised piteous cries of lamentation and wept ; as when the charioteer returned without *Râma*. 578

Then one by the side of the road, with his body bent, called out to *Kandaka* : ‘ The prince, beloved of the world, the defender of his people, 579

‘ The one you have taken away by stealth, where

dwells he now?' *Kandaka*, then, with sorrowful heart, replied to the people and said: 580

'I with loving purpose followed after him whom I loved; 'tis not I who have deserted the prince, but by him have I been sent away; (by him) who now has given up his ordinary adornments, 581

'And with shaven head and religious garb, has entered the sorrow-giving grove.' Then the men hearing that he had become an ascetic, were oppressed with thoughts of wondrous boding (unusual thoughts); 582

They sighed with heaviness and wept, and as their tears coursed down their cheeks, they spake thus one to the other: 'What then shall we do (by way of expedient)?' 583

Then they all exclaimed at once, 'Let us haste after him in pursuit; for as when a man's bodily functions fail, his frame dies and his spirit flees, 584

'So is the prince our life, and he our life gone, how shall we survive? This city, perfected with slopes and woods; those woods, that cover the slopes of the city, 585

'All deprived of grace, ye lie as *Bharata* when killed!' Then the men and women within the town, vainly supposing the prince had come back, 586

In haste rushed out to the heads of the way, and seeing the horse returning alone, not knowing whether he (the prince) was safe or lost, began to weep and to raise every piteous sound; 587

(And said, 'Behold!') *Kandaka* advancing slowly with the horse, comes back with sighs and tears; surely he grieves because the prince is lost.' And thus sorrow is added to sorrow! 588

Then like a captive warrior is drawn before the

king his master, so did he enter the gates with tears, his eyes filled so that he said nought. 589

Then looking up to heaven he loudly groaned; and the white horse too whined piteously; then all the varied birds and beasts in the palace court, and all the horses within the stables, 590

Hearing the sad whinnying of the royal steed, replied in answer to him, thinking 'now the prince has come back.' But seeing him not, they ceased their cries! 591

And now the women of the after-palace, (hearing the cries of the horses, birds, and beasts,) their hair dishevelled, their faces wan and yellow, their forms sickly to look at, their mouths and lips parched, 592

Their garments torn and unwashed, the soil and heat not cleansed from their bodies, their ornaments all thrown aside, disconsolate and sad, cheerless in face, 593

Raised their bodies, without any grace, even as the feeble (little) morning star (or stars of morning); their garments torn and knotted, soiled like the appearance of a robber, 594

Seeing *Kandaka* and the royal horse shedding tears instead of the hoped-for return, they all, assembled thus, uttered their cry, even as those who weep for one beloved just dead; 595

Confused and wildly they rushed about, as a herd of oxen that have lost their way. *Mahâpragâpati Gôtamî*, hearing that the prince had not returned, 596

Fell fainting on the ground, her limbs entirely deprived of strength, even as some mad tornado wind crushes the golden-colour'd *plantaïn* tree; 597

And again, hearing that her son had become a recluse, deeply sighing and with increased sadness

she thought, 'Alas! those glossy locks turning to the right, each hair produced from each orifice, 598

'Dark and pure, gracefully shining, sweeping the earth when loose¹, or when so determined, bound together in a heavenly crown, and now shorn and lying in the grass! 599

'Those rounded shoulders and that lion step! Those eyes broad as the ox-king's, that body shining bright as yellow gold; that square breast and Brahma voice; 600

'That you! possessing all these excellent qualities, should have entered on the sorrow-giving forest; what fortune now remains for the world, losing thus the holy king of earth? 601

'That those delicate and pliant feet, pure as the lily and of the same colour, should now be torn by stones and thorns; O how can such feet tread on such ground! 602

'Born and nourished in the guarded palace, clad with garments of the finest texture, washed in richly-scented water, anointed with the choicest perfumes, 603

'And now exposed to chilling blasts and dews of night, O! where during the heat or the chilly morn can rest be found! Thou flower of all thy race! Confessed by all the most renowned! 604

'Thy virtuous qualities everywhere talked of and exalted, ever revered, without self-seeking! why hast thou unexpectedly brought thyself upon some morn to beg thy food for life! 605

'Thou who wert wont to repose upon a soft and

¹ This description of the prince's hair seems to contradict the head arrangement of the figures of Buddha, unless the curls denote the shaven head of the recluse.

kingly couch, and indulge in every pleasure during thy waking hours, how canst thou now endure the mountain and the forest wilds, on the bare grass to make thyself a resting-place!' 606

Thus thinking of her son—her heart was full of sorrow, disconsolate she lay upon the earth. The waiting women raised her up, and dried the tears from off her face, 607

Whilst all the other courtly ladies, overpowered with grief, their limbs relaxed, their minds bound fast with woe, unmoved they sat like pictured-folk. 608

And now Yasodharā, deeply chiding, spoke thus to Kāṇḍaka: 'Where now dwells he, who ever dwells within my mind? 609

'You two went forth, the horse a third, but now two only have returned! My heart is utterly o'erborne with grief, filled with anxious thoughts, it cannot rest. 610

'And you deceitful man! Untrustworthy and false associate! evil contriver! plainly revealed a traitor, a smile lurks underneath thy tears! 611

'Escorting him in going; returning now with wails! Not one at heart—but in league against him—openly constituted a friend and well-wisher, concealing underneath a treacherous purpose; 612

'So thou hast caused the sacred prince to go forth once and not return again! No questioning the joy you feel! Having done ill you now enjoy the fruit; 613

'Better far to dwell with an enemy of wisdom, than work with one who, while a fool, professes friendship. Openly professing sweetness and light, inwardly a scheming and destructive enemy. 614

'And now this royal and kingly house, in one short morn is crushed and ruined! All these fair and queen-like women, with grief o'erwhelmed, their beauty marred, 615

'Their breathing choked with tears and sobs, their faces soiled with crossing tracks of grief! Even the queen (Mâyâ) when in life, resting herself on him, as the great snowy mountains 616

'Repose upon the widening earth, through grief in thought of what would happen, died. How sad the lot of these—within these open lattices—these weeping ones, these deeply wailing! 617

'Born in another state than hers in heaven¹, how can their grief be borne!' Then speaking to the horse she said, 'Thou unjust! what dullness this—to carry off a man, 618

'As in the darkness some wicked thief bears off a precious gem. When riding thee in time of battle, swords, and javelins and arrows, 619

'None of these alarmed or frightened thee! But now what fitfulness of temper this², to carry off by violence, to rob my soul of one, the choicest jewel of his tribe. 620

'O! thou art but a vicious reptile, to do such wickedness as this! to-day thy woeful lamentation sounds everywhere within these palace walls, 621

'But when you stole away my cherished one, why wert thou dumb and silent then! if then thy voice

¹ This line is obscure; it may be paraphrased thus, 'If she in bearing her son brought about her own death, but yet is now born in heaven, how shall these bear their grief, or shall this grief (of losing him) be borne by these!'

² Or, 'how unendurable then your present conduct!'

had sounded loud, and roused the palace inmates from their sleep, 622

‘If then they had awoke and slumbered not, there would not have ensued the present sorrow.’ *Kandaka*, hearing these sorrowful words, drawing in his breath and composing himself, 623

Wiping away his tears, with hands clasped together, answered: ‘Listen to me, I pray, in self-justification—be not suspicious of, nor blame the royal¹ horse, nor be thou angry with me either. 624

‘For in truth no fault has been committed (by us). It is the gods who have effected this. For I, indeed, extremely revered the king’s command, it was the gods who drove him to the solitudes, 625

‘Urgently leading on the horse with him: thus they went together fleet as with wings, his breathing hushed! suppressed was every sound², his feet scarce touched the earth! 626

‘The city gates wide opening of themselves! all space self-lighted! this was the work indeed of the gods; and what was I, or what my strength, compared with theirs?’ 627

Yasodharā hearing these words, her heart was lost in deep consideration³! the deeds accomplished by the gods could not be laid to others’ charge⁴, as faults; 628

And so she ceased her angry chiding, and allowed her great, consuming grief to smoulder. Thus prostrate on the ground she muttered out her sad com-

¹ The white horse.

² They caused no sound (to be heard).

³ See above, p. 69, n. 3.

⁴ Or, to their charge, i. e. to the charge of *Kandaka* or the horse.

plaints, 'That the two ringed-birds¹ (doves) should be divided! 629

'Now,' she cried, 'my stay and my support is lost, between those once agreed in life (religious life)², separation has sprung up! those who were at one (as to religion) are now divided, (let go their common action)! where shall I seek another mode of (religious) life? 630

'In olden days the former conquerors (Ginas?) greatly rejoiced to see their kingly retinue; these with their wives in company, in search of highest wisdom, roamed through groves and plains. 631

'And now, that he should have deserted me! and what is the religious state he seeks! the Brahman ritual respecting sacrifice, requires the wife to take part in the offering³, 632

'And because they both share in the service they shall both receive a common reward hereafter! but you (O prince!) art niggard in your religious rites, driving me away, and wandering forth alone! 633

'Is it that you saw me jealous, and so turned against me! that you now seek some one free from

¹ Or, 'that two birds;' it may be doves; or perhaps the symbol 輪 is an error for 頭, meaning the 'double-headed bird.' This double-headed bird is often alluded to in Buddhist books, as in the Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king (Romantic History of Buddha, p. 380). The origin of the story may be perhaps found in the myth of Yama and Yamī.

² It may be 'religious life,' but it can as well refer to the common aim of life; as, for example, in the case of the double-headed bird, both heads having one object, viz. the care of the body.

³ Literally, 'the sacrificial code of the Brahman requires husband and wife to act together.'

jealousy! or did you see some other cause to hate me, that you now seek to find a heaven-born nymph¹! 634

‘But why should one excelling in every personal grace seek to practise self-denying austerities! is it that you despise a common lot with me, that variance rises in your breast against your wife! 635

‘Why does not Rahula fondly repose upon² your knee. Alas! alas! unlucky master! full of grace without, but hard (diamond) at heart! 636

‘The glory and the pride of all your tribe³, yet hating those who reverence you! O! can it be, you have turned your back for good (upon) your little child, scarce able yet to smile⁴! 637

‘My heart is gone! and all my strength! my lord has fled, to wander in the mountains! he cannot surely thus forget me! he is then but a man of wood or stone.’ 638

Thus having spoken, her mind was dulled and darkened, she muttered on, or spoke in wild mad words, or fancied that she saw strange sights, and sobbing past the power of self-restraint, 639

Her breath grew less, and sinking thus, she fell asleep upon the dusty ground! The palace ladies seeing this, were wrung with heartfelt sorrow, 640

Just as the full-blown lily, struck by the wind and hail, is broken down and withered. And now the

¹ ‘A Devī of the Pure abode.’ The idea seems to be that, finding Yasodharā less pure than a Devī, he had gone to seek the company of one of these.

² Or, below your knee, i. e. sitting or fondling around the knee.

³ Or, the full-brightness of your illustrious family.

⁴ ‘Your child not yet a boy.’

king, his father, having lost the prince, was filled, both night and day, with grief; 641

And fasting, sought the gods (for help). He prayed that they would soon restore him, and having prayed and finished sacrifice, he went from out the sacred¹ gates; 642

Then hearing all the cries and sounds of mourning, his mind distressed became confused, as when heaven's thundering and lightning put to bewildering flight a herd of elephants. 643

Then seeing *Kandaka* with the royal steed, after long questioning, finding his son a hermit, fainting he fell upon the earth, as when the flag of Indra falls and breaks. 644

Then all the ministers of state, upraising him, exhort him, as was right², to calm himself. After a while, his mind somewhat recovered, speaking to the royal steed, he said: 645

'How often have I ridden thee to battle, and every time have thought upon (commended) your excellence! but now I hate and loathe thee, more than ever I have loved or praised thee! 646

'My son, renowned for noble qualities, thou hast carried off and taken from me; and left him 'mid the mountain forests; and now you have come back alone³; 647

'Take me, then, quickly hence and go! And going, never more come back with me! For since you have not brought him back, my life is worth no more preserving; 648

'No longer care I about governing! My son about

¹ The heaven-sacrificing-gate.

² In agreement with religion.

³ Or, 'now you return from the desert (hung) alone.'

me was my only joy; as the Brahman Gayanta¹ met death for his son's sake, 649

'So I, deprived of my religious son, will of myself deprive myself of life. So Manu, lord of all that lives, ever lamented for his son; 650

'How much more I, a mortal man (ever-man), deprived of mine, must lose all rest! In old time the king Aga, loving his son², wandering thro' the mountains, 651

'Lost in thought (or deeply affected), ended life, and forthwith was born in heaven. And now I cannot die! Thro' the long night fixed in this sad state, 652

'With this great palace round me, thinking of my son, solitary and athirst as any hungry spirit (Preta); as one who, thirsty, holding water in his hand, but when he tries to drink lets all escape, 653

'And so remains athirst till death ensues, and after death becomes a wandering ghost³;—so I, in the extremity of thirst, through loss, possessed once of a son⁴, but now without a son, 654

'Still live, and cannot end my days! But come! tell me at once where is my son! let me not die athirst (for want of knowing this) and fall among the Pretas. 655

'In former days, at least, my will was strong and firm, difficult to move as the great earth; but now I've lost my son, my mind is dazed, as in old time the king "ten chariots⁵." 656

¹ The Sanskrit text gives Saṅgaya as the Brahman's name.

² Or, the son he loved.

³ Or, is born in the way (i. e. the class) of famishing ghosts.

⁴ Obtaining a son, as (a thirsty man obtains) water.

⁵ That is, Dasaratha.

And now the royal teacher (Purohita), an illustrious sage¹, with the chief minister, famed for wisdom, with earnest and considerate minds, both exhorted with remonstrances, the king. 657

‘Pray you (they said) arouse yourself to thought, and let not grief cramp and hold your mind! in olden days there were mighty kings, who left their country, as flowers are scattered²; 658

‘Your son now practises the way of wisdom; why then nurse (increase) your grief and misery; you should recall the prophecy of Asita, and reasonably count on what was probable! 659

‘(Think of) the heavenly joys which you, a universal king, have inherited³! But now, so troubled and constrained in mind, how will it not be said, “The Lord of earth can change his golden-jewel-heart!” 660

‘Now, therefore, send us forth, and bid us seek the place he occupies, then by some stratagem and strong remonstrances, and showing him our earnestness of purpose, 661

‘We will break down his resolution, and thus assuage your kingly sorrow.’ The king, with joy, replied and said: ‘Would that you both would go in haste, 662

‘As swiftly as the Saketa⁴ bird flies through the void for her young’s sake; thinking of nought but the royal prince, and sad at heart—I shall await your search!’ 663

The two men having received their orders, the

¹ ‘To-wan-sse,’ a celebrated master.

² ‘As falling flowers,’ or ‘scattered blossoms,’ alluding, as it seems, to the separation of the flower from the tree.

³ Or it may be rendered, ‘A heaven-blessed, universal (wheel) king!’

⁴ She-ku-to bird.

king retired among his kinsfolk, his heart somewhat more tranquillised, and breathing freely through his throat. 664

VARGA 9. THE MISSION TO SEEK THE PRINCE.

The king now suppressing (regulating) his grief, urged on his great teacher and chief minister, as one urges on with whip a ready horse, to hasten onwards as the rapid stream; 665

Whilst they fatigued, yet with unflagging effort, come to the place of the sorrow-giving grove; then laying on one side the five outward marks¹ of dignity and regulating well their outward gestures, 666

They entered the Brahmans' quiet hermitage, and paid reverence to the *Rishis*. They, on their part, begged them to be seated, and repeated the law for their peace and comfort. 667

Then forthwith they addressed the *Rishis* and said: 'We have on our minds a subject on which we would ask (for advice). There is one who is called *Suddhodana rāga*, a descendant of the famous *Ikshvāku* family, 668

'We are his teacher and his minister, who instruct him in the sacred books as required. The king indeed is like *Indra* (for dignity); his son, like *Ke-yan-to* (*Gayanta*), 669

'In order to escape old age, disease, and death, has become a hermit, and depends on this; on his account have we come hither, with a view to let your worships know of this.' 670

Replying, they said: 'With respect to this youth,

¹ The five marks of dignity were the distinguishing robes of their office.

has he long arms and the signs of a great man? Surely he is the one who, enquiring into our practice, discoursed so freely on the matter of life and death. 671

'He has gone to the abode of Arāḍa, to seek for a complete mode of escape.' Having received this certain information, respectfully considering the urgent commands of the anxious king, 672

They dared not hesitate in their undertaking, but straightway took the road and hastened on. Then seeing the wood in which the royal prince dwelt, and him, deprived of all outward marks of dignity, 673

His body still glorious with lustrous shining, as when the sun comes forth from the black cloud¹; then the religious teacher of the country and the great minister holding to the true law, 674

Put off from them their courtly dress, and descending from the chariot gradually advanced, like the royal Po-ma-ti (? Bharata) and the *Rishi* Vasishṭha, 675

Went through the woods and forests, and seeing the royal prince Rāma, each according to his own prescribed manner, paid him reverence, as he advanced to salute him; 676

Or as Sukra, in company with Aṅgiras, with earnest heart paid reverence, and sacrificed to Indra rāga. 677

Then the royal prince in return paid reverence to the royal teacher and the great minister, as the divine Indra placed at their ease Sukra and Aṅgiras; 678

¹ The character which I have translated 'black' is 烏, which also means 'a crow.'

Then, at his command, the two men seated themselves before the prince, as Pou-na (Punarvasû) and Pushya, the twin stars attend beside the moon; 679

Then the Purohita and the great minister respectfully explained to the royal prince, even as Pi-li-po-ti (Bṛihaspati) spoke to that Gayanta: 680

‘Your royal father, thinking of the prince, is pierced in heart, as with an iron point; his mind distracted, raves in solitude; he sleeps upon the dusty ground; 681

‘By night and day he adds to his sorrowful reflections; his tears flow down like the incessant rain; and now to seek you out, he has sent us hither. Would that you would listen with attentive mind; 682

‘We know that you delight to act religiously; it is certain, then, without a doubt, this is not the time for you to be a hermit (to enter the forest wilds); a feeling of deep pity consumes our heart! 683

‘You, if you be indeed moved by religion, ought to feel some pity for our case; let your kindly feelings flow abroad, to comfort us who are worn at heart; 684

‘Let not the tide of sorrow and of sadness completely overwhelm the outlets of our heart; as the torrents (which roll down) the grassy mountains; or the calamities of tempest, fiery heat, and lightning; 685

‘For so the grieving heart has these four sorrows, turmoil and drought, passion and overthrow. But come! return to your native place, the time will arrive when you can go forth again as a recluse. 686

‘But now to disregard your family duties, to turn against father and mother, how can this be called

love and affection? that love which overshadows and embraces all. 687

'Religion requires not the wild solitudes; you can practise a hermit's duties in your home; studiously thoughtful, diligent in expedients, this is to lead a hermit's life in truth. 688

'A shaven head, and garments soiled with dirt,—to wander by yourself through desert wilds,—this is but to encourage constant fears, and cannot be rightly called "an awakened hermit's (life)." 689

'Would rather we might take you by the hand, and sprinkle¹ water on your head, and crown you with a heavenly diadem, and place you underneath a flowery canopy, 690

'That all eyes might gaze with eagerness upon you; after this, in truth, we would leave our home with joy. The former kings Teou-lau-ma (Dru-ma?), A-neou-*ke*-o-sa (Anugasa or Anudāsa), 691

'Po-*ke*-lo-po-yau (Vagrabāhu), Pi-po-lo-'an-ti (Vaibhrāga), Pi-ti-o-*ke*-na (Vatāgana?), Na-lo-sha-po-lo (Narasavara?), 692

'All these several kings refused not the royal crown, the jewels, and the ornaments of person; their hands and feet were adorned with gems, 693

'Around them were women to delight and please, these things they cast not from them, for the sake of escape; you then may also come back home, and undertake both necessary duties²; 694

'Your mind prepare itself in higher law, whilst for the sake of earth you wield the sceptre; let there be no more weeping, but comply with what we say, and let us publish it; 695

¹ I have here substituted 雨 for 雨.

² That is, the duties of religion and also of the state.

‘And having published it with your authority, then you may return and receive respectful welcome. Your father and your mother, for your sake, in grief shed tears like the great ocean ; 696

‘Having no stay and no dependence now—no source from which the Śākya stem may grow—you ought, like the captain of the ship, to bring it safely across to a place of safety. 697

‘The royal prince Pi-san-ma, as also Lo-me-po-ti, they respectfully attended to the command of their father, you also should do the same ! 698

‘Your loving mother who cherished you so kindly, with no regard for self, through years of care, as the cow deprived of her calf, weeps and laments, forgetting to eat or sleep ; 699

‘You surely ought to return to her at once, to protect her life from evil ; as a solitary bird, away from its fellows, or as the lonely elephant, wandering through the jungle, 700

‘Losing the care of their young, ever think of protecting and defending them, so you the only child, young and defenceless, not knowing what you do, bring trouble and solicitude ; 701

‘Cause, then, this sorrow to dissipate itself ; as one who rescues the moon¹ from being devoured, so do you reassure the men and women of the land, and remove from them the consuming grief, 702

‘(And suppress) the sighs that rise like breath to heaven, which cause the darkness that obscures their sight ; seeking you, as water, to quench the fire, the fire quenched, their eyes shall open.’ 703

¹ Referring to an eclipse of the moon.

Bodhisattva, hearing of his father the king, experienced the greatest distress of mind, and sitting still, gave himself to reflection; and then, in due course, replied respectfully: 704

‘I know indeed that my royal father is possessed of a loving and deeply¹ considerate mind, but my fear of birth, old age, disease, and death has led me to disobey, and disregard his extreme kindness. 705

‘Whoever neglects right consideration about his present life, and because he hopes to escape in the end, therefore disregards all precautions (in the present), on this man comes the inevitable doom of death. 706

‘It is the knowledge of this, therefore, that weighs with me, and after long delay has constrained me to a hermit’s life; hearing of my father, the king, and his grief, my heart is affected with increased love; 707

‘But yet, all is like the fancy of a dream, quickly reverting to nothingness. Know then, without fear of contradiction, that the nature of existing things is not uniform; 708

‘The cause of sorrow is not necessarily² the relationship of child with parent, but that which produces the pain of separation, results from the influence of delusion³; 709

‘As men going along a road suddenly meet midway with others, and then a moment more are separated, each one going his own way⁴, 710

¹ Or, as we should say, ‘of deep consideration.’

² Or, does not necessarily exist either in child or parent.

³ Delusion is here equivalent to ‘moha.’

⁴ This line may be more literally translated ‘each one acting for himself according to his own purpose.’ The words run thus, ‘opposite purpose, private, of himself.’

‘So by the force of concomitance, relationships are framed, and then, according to each one’s destiny¹, there is separation; he who thoroughly investigates this false connection of relationship ought not to cherish in himself grief; 711

‘In this world there is rupture of family love, in another life (world) it is sought for again; brought together for a moment, again rudely divided², everywhere the fetters of kindred are formed³! 712

‘Ever being bound, and ever being loosened! who can sufficiently lament such constant separations; born into the world⁴, and then gradually changing, constantly separated by death and then born again. 713

‘All things which exist in time must perish⁵, the forests and mountains all things thus exist⁶; in time are born all sensuous things (things possessing the five desires), so is it both with worldly substance⁷ and with time. 714

‘Because, then, death pervades all time, get rid of death⁸, and time will disappear. You desire to

¹ The word for ‘destiny’ is li; it means the ‘reason’ or ‘rule of action.’

² Or, separated in opposite directions.

³ In every place (place-place) there is no (place) without relationships.

⁴ From the moment of conception (placed in the womb) gradually changing.

⁵ All things (in) time have death.

⁶ The text is very curt, ‘mountains, forests, what (is there) without time.’

⁷ ‘Seeking wealth (in?) time, even thus;’ or, ‘Seeking wealth and time, are even thus.’

⁸ ‘Exclude the laws of death (sse fǎ), there will be no time.’

make me king, and it is difficult to resist the offices of love; 715

‘But as a disease (is difficult to bear) without medicine, so neither can I bear (this weight of dignity); in every condition, high or low, we find folly and ignorance, (and men) carelessly following the dictates of lustful passion; 716

‘At last, we come¹ to live in constant fear; thinking anxiously of the outward form, the spirit droops; following the ways of men², the mind resists the right³; but, the conduct of the wise is not so. 717

‘The sumptuously ornamented⁴ and splendid palace (I look upon) as filled with fire; the hundred dainty dishes (tastes) of the divine kitchen, as mingled with destructive poisons; 718

‘The lily growing on the tranquil lake, in its midst harbours countless noisome insects; and so the towering abode of the rich is the house of calamity; the wise will not dwell therein. 719

‘In former times illustrious kings, seeing the many crimes of their home and country, affecting as with poison the dwellers therein, in sorrowful disgust sought comfort in seclusion⁵; 720

‘We know, therefore, that the troubles of a royal estate are not to be compared with the repose of a religious life; far better dwell in the wild mountains⁶, and eat the herbs like the beasts of the field; 721

¹ ‘In the end the body (that is, the person) ever fearful.’

² Following the multitude.

³ The heart opposes religion (fǎ).

⁴ The seven-jewelled, beautiful palace hall.

⁵ Became hermits.

⁶ In the mountains. I take ‘lin’ in the expression ‘shan lin’ in this and other passages to be the sign of the plural. It corresponds

'Therefore I dare not dwell in the wide¹ palace, for the black snake has its dwelling there. I reject the kingly estate and the five desires [desires of the senses], to escape such sorrows I wander thro' the mountain wilds. 722

'This, then, would be the consequence of compliance, that I, who, delighting in religion, am gradually getting wisdom², should now quit these quiet woods, and returning home, partake of sensual pleasures, 723

'And thus by night and day increase³ my store of misery. Surely this is not what should be done! that the great leader of an illustrious tribe, having left his home from love of religion, 724

'And for ever turned his back upon tribal honour⁴, desiring to confirm his purpose as a leader⁵,—that he,—discarding outward form, clad in religious garb, loving religious meditation, wandering thro' the wilds,— 725

'Should now reject his hermit vestment, tread down his sense of proper shame (and give up his aim). This, though I gained heaven's kingly state, cannot be done! how much less to gain an earthly, though distinguished⁶, home! 726

with 'vana' so used in other languages (the Sinhalese, according to Childers).

¹ The wide or deep palace seems to refer to the well-guarded and secure condition of a royal abode.

² Am gradually increasing enlightenment.

³ Here the increase of sorrow is contrasted with the increase of wisdom, in the previous verse.

⁴ Or, on his honourable, or renowned, tribe.

⁵ Here the word leader (*kang fu*) refers to a religious leader, in contrast with a leader of a tribe, or family.

⁶ There seems to be a fine and delicate sarcasm in these words.

‘For having spued forth lust, passion, and ignorance, shall I return to feed upon it? as a man might go back to his vomit! such misery, how could I bear? 727

‘Like a man whose house has caught fire, by some expedient finds a way to escape, will such a man forthwith go back and enter it again? such conduct would disgrace a man!¹ 728

‘So I, beholding the evils, birth, old age, and death, to escape the misery, have become a hermit; shall I then go back and enter in, and like a fool dwell in their company? 729

‘He who enjoys a royal estate and yet seeks rescue², cannot dwell thus, this is no place for him; escape (rescue) is born from quietness and rest; to be a king is to add distress and poison; 730

‘To seek for rest and yet aspire to royal condition is but a contradiction, royalty and rescue, motion and rest, like fire and water, having two principles³, cannot be united. 731

‘So one resolved to seek escape cannot abide possessed of kingly dignity! and if you say a man may be a king⁴, and at the same time prepare deliverance for himself, 732

‘There is no certainty in this⁵! to seek certain

¹ How would such a man be not accounted insignificant (tim, a dot or spot).

² I have translated ‘kiai tuh,’ rescue; it means rescue from sorrow, or deliverance in the sense of salvation.

³ Two, or different, principles (li).

⁴ A man may occupy a kingly estate.

⁵ This is still opposed to certainty; or, this cannot be established.

escape is not to risk it thus¹; it is through this uncertain frame of mind that once a man gone forth is led to go back home again; 733

‘But I, my mind is not uncertain²; severing the baited hook³ of relationship, with straightforward purpose⁴, I have left my home. Then tell me, why should I return again?’ 734

The great minister, inwardly reflecting, (thought), ‘The mind of the royal prince, my master⁵, is full of wisdom, and agreeable to virtue⁶, what he says is reasonable and fitly framed⁷.’ 735

Then he addressed the prince and said: ‘According to what your highness states, he who seeks religion must seek it rightly; but this is not the fitting time (for you); 736

‘Your royal father, old and of declining years, thinking of you his son, adds grief to grief; you say indeed, “I find my joy in rescue. To go back would be apostasy⁸.” 737

‘But yet your joy denotes unwisdom⁹, and argues want of deep reflection; you do not see, because you seek the fruit, how vain to give up present duty¹⁰. 738

¹ Certain escape, or certainty in escape, is not thus.

² But now I have attained to certainty.

³ That is, taking the bait off the hook of relationship; the love of kindred is the bait.

⁴ Using a right (or straight) expedient (upāya).

⁵ The purpose of the prince, the master (kang fu).

⁶ Deep in knowledge, virtuously accordant.

⁷ Or, has reasonable sequence (cause and effect).

⁸ Fi-fā, opposed to religion; or, a revulsion from religion.

⁹ Although you rejoice, it comes forth from no-wisdom.

¹⁰ This is a free rendering; the original is, ‘in fā kwan,’ which means ‘present religious consideration.’

‘There are some who say, There is “hereafter”¹,’ others there are who say, “Nothing hereafter.” So whilst this question hangs in suspense, why should a man give up his present pleasure? 739

‘If perchance there is “hereafter,” we ought to bear (patiently) what it brings²; if you say, “Hereafter is not³,” then there is not either rescue (salvation)! 740

‘If you say, “Hereafter is,” you would not say, “Salvation causes it⁴.” As earth is hard, or fire is hot, or water moist, or wind is mobile, 741

“Hereafter” is just so. It has its own distinct nature. So when we speak of pure and impure, each comes from its own distinctive nature. 742

‘If you should say, “By some contrivance this can be removed,” such an opinion argues folly. Every root within the moral world⁵ (world or domain of conduct) has its own nature predetermined; 743

‘Loving remembrance and forgetfulness, these have their nature fixed and positive; so likewise

¹ A discussion now begins as to the certainty or otherwise of ‘a hereafter,’ the words in the text which I have translated ‘hereafter,’ are ‘heou shai,’ i. e. after world. The phrase seems to correspond with the Pāli ‘paro loko,’ as in the sentence, ‘N’ ev’ atthi na n’ atthi paro loko’ (see Childers’ Pāli Dict., sub voce na).

² We ought to trust it, whatever it is.

³ These two lines may also be translated thus, ‘If you say the after world is nothingness, then nothingness is also rescue (from the present world).’

⁴ This seems to mean that if we say there is another world, we cannot mean that escape from the present world is the cause of the future. Literally and word for word, ‘Not-say-escape-the cause.’

⁵ ‘The word ‘root’ here means ‘sense.’ The sentence seems to mean ‘every sense united with its object.’

age, disease, and death, these sorrows, who can escape by strategy¹? (contrivance, upâya). 744

‘If you say, “Water can put out fire,” or “Fire can cause water to boil and pass away,” (then this proves only that) distinctive natures may be mutually destructive; but nature in harmony produces living things; 745

‘So man when first conceived within the womb, his hands, his feet, and all his separate members, his spirit and his understanding, of themselves are perfected; but who is he who does it? 746

‘Who is he that points the prickly thorn? This too is nature, self-controlling². And take again the different kinds of beasts, these are what they are, without desire (on their part³); 747

‘And so, again, the heaven-born beings, whom the self-existent (Isvara) rules⁴, and all the world of his creation; these have no self-possession power of expedients; 748

‘For if they had a means of causing birth, there would be also (means) for controlling death, and then what need of self-contrivance, or seeking for deliverance? 749

‘There are those who say, “I⁵” (the soul) is the cause of birth, and others who affirm, “I” (the soul) is the cause of death. There are some who say,

¹ The word translated ‘strategy’ is of very frequent occurrence. It means contrivance, use of means to an end.

² Tsz’ in, ‘of itself.’

³ This line seems to mean that these beasts are made, or come into being, without desire on their part.

⁴ I have supposed that the symbol 爲 in the text is for 主, but the first symbol may be retained, and then the passage would mean ‘whom the self-existent made.’

⁵ The word ‘I’ here seems to mean ‘the self,’ or, the soul.

"Birth comes from nothingness, and without any plan of ours we perish¹." 750

'Thus one is born a fortunate child, removed from poverty, of noble family, or learned in testamentary lore of *Rishis*, or called to offer mighty sacrifices to the gods, 751

'Born in either state, untouched by poverty, then their famous name becomes to them "escape," their virtues handed down by name to us²; yet if these attained their happiness (found deliverance), 752

'Without contrivance of their own, how vain and fruitless is the toil of those who seek "escape." And you, desirous of deliverance, purpose to practise some high expedient, 753

'Whilst your royal father frets and sighs; for a short while you have assayed the road, and leaving home have wandered thro' the wilds, to return then would not now be wrong; 754

'Of old, king Ambarisha for a long while dwelt in the grievous forest, leaving his retinue and all his kinsfolk, but afterwards returned and took the royal office; 755

'And so Râma, son of the king of the country, leaving his country occupied the mountains, but hearing he was acting contrary to usage³, returned⁴ and governed righteously. 756

¹ I have taken the symbol 'iu' here in the sense of 'without,' like the Latin 'careo.'

² The sense seems to be that the great name and renown of such persons handed down through successive generations is 'salvation' or 'deliverance;' not the reward of another world, but the immortal character of their good deeds in this.

³ So I translate the expression 'fung-tsu-li,' usage-separation.

⁴ There is a symbol here which may denote the name of the

‘And so the king of Sha-lo-po, called To-lo-ma (Druma)¹, father and son, both wandered forth as hermits, but in the end came back again together; 757

‘So Po’sz-tsau Muni (Vasishṭha?), with Ontai-tieh (Ātreya?), in the wild mountains practising as Brahmakāṛins, these too returned to their own country. 758

‘Thus all these worthies of a by-gone age, famous for their advance in true religion, came back home and royally governed, as lamps enlightening the world. 759

‘Wherefore for you to leave the mountain wilds, religiously to rule, is not a crime.’ The royal prince, listening to the great minister, loving words without excess of speaking, 760

Full of sound argument, clear and unconfused, with no desire to wrangle after the way of the schools, with fixed purpose, deliberately speaking, thus answered the great minister: 761

‘The question of being and not-being is an idle one, only adding to the uncertainty of an unstable mind, and to talk of such matters I have no strong (fixed) inclination²; 762

‘Purity of life, wisdom, the practice of asceticism³, these are matters to which I earnestly apply myself⁴, the world is full of empty studies (discoveries) which our teachers in their office skilfully involve; 763

‘But they are without any true principle, and I

place to which he returned; ‘wei’ is often used in the composition of proper names, especially those ending in ‘vastu.’

¹ Drumāksha, king of the Sālvas.

² 取 = upādāna.

³ Or, purely and wisely to practise self-denial (mortification).

⁴ Or, these are the certainties I for myself know.

will none of them! The enlightened man distinguishes truth from falsehood; but how can truth¹ (faith) be born from such as those? 764

'For they are like the man born blind, leading the blind man as a guide; as in the night, as in thick darkness [both wander on], what recovery is there for them? 765

'Regarding the question of the pure and impure, the world involved in self-engendered doubt cannot perceive the truth; better to walk along the way of purity, 766

'Or rather follow the pure law of self-denial, hate the practice of impurity, reflect on what was said of old², not obstinate in one belief or one tradition, 767

'With sincere (empty) mind, accepting all true words, and ever banishing sinful sorrow (i. e. sin, the cause of grief). Words which exceed sincerity (simplicity of purpose) are vainly (falsely) spoken; the wise man uses not such words. 768

'As to what you say of Râma and the rest, leaving their home, practising a pure life, and then returning to their country, and once more mixing themselves in sensual pleasures, 769

'Such men as these walk vainly; those who are wise place no dependence on them. Now, for your sakes, permit me, briefly, to recount this one true principle (i. e. purpose) (of action): 770

"The sun, the moon may fall to earth, Sumeru and all the snowy mountains overturn, but I will never change my purpose; rather than enter a forbidden place, 771

¹ The word 'sin' 信 may mean faith or truth.

² Consider what has been handed down.

“Let me be cast into the fierce fire ; not to accomplish rightly (what I have entered on), and to return once more to my own land, there to enter the fire of the five desires, 772

“Let it befall me as my own oath records :”—so spake the prince, his arguments as pointed as the brightness of the perfect sun ; then rising up he passed some distance off.’ 773

The Purohita and the minister, their words and discourse prevailing nothing, conversed together, after which, resolving to depart on their return, 774

With great respect they quietly inform¹ the prince, not daring to intrude their presence on him further ; and yet regarding the king’s commands, not willing to return with unbecoming haste, 775

They loitered quietly along the way, and whomsoever they encountered, selecting those who seemed like wise men, they interchanged such thoughts as move the learned, 776

Hiding their true position, as men of title ; then passing on, they speeded on their way.

¹ They breathe it to the prince.

KIOUEN III.

VARGA 10. BIMBASÂRA RÂGA INVITES THE PRINCE.

The royal prince departing from the court-master (i. e. the Purohita) and the great minister, Saddharma¹, keeping along² the stream, then crossing the Ganges, he took the road towards the Vulture Peak³, 777

¹ Saddharma may be the name of the minister, or it may be rendered 'the great minister of the true law,' i. e. of religion.

² For the symbol 冒 I have substituted 望 'to go towards.' The whole line may be translated 'following the turbulent (streams) he crossed the Ganges,' in this case 冒 would be for 倡. But the sentence is obscure, as 'lang tsai' may be a proper name.

³ The distance from the place of the interview with the ministers to the Vulture Peak would be in a straight line about 150 miles. In the Southern books (Nidâna-kathâ; Buddhist Birth Stories, by Mr. Rhys Davids, pp. 85 and 87 n.) it is said that from Kapilavastu to the River Anomâ, near which the interview took place, is thirty yoganâs; this is greatly in excess of the real distance, which is about thirty-three miles, or five yoganâs. Then again from the Anomâ River, or the village of Maneya (Mhaniya), where the Bodhisattva halted (see Romantic Legend of Buddha, p. 140, and compare vol. xii, plate viii, Archaeological Survey of India), to Râgagriha by way of Vaisâlî would not be more than 180 miles, so that the whole distance from Kapilavastu (assuming Bhula to represent this old town) would be about 215 miles, or about thirty yoganâs. Hence we assume that the thirty yoganâs of the Southern account is intended to represent the entire distance from Kapilavastu, and not from the River Anomâ. Mr. Rhys Davids supposes the distance from Kapilavastu to Râgagriha (viâ Vaisâlî) to be sixty yoganâs (loc. cit. Birth Stories). In the Southern account the journey from the Anomâ to Râgagriha is described as having been accomplished in one day.

Hidden among the five mountains¹, standing alone a lovely peak as a roof amid (the others). The trees and shrubs and flowers in bloom, the flowing fountains, and the cooling rills, 778

(All these he gazed upon)—then passing on, he entered the city of the five peaks, calm and peaceful, as one come down from heaven². The country folk, seeing the royal prince, his comeliness and his excessive grace, 779

Though young in years, yet glorious in his person, incomparable as the appearance of a great master, seeing him thus, strange thoughts affected them, as if they gazed upon the banner (curtain) of Isvara³. 780

They stayed the foot, who passed athwart the path; those hastened on, who were behind; those going before, turned back their heads and gazed with earnest, wistful⁴ look. 781

The marks and distinguishing points of his person⁵, on these they fixed their eyes without fatigue, and then approached with reverent homage, joining both their hands in salutation: 782

¹ The five mountains, viz., which surrounded Râgagriha, see Fah-hian, p. 112 n. The text seems to imply that the Vulture Peak towered above the others, but its base was hidden among the five.

² As a Deva, outside (heaven).

³ The banner of Isvara (Indra) is frequently represented in Buddhist sculptures. There is a pleasing figure of it in Mrs. Speir's *Ancient India*, p. 230; see also *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxxviii and elsewhere.

⁴ Unsatisfied look, that is, constant or fixed gaze.

⁵ The marks and distinguishing points are the signs to be found on the person of one destined to be a Buddha. In the text the expression 'on the four limbs' means 'on the body.'

With all there was a sense of wondrous joy, as in their several ways they offered what they had, looking at his noble and illustrious features; bending down their bodies¹ modestly, 783

Correcting every careless or unseemly gesture, thus they showed their reverence to him silently²; those who with anxious heart, seeking release, were moved by love, with feelings composed, bowed down the more³. 784

Great men and women, in their several engagements⁴, at the same time arrested on their way, paid to his person and his presence homage: and following him as they gazed, they went not back. 785

For the white circle between his eyebrows⁵ adorned his wide and violet colour'd⁶ eyes, his noble body bright as gold, his pure and web-joined fingers, 786

All these, though he were but a hermit, were marks of one who was a holy king; and now the men and women of Rāgagriha, the old and young alike, were moved, 787

(And cried), 'This man so noble as a recluse, what common joy is this for us?!' At this time Bimbāsāra Rāga, placed upon a high tower of observation, 788

Seeing all those men and women, in different ways

¹ Their different bodies, or forms.

² Silently they added their respectful homage.

³ These lines seem to refer to the ease of mind given to the care-worn by the presence of Bodhisattva.

⁴ Whether engaged on public or private affairs; so at least the text seems to mean, 公 私 業.

⁵ That is, the urna, or circle of hair, supposed to be on the forehead of every great man.

⁶ The colour is indefinite blue-like; compare the Greek *κύανος*.

⁷ That is, 'what an occasion for uncommon joy is this!'

exhibiting one mark of surprise¹, calling before him some man outside, enquired at once the cause of it; 789

This one bending his knee below the tower, told fully what he had seen and heard, 'That one of the Sākya race, renowned of old, a prince most excellent and wonderful, 790

'Divinely wise, beyond the way of this world, a fitting king to rule the eight regions, now without home, is here, and all men are paying homage to him.' 791

The king on hearing this was deeply moved at heart², and though his body was restrained, his soul had gone³. Calling his ministers speedily before him, and all his nobles and attendants, 792

He bade them follow secretly the (prince's) steps, to observe what charity was given⁴. (So in obedience to the command) they followed and watched him steadfastly, as with even gait and unmoved presence 793

He entered on the town and begged his food, according to the rule of all great hermits, with joyful mien and undisturbed mind, not anxious whether much or little alms were given; 794

Whatever he received, costly or poor, he placed within his bowl, then turned back to the wood, and having eaten it and drank of the flowing stream, he joyous sat upon the immaculate mountain⁵. 795

¹ Scared in different ways, assuming one attitude, or unvarying attitude; the line simply means they all showed the same indication of astonishment.

² Rejoiced with fear, or with astonishment.

³ His body held (to the place), his soul (shin) had already hastened, i. e. to the spot where Bodhisattva was.

⁴ Or, what religious offering should be made.

⁵ The White Mountain, meaning probably the Royal Mountain.

(There he beheld) the green trees fringing with their shade the crags, the scented flowers growing between the intervals, whilst the peacocks and the other birds, joyously flying, mingled their notes; 796

His sacred garments bright and lustrous, (shone) as the sun-lit mulberry leaves; the messengers beholding his fixed composure, one by one (returning), reported what they had seen; 797

The king hearing it, was moved at heart, and forthwith ordered his royal equipment to be brought, his god-like crown and his flower-bespangled robes; then, as the lion-king, he strided forth, 798

And choosing certain aged persons of consideration, learned men, able calmly and wisely to discriminate, he (with them) led the way followed by a hundred thousand people, who like a cloud ascended with the king the royal mountain. 799

And now beholding the dignity of Bodhisattva, every outward gesture (spring of action) under government, sitting with ease upon the mountain crag¹, as the moon shining limpid in the pure heavens, 800

So (was) his matchless beauty and purity of grace; then as the converting presence of religion² dwelling within the heart makes it reverential³, so (beholding him) he reverently approached, 801

Even as divine Śākara comes to the presence of

¹ On the lofty abode of the mountain (peak).

² This expression is singular, it will bear no other translation than this, 'the converting body (or, presence) of the law, i.e. religion.'

³ Or, causes reverence (on the part of the beholder).

Mo-hi-su-ma¹, so with every outward form of courtesy and reverence² (the king approached) and asked him respectfully of his welfare. 802

Bodhisattva, answering as he was moved³, in his turn made similar enquiries. Then the king, the questioning over, sat down with dignity upon a clean-faced rock. 803

And so he steadfastly beheld the divine appearance (of the prince), the sweetness and complacency of his features⁴ revealing⁵ what his station was and high estate, his family renown, received by inheritance, 804

The king who for a time restrained his feelings, now wishful to get rid of doubts, (enquired) (why one) descended from the royal family of the sun-brightness having attended to religious sacrifices thro' ten thousand generations, 805

Whereof the virtue had descended as his full inheritance, increasing and accumulating until now⁶, (why he) so excellent in wisdom, so young in years, had now become a recluse, 806

Rejecting the position of a *Kakravartin's*⁷ son, begging his food, despising family fame, his beau-

¹ Probably the symbol ma is here used for va, in which case the name would be restored to Mâhervara.

² It is difficult to render such passages as this literally, but it might be translated thus, 'With collected air and every mark of decorum.'

³ That is, according to the circumstances of the enquiry.

⁴ The sweet expression blended with a joyfulness of countenance.

⁵ Or it may be rendered, 'Correctly hearing his name and high degree,' as though one of the king's attendants had whispered the name and family of Bodhisattva in his ear.

⁶ Largely possessed (or, collected) in his own person.

⁷ Son of a holy king.

teous form, fit for perfumes and anointings, why clothed with coarse Kasâya garments ; 807

The hand which ought to grasp the reins of empire, instead thereof, taking its little stint of food; if indeed (the king continued) you were not of royal descent, and would receive as an offering the transfer of this land, 808

Then would I divide with you my empire¹; saying this, he scarcely hoped to excite his feelings, who had left his home and family, to be a hermit. Then forthwith the king proceeded thus : 809

'Give just weight I pray you to my truthful words, desire for power is kin to nobleness, and so is just pride of fame or family or wealth or personal appearance ; 810

'No longer having any wish to subdue the proud, or to bend (others) down and so get thanks from men, it were better, then, to give to the strong and warlike martial arms to wear, for them to follow war and by their power to get supremacy ; 811

'But when by one's own power a kingdom falls to hand, who would not then accept the reins of empire ? The wise man knows the time to take religion, wealth, and worldly pleasure. 812

'But if he obtains not² the three (or, threefold profit), then in the end he abates his earnest efforts, and reverencing religion, he lets go material wealth. Wealth is the one desire³ of worldly men ; 813

¹ The absence of covetousness in Bimbasâra has passed into a proverb or a typical instance in Buddhist literature. (Compare Asvaghosha's Sermons, *passim*.)

² If he desires not to possess the three, that is, wealth, pleasure, religion.

³ Wealth affects (makes) all men of the world.

‘To be rich and lose all desire for religion, this is to gain but outside wealth. But to be poor and even thus despise religion, what pleasure can indulgence give in such a case! 814

‘But when possessed of all the three, and when enjoyed with reason and propriety, then religion, wealth, and pleasure make what is rightly called a great master; 815

‘Permit not, then, your perfectly-endowed body to lay aside (sacrifice) its glory, without reward (merit); Mandha(ri) the *Kakravartin*, as a monarch, ruled the four empires of the world, 816

‘And shared with Sakra his royal throne, but was unequal to the task of ruling heaven. But you, with your redoubtable strength, may well grasp both heavenly and human power; 817

‘I do not rely upon my kingly power¹, in my desire to keep you here by force, but seeing you change your comeliness of person, and wearing the hermit’s garb, 818

‘Whilst it makes me reverence you for your virtue, moves me with pity and regret for you as a man; you now go begging your food, and I offer you (desire to offer) the whole land as yours; 819

‘Whilst you are young and lusty enjoy yourself². During middle life acquire wealth, and when old and all your abilities ripened, then is the time for following the rules of religion; 820

‘When young to encourage religious fervour, is to destroy the sources of desire; but when old and

¹ That is, I do not command you as a king, but desire you to share my kingly power.

² Receive the pleasure of the five enjoyments (of sense), i. e. the indulgence of the five senses.

the breath (of desire) is less eager, then is the time to seek religious solitude; 821

‘When old we should avoid, as a shame, desire of wealth, but get honour in the world by a religious life; but when young, and the heart light and elastic, then is the time to partake of pleasure, 822

‘In boon companionship to indulge in gaiety, and partake to the full of mutual intercourse; but as years creep on, giving up indulgence, to observe the ordinances of religion, 823

‘To mortify the five desires, and go on increasing a joyful and religious heart, is not this the law of the eminent kings of old, who as a great company paid worship to heaven, 824

‘And borne on the dragon’s back, received the joys of celestial abodes? All these divine and victorious monarchs, glorious in person, richly adorned, 825

‘Thus having as a company performed their religious offering, in the end received the reward of their conduct in heaven.’ Thus Bimbasâra Râga (used) every kind of winning expedient in argument; 826

The royal prince unmoved and fixed remained firm as Mount Sumeru.

VARGA 11. THE REPLY TO BIMBASÂRA RÂGA.

Bimbasâra Râga having, in a decorous manner, and with soothing speech, made his request, the prince on his part respectfully replied, in the following words, deep and heart-stirring: 827

‘Illustrious and world renowned! Your words are

not opposed to reason, descendant of a distinguished family—an Aryan¹—amongst men² a true friend indeed, 828

‘Righteous and sincere to the bottom of your heart, it is proper for religion’s sake to speak thus³. In all the world, in its different sections, there is no chartered place⁴ for solid virtue (right principles), 829

‘For if virtue flags and folly rules, what reverence can there be, or honour paid, to a high name or boast of prowess, inherited from former generations! 830

‘And so there may be in the midst of great distress, large goodness, these are not mutually opposed. This then is so with the world in the connection of true worth and friendship. 831

‘A true friend who makes good (free) use of wealth—is rightly called a fast and firm treasure, but he who guards and stints the profit he has made, his wealth will soon be spent and lost; 832

‘The wealth of a country is no constant treasure, but that which is given in charity is rich in returns, therefore charity is a true friend, altho’ it scatters, yet it brings no repentance; 833

‘You indeed are known as liberal and kind, I make no reply in opposition to you, but simply as we meet, so with agreeable purpose we talk. 834

¹ The symbols are ‘ho-lai;’ the translation may be simply ‘descendant of a noble (ariya) and renowned family.’

² Or, for men’s sake.

³ This line literally translated is, ‘Religion requires (me) thus to speak,’ or, if the expression ‘gu shi’ refers to what has been said (as it generally does), then the line will run thus, ‘Religion justifies you in speaking as you have.’

⁴ We cannot place (i. e. fix the place) where religion (or, virtue and right principle) must dwell.

'I fear birth, old age, disease, and death, and so I seek to find a sure mode of deliverance; I have put away thought of relatives and family affection, how is it possible then for me to return to the world (five desires) 835

'And not to fear to revive the poisonous snake, (and after)¹ the hail to be burned in the fierce fire; indeed I fear the objects of these several desires, this whirling in the stream (of life) troubles my heart, 836

'These five desires, the inconstant thieves²—stealing from men their choicest treasures, making them unreal, false, and fickle—are like the man called up as an apparition³; 837

'For a time the beholders are affected (by it), but it has no lasting hold upon the mind; so these five desires are the great obstacles, for ever disarranging the way of peace; 838

'If the joys of heaven are not worth having, how much less the desires common to men, begetting the thirst of wild love, and then lost in the enjoyment, 839

'As the fierce wind fans the fire, till the fuel be spent and the fire expires; of all unrighteous things in the world, there is nothing worse than the domain of the five desires; 840

'For all men maddened by the power of lust, giving themselves to pleasure, are dead to reason. The wise man fears these desires, he fears to fall into the way of unrighteousness; 841

¹ Like frozen hail and fierce burning fire.

² Robbers of impermanency.

³ That is, are as unreal as an apparition.

‘For like a king who rules all within the four seas, yet still seeks beyond for something more, (so is lust); like the unbounded ocean, it knows not when and where to stop. 842

‘Mandha, the *Kakravartin*, when the heavens rained yellow gold, and he ruled all within the seas, yet sighed after the domain of the thirty-three heavens; 843

✓ ‘Dividing with *Sakra* his seat, and so thro’ the power of this lust he died; *Nung-Sha* (*Nyâsa*?), whilst practising austerities, got power to rule the thirty-three heavenly abodes, 844

‘But from lust he became proud and supercilious, the *Rishi* whilst stepping into his chariot, through carelessness in his gait, fell down into the midst of the serpent pit. 845

‘*Yen-lo* (*Yama*?) the universal monarch (*Kakra-vartin*) wandering abroad thro’ the *Trayastrimsas* heaven, took a heavenly woman (*Apsara*) for a queen, and unjustly extorted¹ the gold of a *Rishi*; 846

‘The *Rishi*, in anger, added a charm, by which the country was ruined, and his life ended. *Po-lo*, and *Sakra* king of *Devas*², *Sakra* king of *Devas*, and *Nung-sha* (*Nyâsa*), 847

‘*Nung-sha* returning (or, restoring) to *Sakra*; what certainty (constancy) is there, even for the lord of heaven? Neither is any country safe, though kept by the mighty strength of those dwelling in it. 848

¹ The literal translation of this line would be, ‘Taxing the gold of *Lim* the *Rishi*;’ or, ‘of the harvest ingathered by the *Rishi*.’

² These lines refer to the transfer of heavenly power from *Sakra* to others, but the myth is not known to me; and there is confusion in the text, which is probably corrupt.

‘But when one’s clothing consists of grass, the berries one’s food, the rivulets one’s drink, with long hair flowing to the ground, silent as a Muni, seeking nothing, 849

‘In this way practising austerities, in the end lust shall be destroyed. Know then, that the province (indulgence) of the five desires is avowedly an enemy of the religious man. 850

‘Even the one-thousand-armed invincible king, strong in his might, finds it hard to conquer this. The *Rishi* Râma perished because of lust, 851

‘How much more ought I, the son of a Kshatriya, to restrain lustful desire; but indulge in lust a little, and like the child it grows apace, 852

‘The wise man hates it therefore; who would take poison for food? every sorrow is increased and cherished by the offices of lust. 853

‘If there is no lustful desire, the risings of sorrow are not produced, the wise man seeing the bitterness of sorrow, stamps out and destroys the risings of desire; 854

‘That which the world calls virtue, is but another form of this baneful law¹; worldly men enjoying the pleasure of covetous desire then every form of careless conduct results; 855

‘These careless ways producing hurt, at death, the subject of them reaps perdition (falls into one of the evil ways). But by the diligent use of means, and careful continuance therein, 856

‘The consequences of negligence are avoided, we should therefore dread the non-use of means; recol-

¹ The sense of this passage seems to be that what is called by men a virtuous life, is but a form of regulated vice.

lecting that all things are illusory, the wise man covets them not; 857

‘He who desires such things, desires sorrow, and then goes on again ensnared in love, with no certainty of ultimate freedom; he advances still and ever adds grief to grief, 858

‘Like one holding a lighted torch burns his hand, and therefore the wise man enters on no such things. The foolish man and the one who doubts, still encouraging the covetous and burning heart, 859

‘In the end receives accumulated sorrow, not to be remedied by any prospect of rest; covetousness and anger are as the serpent’s poison; the wise man casts away 860

‘The approach of sorrow as a rotten bone; he tastes it not nor touches it, lest it should corrupt his teeth, that which the wise man will not take, 861

‘The king will go through fire and water to obtain, the wicked sons¹ labour for wealth as for a piece of putrid flesh, o’er which the hungry flocks of birds contend. 862

‘So should we regard riches; the wise man is ill pleased at having wealth stored up, the mind wild with anxious thoughts, 863

‘Guarding himself by night and day, as a man who fears some powerful enemy, like as a man’s feelings revolt with disgust at the (sights seen) beneath the slaughter post of the East Market, 864

‘So the high post which marks the presence of lust, and anger, and ignorance, the wise man always avoids; as those who enter the mountains or the seas have much to contend with and little rest, 865

‘As the fruit which grows on a high tree, and is

¹ The foolish world.

grasped at by the covetous at the risk of life, so is the region (matter) of covetous desire, tho' they see the difficulty of getting it, 866

'Yet how painfully do men scheme after wealth, difficult to acquire, easy to dissipate, as that which is got in a dream, how can the wise man hoard up (such trash)! 867

'Like covering over with a false surface a hole full of fire, slipping thro' which the body is burnt, so is the fire of covetous desire. The wise man meddles not with it. 868

'Like that Kaurava [Kau-lo-po], or Pih-se-ni Nanda, or Ni-*k'he*-lai Danta, as some *kandala*'s (butcher's) appearance¹, 869

'Such also is the appearance of lustful desire; the wise man will have nothing to do with it, he would rather throw his body into the water or fire, or cast himself down over a steep precipice. 870

'Seeking to obtain heavenly pleasures, what is this but to remove the place of sorrow, without profit. Sün-tau, Po-sun-tau (Sundara and Vasundara), brothers of Asura, 871

'Lived together in great affection, but on account of lustful desire slew one another, and their name perished; all this then comes from lust; 872

'It is this which makes a man vile, and lashes and goads him with piercing sorrow; lust debases a man, robs him of all hope, whilst through the long night his body and soul are worn out; 873

'Like the stag² that covets the power of speech

¹ This line may be translated, 'as the appearance of the shambles.'

² I do not know to what this refers; the symbol 'shing' may not only mean 'the power of speech,' but also 'musical power' or 'music;' or it may mean 'celebrity.'

and dies, or the winged bird that covets¹ sensual pleasure (the net), or the fish that covets the baited hook, such are the calamities that lust brings; 874

‘Considering what are the requirements of life, none of these possess permanency; we eat to appease the pain of hunger, to do away with thirst we drink, 875

‘We clothe ourselves to keep out the cold and wind, we lie down to rest to get sleep, to procure locomotion we seek a carriage, when we would halt we seek a seat, 876

‘We wash to cleanse ourselves from dirt, all these things are done to avoid inconvenience; we may gather therefore that these five desires have no permanent character; 877

‘For as a man suffering from fever seeks and asks for some cooling medicine, so covetousness seeks for something to satisfy its longings; foolish men regard these things as permanent, 878

‘And as the necessary requirements of life, but, in sooth, there is no permanent cessation of sorrow; for by coveting to appease these desires we really increase them, there is no character of permanency therefore about them. 879

‘To be filled and clothed are no lasting pleasures, time passes, and the sorrow recurs; summer is cool during the moon-tide shining; winter comes and cold increases; 880

‘And so through all the eightfold laws of the world they possess no marks of permanence, sorrow and joy cannot agree together, as a person slave-governed loses his renown. 881

¹ Or, ‘that follows after form-covetousness.’

‘But religion causes all things to be of service, as a king reigning in his sovereignty; so religion controls sorrow, as one fits on a burthen according to power of endurance. 882

‘Whatever our condition in the world, still sorrows accumulate around us. Even in the condition of a king, how does pain multiply, though bound to others by love, yet this is a cause of grief; 883

‘Without friends and living alone, what joy can there be in this? Though a man rules over the four kingdoms, yet only one part can be enjoyed; 884

‘To be concerned in ten thousand matters, what profit is there in this, for we only accumulate anxieties. Put an end to sorrow, then, by appeasing desire, refrain from busy work, this is rest. 885

‘A king enjoys his sensual pleasures; deprived of kingship there is the joy of rest; in both cases there are pleasures (but of different kinds); why then be a king! 886

‘Make then no plan or crafty expedient, to lead me back to the five desires; what my heart prays for, is some quiet place and freedom (a free road); 887

‘But you desire to entangle me in relationships and duties, and destroy the completion of what I seek; I am in no fear of a hated house (family hatred), nor do I seek the joys of heaven; 888

‘My heart hankers after no vulgar profit, so I have put away my royal diadem; and contrary to your way of thinking, I prefer, henceforth, no more to rule. 889

‘A hare rescued from the serpent’s mouth, would it go back again to be devoured? holding a torch and burning himself, would not a man let it go? 890

‘A man blind and recovering his sight, would he again seek to be in darkness? the rich, does he sigh for poverty? the wise, does he long to be ignorant? 891

‘Has the world such men as these? then will I again enjoy my country. (But) I desire to get rid of birth, old age, and death, with body restrained, to beg my food; 892

‘With appetites moderated, to keep in my retreat; and then to avoid the evil modes of a future life, this is to find peace in two worlds: now then I pray you pity me not. 893

‘Pity, rather, those who rule as kings! their souls ever vacant and athirst, in the present world no repose, hereafter receiving pain as their meed. 894

‘You, who possess a distinguished family name, and the reverence due to a great master, would generously share your dignity with me, your worldly pleasures and amusements; 895

‘I, too, in return, for your sake, beseech you to share my reward with me; he who indulges in (practises) the threefold kinds of pleasure, this man the world calls “Lord,” 896

‘But this is not according to reason either, because these things cannot be retained, but where there is no birth, or life, or death, he who exercises himself in this way, is Lord indeed! 897

‘You say that while young a man should be gay, and when old then religious (a recluse), but I regard the feebleness of age as bringing with it loss of power (to be religious), 898

‘Unlike the firmness and power of youth, the will determined and the heart established; but death

as a robber with a drawn sword follows us all,
desiring to catch his prey; 899

‘How then should we wait for old age, ere we
bring our mind to a religious life? Inconstancy is
the great hunter, age his bow, disease his arrows, 900

‘In the fields of life and death he hunts for living
things as for the deer; when he can get his
opportunity, he takes our life; who then would wait
for age? 901

‘And what the teachers say and do, with refer-
ence to matters connected with life and death,
exhorting the young, mature, or middle-aged, all
to contrive by any means, 902

‘To prepare vast meetings for sacrifices, this they
do indeed of their own ignorance; better far to
reverence the true law (religion), and put an end
to sacrifice to appease the gods! 903

‘Destroying life to gain religious merit, what love
can such a man possess? even if the reward of such
sacrifices were lasting, even for this, slaughter would
be unseemly; 904

‘How much more, when the reward is transient!
Shall we (in search of this) slay that which lives, in
worship? this is like those who practise wisdom,
and the way of religious abstraction, but neglect the
rules of moral conduct. 905

‘It ill behoves us then to follow with the world,
and attend these sacrificial assemblies, and seek some
present good in killing that which lives; the wise
avoid destroying life! 906

‘Much less do they engage in general sacrifices,
for the purpose of gaining future reward! the fruit
(reward) promised in the three worlds is none of
mine to choose for happiness! 907

'All these are governed by transient, fickle laws, like the wind, or the drop that is blown from the grass; such things therefore I put away from me, and I seek for true escape. 908

'I hear there is one O-lo-lam (*Ârâda Kâlâma*) who eloquently (well) discourses on the way of escape, I must go to the place where he dwells, that great *Rîshi* and hermit. 909

'But in truth, sorrow must be banished; I regret indeed leaving you; may your country have repose and quiet! safely defended (by you) as (by) the divine *Sakra-râga*! 910

'May wisdom be shed abroad as light upon your empire, like the brightness of the meridian sun! may you be exceedingly victorious as lord of the great earth, with a perfect heart ruling over its destiny! 911

'May you direct and defend its sons! ruling your empire in righteousness! Water and snow and fire are opposed to one another, but the fire by its influence causes vapour, 912

'The vapour causes the floating clouds, the floating clouds drop down rain; there are birds in space, who drink the rain, with rainless bodies¹(?) 913

'Slaughter and peaceful homes are enemies! those who would have peace hate slaughter, and if those who slaughter are so hateful, then put an end, O king, to those who practise it! 914

'And bid these find release, as those who drink

¹ This line literally translated is, 'Who drink rain, not rain-body;' there may be a misprint, but I cannot see how to correct the text. The sense of the text and context appears to be this, that as there are those who drink the rain-clouds and yet are parched with thirst, so there are those who constantly practise religious duties and yet are still unblest. Compare Epistle by Jude, ver. 12, 'Clouds without water.'

and yet are parched with thirst.' Then the king clasping together his hands, with greatest reverence and joyful heart, 915

(Said), 'That which you now seek, may you obtain quickly the fruit thereof; having obtained the perfect fruit, return I pray and graciously receive me!' 916

Bodhisattva, his heart inwardly acquiescing, purposing to accomplish his prayer, departing, pursued his road, going to the place where Ârâda Kâlâma dwelt, 917

Whilst the king with all his retinue, their hands clasped, themselves followed a little space, then with thoughtful and mindful heart, returned once more to Râgagriha! 918

VARGA 12. VISIT TO ÂRÂDA UDRARÂMA¹.

The child of the glorious sun of the Ikshvâku race, going to that quiet peaceful grove, reverently stood before the Muni, the great *Rîshi Ârâda Râma*; 919

The dark-clad (?) followers of the Kalam (Saṅghârâma) seeing afar off Bodhisattva approaching, with loud voice raised a joyful chant, and with suppressed breath muttered 'Welcome,' 920

As with clasped hands they revered him. Approaching one another, they made mutual enquiries; and this being done, with the usual apologies, according to their precedence (in age)² they sat down; 921

The Brahmacârins observing the prince, (beheld) his personal beauty and carefully considered his

¹ The compound in the original probably represents Ârâda Kâlâma and Udra(ka) Râmaputra.

² Tsi'ang tsu may mean 'after invitation.'

appearance; respectfully¹ they satisfied themselves of his high qualities, like those who, thirsty, drink the 'pure dew.' 922

(Then) with raised hands they addressed the prince, 'Have you² (or, may we know whether you have) been long an ascetic, divided from your family and broken from the bonds of love, like the elephant who has cast off restraint? 923

'Full of wisdom (your appearance), completely enlightened, (you seem) well able to escape the poisonous fruit (of this world)³. In old time the monarch Ming Shing⁴ (brightly victorious) gave up his kingly estate to his son, 924

'As a man who has carried a flowery wreath, when withered casts it away: but such is not your case, full of youthful vigour, and yet not enamoured with the condition of a holy king; 925

'We see that your will is strong and fixed, capable of becoming a vessel of the true law, able to embark in the boat of wisdom, and to cross over the sea of life and death: 926

'The common class⁵, enticed to come to learn, their talents first are tested, then they are taught; but as I understand your case, your mind is already fixed and your will firm: 927

¹ 'High qualities,' powers of his mind; probably the same as the *taigasa* of the *Gainas* (see Colebrooke, *Essays*, p. 282). This line may be literally translated, 'bathing themselves in a respectful admiration of his high qualities.'

² The symbol 'ki' may possibly mean 'friend,' in which case the line would be, 'O friend! have you long been a homeless one?'

³ Or the poisonous fruit of that which is low or base.

⁴ I have taken 'Ming Shing' as a proper name, but it may be also translated 'illustrious conquering (kings).'

⁵ 'Fan fu,' the common class of philosophers, or students. The vulgar herd.

‘And now you have undertaken the purpose of learning, (I am persuaded) you will not in the end shrink from it.’ The prince hearing this exhortation, with gladness made reply: 928

‘You have with equal intention, illustrious¹! cautioned me with impartial mind; with humble heart I accept the advice, and pray that it may be so with me, (as you anticipate); 929

‘That I may in my night-journey obtain a torch, to guide me safely thro’ treacherous places; a handy boat to cross over the sea;—may it be so even now with me! 930

‘But as I am somewhat in doubt and anxious to learn, I will venture to make known my doubts, and ask, with respect to old age, disease, and death, how are these things to be escaped?’ 931

At this time O-lo-lam (Ârâda Kâlâma) hearing the question asked by the prince, briefly from the various Sûtras and Sâstras, quoted passages in explanation of a way of deliverance. 932

‘But thou (he said) illustrious youth! so highly gifted, and eminent among the wise! hear what I have to say, as I discourse upon the mode of ending birth and death; 933

‘Nature, and change, birth, old age, and death, these five (attributes) belong to all²; “nature” is (in itself)³ pure and without fault; the involution of this with the five elements⁴, 934

¹ Or, ‘illustriously admonished me without preference or dislike;’ or ‘against preference or dislike.’

² The discourse following is very obscure, being founded on the philosophical speculations of Kapila and others.

³ Or, Nature is that which is pure and unsullied (*tabula rasa*).

⁴ The five ‘great’ (Mahat).

‘Causes an awakening and power of perception, which, according to its exercise¹, is the cause of “change;” form, sound, order, taste, touch, these are called the five objects of sense (dhātu); 935

‘As the hand and foot are called the “two ways” (methods of moving?) so these are called “the roots” of action (the five skandhas); the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, these are named the “roots” (instruments) of understanding. 936

‘The root of “mind” (manas)² is twofold, being both material, and also intelligent; “nature” by its involutions is “the cause,” the knower of the cause is “I” (the soul); 937

‘Kapila the *Rīshi* and his numerous followers, on this deep principle of “soul³,” practising wisdom (Buddhi), found deliverance. 938

‘Kapila and now *Vākāspati*⁴, by the power of “Buddhi” perceiving the character of birth, old age, and death, declare that on this is founded true philosophy⁵; 939

‘Whilst all opposed to this, they say, is false. “Ignorance” and “passion,” causing constant “transmigration,” 940

¹ That is, as the power of perception is exercised, ‘change’ is experienced.

² Refer to Colebrooke, on the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

³ Much of this discourse might be illustrated from the Chinese version of ‘the seventy golden Sastra’ (Sāṅkhya Kārikā) of Kapila; but the subject would require distinct treatment.

⁴ This verse is obscure, and the translation doubtful. Literally rendered it runs as follows: ‘That Kapila (or, that which Kapila said) now (is affirmed respecting) *Pragāpati* [po-ġe-po-ti; this may be restored to *Vākpati*, or to *Pragāpati*; the latter however (as I am told) is the reading found in the Sanskrit original] (by the power of) *Buddhi*, knowing birth,’ &c.

⁵ This, they say, is called ‘to see.’

'Abiding in the midst of these (they say) is the lot of "all that lives." Doubting the truth of "soul" is called "excessive doubt," and without distinguishing aright, there can be no method of escape. 941

'Deep speculation as to the limits of perception is but to involve the "soul;" thus unbelief leads to confusion, and ends in differences of thought and conduct. 942

'Again, the various speculations on "soul" (such as) "I say," "I know and perceive," "I come" and "I go" or "I remain fixed," these are called the intricacies (windings) of "soul"¹. 943

'And then the fancies raised in different natures, some saying "this is so," others denying it, and this condition of uncertainty is called the state of "darkness"². 944

'Then there are those who say that outward things (resembling forms) are one with "soul," who say that the "objective" is the same as "mind," who confuse "intelligence" with "instruments," who say that "number" is the "soul." 945

'Thus not distinguishing aright, these are called "excessive quibbles," "marks of folly," "nature changes," and so on. 946

'To worship and recite religious books, to slaughter living things in sacrifice, to render pure by fire and water, and thus awake the thought of final rescue, 947

'All these ways of thinking are called "without right expedient," the result of ignorance and doubt, by means of word or thought or deed; 948

¹ The 'soul' is the 'I' (ahamkâra) of the Sâṅkhya system, concerning which see Colebrooke (Essays), p. 153.

² Tamas.

'Involving outward relationships, this is called "depending on means;" making the material world the ground of "soul," this is called "depending on the senses." 949

'By these eight sorts of speculation are we involved in birth and death. The foolish masters of the world make their classifications in these five ways, (viz.) 950

'Darkness, folly, and great folly, angry passion, with timid fear. Indolent coldness is called "darkness;" birth and death are called "folly;" 951

'Lustful desire is "great folly;" because of great men subjected to error¹, cherishing angry feelings, "passion" results; trepidation of the heart is called "fear." 952

'Thus these foolish men dilate upon the five desires; but the root of the great sorrow of birth and death, the life destined to be spent in the five ways, 953

'The cause of the whirl of life, I clearly perceive, is to be placed in the existence of "I;" because of the influence of this cause, result the consequences of repeated birth and death; 954

'This cause is without any nature of its own, and its fruits have no nature; rightly considering what has been said, there are four matters which have to do with escape, 955

'Kindling wisdom—opposed to dark ignorance,—making manifest—opposed to concealment and obscurity,—if these four matters be understood, then we may escape birth, old age, and death. 956

¹ Literally 'great men producing error,' or it may be 'because of the birth-error (delusion) of great men.'

‘Birth, old age, and death being over, then we attain a final place; the Brahmins¹ all depending on this principle, 957

‘Practising themselves in a pure life, have also largely dilated on it, for the good of the world.’ The prince hearing these words again enquired of Ârâda : 958

‘Tell me what are the expedients you name, and what is the final place to which they lead, and what is the character of that pure (Brahman) life; and again what are the stated periods 959

‘During which such life must be practised, and during which such life is lawful; all these are principles to be enquired into; and on them I pray you discourse for my sake.’ 960

Then that Ârâda, according to the Sûtras and Sâstras, spoke, ‘Yourself using wisdom is the expedient; but I will further dilate on this a little; 961

‘First by removing from the crowd and leading a hermit’s life, depending entirely on alms for food, extensively practising rules of decorum, religiously adhering to right rules of conduct, 962

‘Desiring little and knowing when to abstain, receiving whatever is given (in food), whether pleasant or otherwise, delighting to practise a quiet (ascetic) life, diligently studying all the Sûtras and Sâstras, 963

‘Observing the character of covetous longing and fear, without remnant of desire to live in purity, to govern well the organs of life, the mind quieted and silently at rest, 964

‘Removing desire, and hating vice, all the sorrows

¹ The Brahmins in the world.

of life (the world of desire) put away, then there is happiness; and we obtain the enjoyment of the first¹ dhyâna. 965

‘Having obtained this first dhyâna, then with the illumination thus obtained, by inward meditation is born reliance on thought alone, and the entanglements of folly are put away; 966

‘The mind depending on this, then after death, born in the Brahma heavens, the enlightened are able to know themselves; by the use of means is produced further inward illumination; 967

‘Diligently persevering, seeking higher advance, accomplishing the second dhyâna, tasting of that great joy, we are born in the Kwong-yin² heaven (Âbhâsvara); 968

‘Then by the use of means putting away this delight, practising the third dhyâna, resting in such delight and wishing no further excellence, there is a birth in the Subhakra³tsna (hin-tsing) heaven; 969

‘Leaving the thought of such delight, straightway we reach the fourth dhyâna, all joys and sorrows done away, the thought of escape produced, 970

‘We dwell in this fourth dhyâna, and are born in the Vrihat-phala heaven; because of its long enduring years, it is thus called Vrihat-phala (extensive-fruit); 971

‘Whilst in that state of abstraction rising (higher), perceiving there is a place beyond any bodily condition, adding still and persevering further in practising wisdom, rejecting this fourth dhyâna, 972

¹ The dhyânas are the conditions of ecstasy, enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Brahmalo⁴ka heavens.

² We have here an account of the different heavens of the Brahmalo⁴kas, concerning which consult Burnouf, ‘Introduction to Indian Buddhism.’

‘Firmly resolved to persevere in the search, still contriving to put away every desire after form, gradually from every pore of the body there is perceived a feeling of empty release, 973

‘And in the end this extends to every solid part, so that the whole is perfected in an apprehension of emptiness. In brief, perceiving no limits to this emptiness, there is opened to the view boundless knowledge. 974

‘Endowed with inward rest and peace, the idea of “I” departs, and the object of “I:” clearly discriminating the non-existence of matter (bhava), this is the condition of immaterial life. 975

‘As the *Muñga* (grass) when freed from its horny case, or as the wild bird which escapes from its prison trap, so, getting away from all material limitations, we thus find perfect release. 976

‘Thus ascending above the Brahmans (Brahmalokas?), deprived of every vestige of bodily existence, we still endure¹. Endued with wisdom²! let it be known this is real and true deliverance. 977

‘You ask what are the expedients for obtaining this escape; even as I have before detailed, those who have deep faith will learn. 978

‘The *Rishis* Gaigîshavya, Ganaka, *Vṛiddha* Parâsara³, and other searchers after truth, 979

‘All by the way I have explained, have reached true deliverance.’ The prince hearing these words, deeply pondering on the outline of these principles, 980

And reaching back to the influences produced by

¹ Literally, ‘endurance not exhausted.’

² That is, ‘O thou! endued with wisdom,’ or, generally, ‘those endued with wisdom.’

³ These proper names were supplied from the Sanskrit text.

our former lives, again asked with further words: 'I have heard your very excellent system of wisdom, the principles very subtle and deep-reaching, 981

'From which I learn that because of not "letting go" (by knowledge as a cause), we do not reach the end of the religious life; but by understanding nature in its involutions, then, you say, we obtain deliverance; 982

'I perceive this law of birth has also concealed in it another law as a germ; you say that the "I" (i. e. "the soul," of Kapila) being rendered pure¹, forthwith there is true deliverance; 983

'But if we encounter a union of cause and effect, then there is a return to the trammels of birth; just as the germ in the seed, when earth, fire, water, and wind 984

'Seem to have destroyed in it the principle of life, meeting with favourable concomitant circumstances will yet revive, without any evident cause, but because of desire; so those who have gained this supposed release, (likewise) 985

'Keeping the idea of "I" and "living things," have in fact gained no final deliverance; in every condition, letting go the "three classes"² and again reaching the three³ "excellent qualities," 986

'Because of the eternal existence of soul, by the subtle influences of that, (influences resulting from the past,) the heart lets go the idea of expedients, 987

'And obtains an almost endless duration of years. This, you say, is true release; you say "letting go the ground on which the idea of soul rests," that this frees us from "limited⁴ existence," 988

¹ See Colebrooke, l. c. p. 150.

² Three sorts of pain.

³ Perception, inference, affirmation.

⁴ Bhava.

‘And that the mass of people have not yet removed the idea of soul, (and are therefore still in bondage). But what is this letting go “*gunas*” (cords fettering the soul); if one is fettered by these “*gunas*,” how can there be release? 989

‘For *gunī* (the object) and “*guna*” (the quality) in idea are different, but in substance one; if you say that you can remove the properties of a thing (and leave the thing) by arguing it to the end, this is not so. 990

‘If you remove heat from fire, then there is no such thing as fire, or if you remove surface (front) from body, what body can remain? 991

‘Thus “*guna*” is as it were surface, remove this and there can be no “*gunī*.” So that this deliverance, spoken of before, must leave a body yet in bonds. 992

‘Again, you say that by “clear knowledge” you get rid of body; there is then such a thing as knowledge or the contrary; if you affirm the existence of clear knowledge, then there should be some one who possesses it (i.e. possesses this knowledge); 993

‘If there be a possessor, how can there be deliverance (from this personal “I”)? If you say there is no “knower,” then who is it that is spoken of as “knowing?” 994

‘If there is knowledge and no person, then the subject of knowledge may be a stone or a log; moreover, to have clear knowledge of these minute causes of contamination and reject them thoroughly, 995

‘These being so rejected, there must be an end, then, of the “doer.” What Ârâda has declared cannot satisfy my heart. 996

¹ Colebrooke, p. 157.

‘This clear knowledge is not “universal wisdom,” I must go on and seek a better explanation.’ Going on then to the place of Udra¹ *Rishi*, he also expatiated on this question of ‘I.’ 997

(But) although he refined the matter to the utmost, laying down a term of ‘thought’ and ‘no thought’ taking the position of removing ‘thought’ and ‘no thought,’ yet even so he came not out of the mire; 998

For supposing creatures attained that state, still (he said) there is a possibility of returning to the coil, whilst Bodhisattva sought a method of getting out of it. So once more leaving Udra *Rishi*, 999

He went on in search of a better system, and came at last to Mount Kia-*ke*² [the forest of mortification], where was a town called Pain-suffering forest (Uravilva?). Here the five Bhikshus had gone before. 1000

When then he beheld these five, virtuously keeping in check their senses (passion-members), holding to the rules of moral conduct, practising mortification, dwelling in that grove of mortification³; 1001

Occupying a spot beside the Nairāṅga river, perfectly composed and filled with contentment, Bodhisattva forthwith by them (selecting) one spot, quietly gave himself to thought. 1002

The five Bhikshus knowing him with earnest heart to be seeking escape, offered him their services with devotion, as if reverencing Īsvara Deva. 1003

¹ Yuh-to.

² Gayā, or Gayāśrsha.

³ Or is the word fu-hing = the name of a plant, such as the uruvu (betel)?

Having finished their attentions and dutiful services, then going on he took his seat not far off, as one about to enter on a course of religious practice, composing all his members as he desired. 1004

Bodhisattva diligently applied himself to 'means,' as one about to cross over old age, disease, and death. With full purpose of heart (he set himself) to endure mortification, to restrain every bodily passion, and give up thought about sustenance, 1005

With purity of heart to observe the fast-rules, which no worldly man (active man) can bear; silent and still, lost in thoughtful meditation; and so for six years he continued, 1006

Each day eating one hemp grain, his bodily form shrunken and attenuated, seeking how to cross (the sea) of birth and death, exercising himself still deeper and advancing further; 1007

Making his way perfect by the disentanglements of true wisdom, not eating, and yet not (looking to that as) a cause (of emancipation), his four members although exceedingly weak, his heart of wisdom increasing yet more and more in light; 1008

His spirit free, his body light and refined, his name spreading far and wide, as 'highly gifted,' even as the moon when first produced, or as the Kumuda flower spreading out its sweetness; 1009

Everywhere thro' the country his excellent fame extended; the daughters of the lord of the place both coming to see him, his mortified body like a withered branch, just completing the period of six years, 1010

Fearing the sorrow of birth and death, seeking earnestly the method (cause) of true wisdom, he

came to the conviction that these were not the means to extinguish desire and produce ecstatic contemplation; 1011

Nor yet (the means by which) in former time, seated underneath the Gambu tree¹, he arrived at that miraculous condition, that surely was the proper way, (he thought), 1012

The way opposed to this of 'withered body.' I should therefore rather seek strength of body, by drink and food refresh my members, and with contentment cause my mind to rest. 1013

My mind at rest, I shall enjoy silent composure; composure is the trap for getting ecstasy (dhyāna); whilst in ecstasy perceiving the true law (right law, i. e. truth), then the force of truth (the law) obtained, disentanglement will follow. 1014

And thus composed, enjoying perfect quiet, old age and death are put away; and then defilement is escaped by this first means; thus then by equal steps the excellent law results from life restored by food and drink. 1015

Having carefully considered this principle, bathing in the Nairāṅgana river, he desired afterwards to leave the water (pool), but owing to extreme exhaustion was unable to rise; 1016

Then a heavenly spirit holding out (pressing down) a branch, taking this in his hand he (raised himself and) came forth. At this time on the opposite side of the grove there was a certain chief herdsman, 1017

Whose eldest daughter was called Nandā. One of the Suddhavāsa Devas addressing her said, 'Bodhi-

¹ See above, p. 48, ver. 335.

sattva dwells in the grove, go you then, and present to him a religious offering.' 1018

Nandā Balada (or Balaga or Baladhya) with joy came to the spot, above her hands (i. e. on her wrists) white chalcedony bracelets, her clothing of a grey (bluish) colour (dye); 1019

The grey and the white together contrasted in the light, as the colours of the rounded river bubble; with simple heart and quicken'd step she came, and, bowing down at Bodhisattva's feet, 1020

She reverently offered him perfumed rice milk, begging him of his condescension to accept it¹. Bodhisattva taking it, partook of it (at once), whilst she received, even then, the fruits of her religious act. 1021

Having eaten it, all his members refreshed, he became capable of receiving Bodhi; his body and limbs glistening with (renewed strength), and his energies swelling higher still², 1022

As the hundred streams swell the sea, or the first quarter'd moon daily increases in brightness. The five Bhikshus having witnessed this, perturbed, were filled with suspicious reflection; 1023

They supposed (said) that his religious zeal (heart) was flagging, and that he was leaving and looking for a better abode, as though he had obtained deliverance, the five elements entirely removed³. 1024

¹ See Tree and Serpent Worship, plate I.

² This is a free translation; the text is probably defective, 問 being a mistake for 聞 or for 尊.

³ 'The five elements,' in the original 'the five great;' the sense seems to be that the Bodhisattva was acting as though he had attained his aim, and overcome the powers of sense. At the same

Bodhisattva wandered on alone, directing his course to that 'fortunate'¹ tree, beneath whose shade he might accomplish his search after complete enlightenment². 1025

(Over) the ground wide and level, producing soft and pliant grass, easily he advanced with lion step, pace by pace, (whilst) the earth shook withal; 1026

And as it shook, Kâla nâga aroused, was filled with joy, as his eyes were opened to the light. Forthwith he exclaimed: 'When formerly I saw the Buddhas of old, there was the sign of an earthquake as now; 1027

'The virtues of a Muni are so great in majesty, that the great earth cannot endure³ them; as step by step his foot treads upon the ground, so is there heard the sound of the rumbling earth-shaking; 1028

'A brilliant light now illumines the world, as the shining of the rising sun; five hundred bluish tinted birds (I see), wheeling round to the right, flying through space; 1029

'A gentle, soft, and cooling breeze blows around in an agreeable way; all these auspicious (miraculous) signs are the same as those of former Buddhas; 1030

'Wherefore I know that this Bodhisattva will certainly arrive at perfect wisdom. And now, behold! from yonder man, a grass cutter, he obtains some pure and pliant grass, 1031

'Which spreading out beneath the tree, with upright body, there he takes his seat; his feet placed

time it is possible that 'the five great' may allude to the five Bhikshus. But in any case it is better to hold to the literal sense.

¹ The 'fortunate tree,' the tree 'of good omen,' the Bodhi tree.

² Samyak-Sambodhi.

³ Cannot excel or surpass them.

under him, not carelessly arranged (moving to and fro), but like the firmly fixed and compact body of a Nâga; 1032

‘Nor shall he rise again from off his seat till he has completed his undertaking.’ And so he (the Nâga) uttered these words by way of confirmation. The heavenly Nâgas, filled with joy, 1033

(Caused a) cool refreshing breeze to rise; the trees and grass were yet unmoved by it, and all the beasts, quiet and silent, (looked on in wonderment.) 1034

These are the signs that Bodhisattva will certainly attain enlightenment. 1035

VARGA 13. DEFEATS MÂRA.

The great *Rîshi*, of the royal tribe of *Rîshis*, beneath the Bodhi tree firmly established, resolved by oath to perfect the way of complete deliverance. 1036

The spirits, Nâgas, and the heavenly multitude¹, all were filled with joy; but Mâra Devarâga, enemy of religion, alone was grieved, and rejoiced not; 1037

Lord of the five desires², skilled in all the arts of warfare, the foe of those who seek deliverance, therefore his name is rightly given Pisuna³. 1038

Now this Mâra râga had three daughters, mincingly beautiful and of a pleasant countenance, in every way fit by artful ways to enflame a man with love, highest in this respect among the Devis. 1039

The first was named Yuh-yen (lust-pollution), the second Neng-yueh-gin (able to delight a man),

¹ 天衆.

² I. e. king of sensuality.

³ The wicked one.

the third Ngai-loh¹ (love-joy). These three, at this time, advanced together, 1040

And addressed their father Pisuna and said: 'May we not know the trouble that afflicts you?' The father calming his feelings, addressed his daughters thus: 1041

'The world has now a great Muni, he has taken a strong oath as a helmet, he holds a mighty bow in his hand, wisdom is the diamond shaft he uses, 1042

'His object is to get the mastery in the world, to ruin and destroy my territory (domain); I am myself unequal to him, for all men will believe in him, 1043

'And all find refuge in the way of his salvation; then will my land be desert and unoccupied. But as when a man transgresses the laws of morality, his body (or, he himself) is then empty (i. e. unprotected), 1044

'So now, the eye of wisdom, not yet opened (in this man), whilst my empire still has peace (quiet), I will go and overturn his purpose, and break down and divide the ridge-pole (of his house)². 1045

Seizing then his bow and his five arrows, with all his retinue of male and female attendants, he went to that grove of 'fortunate rest' with the vow that the world (all flesh) should not find peace³. 1046

Then seeing the Muni, quiet and still (silent), preparing to cross the sea of the three worlds, in his left hand grasping his bow, with his right hand pointing his arrow, 1047

¹ See Childers, sub Mâro, for the name of the daughters. In Sanskrit, Rati, Prîti, and Trîshnâ.

² 'I will return to the house . . . , he findeth it swept and garnished, but empty.'

³ Should not find 'rest.' There is a play on the word.

He addressed Bodhisattva and said: 'Kshatriya! rise up quickly! for you may well fear! your death is at hand; you may practise your own religious system¹, 1048

'But let go this effort after the law of deliverance (for others); wage warfare in the field of charity² as a cause of merit, appease the tumultuous world, and so in the end reach your reward in heaven; 1049

'This is a way renowned and well established, in which former saints (victors) have walked, *Rishis* and kings and men of eminence; but this system of penury and alms-begging is unworthy of you. 1050

'Now then if you rise not, you had best consider with yourself, that if you give not up your vow, and tempt me to let fly an arrow, 1051

'How that Aila, grandchild of Soma³, by one of these arrows just touched, as by a fanning of the wind, lost his reason and became a madman; 1052

'And how the *Rishi* Vimala, practising austerities, hearing the sound of one of these darts, his heart possessed by great fear, bewildered and darkened he lost his true nature; 1053

'How much less can you—a late-born one—hope to escape this dart of mine. Quickly arise then! if hardly you may get away! 1054

'This arrow full of rankling poison, fearfully insidious where it strikes a foe! See now! with all my force, I point it! and are you resting in the face of such calamity? 1055

'How is it that you fear not this dread arrow? say! why do you not tremble?' Mâra uttered such fear-inspiring threats, bent on overawing Bodhisattva. 1056

¹ Or, a system of religion for yourself.

² Religious almsgiving.

³ Aizā, the grandson of Soma (i. e. Purūravas, the lover of Urvasī?).

But Bodhisattva's heart remained unmoved; no doubt, no fear was present. Then Mâra instantly discharged his arrow, whilst the three women came in front; 1057

Bodhisattva regarded not the arrow, nor considered ought the women three. Mâra râga now was troubled much with doubt, and muttered thus 'twixt heart and mouth: '1058

'Long since the maiden of the snowy mountains, shooting at Mahesvara, constrained him to change his mind; and yet Bodhisattva is unmoved, 1059

'And heeds not even this dart of mine, nor the three heavenly women! nought prevails to move his heart or raise one spark of love within him. 1060

'Now must I assemble my army-host, and press him sore by force;' having thought thus awhile, Mâra's army suddenly assembled round; 1061

Each (severally) assumed his own peculiar form; some were holding spears, others grasping swords, others snatching up trees, others wielding diamond maces; (thus were they) armed with every sort of weapon; 1062

Some had heads like hogs, others like fishes, others like asses, others like horses; some with forms like snakes or like the ox or savage tiger; lion-headed, dragon-headed, (and like) every other kind of beast; 1063

Some had many heads on one body-trunk, with faces having but a single eye, and then again with many eyes; some with great-bellied mighty bodies, 1064

And others thin and skinny, bellyless; others long-legged, mighty-knee'd; others big-shanked

and fat-calved; some with long and claw-like nails; 1065

Some were headless, breastless, faceless; some with two feet and many bodies; some with big faces looking every way; some pale and ashy-coloured, 1066

Others colour'd like the bright star rising, others steaming fiery vapour, some with ears like elephants, with humps like mountains, some with naked forms covered with hair, 1067

Some with leather skins for clothing, their faces party-coloured, crimson and white; some with tiger skins as robes, some with snake skins over them, 1068

Some with tinkling bells around their waists, others with twisted screw-like hair, others with hair dishevelled covering the body, some breath-suckers, 1069

Others body-snatchers, some dancing and shrieking awhile, some jumping onwards with their feet together, some striking one another as they went, 1070

Others waving (wheeling round) in the air, others flying and leaping between the trees, others howling, or hooting, or screaming, or whining, with their evil noises shaking the great earth; 1071

Thus this wicked goblin troop encircled on its four sides the Bodhi tree; some bent on tearing his body to pieces, others on devouring it whole; 1072

From the four sides flames belched forth, and fiery steam ascended up to heaven; tempestuous winds arose on every side¹; the mountain forests shook and quaked; 1073

¹ Kik for pien?

Wind, fire, and steam, with dust combined, (produced) a pitchy darkness, rendering all invisible. And now the Devas well affected to the law, and all the Nāgas and the spirits (kwei-shin), 1074

All incensed at this host of Māra, with anger fired, wept tears of blood; the great company of Suddhavāsa gods, beholding Māra tempting¹ Bodhisattva, 1075

Free from low-feeling, with hearts undisturbed by passion, moved by pity towards him and commiseration, came in a body to behold the Bodhisattva, so calmly seated and so undisturbed, 1076

Surrounded with an uncounted host of devils, shaking the heaven and earth with sounds ill-omened. Bodhisattva silent and quiet in the midst remained, his countenance as bright as heretofore, unchanged; 1077

Like the great lion-king placed amongst all the beasts howling and growling round him (so he sat), a sight unseen before, so strange and wonderful! 1078

The host of Māra hastening, as arranged, each one exerting his utmost force, taking each other's place in turns, threatening every moment to destroy him, 1079

Fiercely staring, grinning with their teeth, flying tumultuously, bounding here and there; but Bodhisattva, silently beholding them, (watched them) as one would watch the games of children; 1080

And now the demon host waxed fiercer and more angry, and added force to force, in further conflict; grasping at stones they could not lift, or lifting them, they could not let them go; 1081

¹ Confusing.

Their flying spears, lances, and javelins, stuck fast in space, refusing to descend; the angry thunder-drops and mighty hail, with these, were changed into five-colour'd lotus flowers, 1082

Whilst the foul poison of the dragon snakes was turned to spicy-breathing air. Thus all these countless sorts of creatures, wishing to destroy the Bodhisattva, 1083

Unable to remove him from the spot, were with their own weapons wounded. Now Mâra had an aunt-attendant whose name was Ma-kia-ka-li (Mâha Kâlî?), 1084

Who held a skull-dish in her hands, and stood in front of Bodhisattva, and with every kind of winsome gesture, tempted to lust the Bodhisattva. 1085

So all these followers of Mâra, possessed of every demon-body form, united in discordant uproar, hoping to terrify Bodhisattva; 1086

But not a hair of his was moved, and Mâra's host was filled with sorrow. Then in the air the crowd of angels (spirits), their forms invisible, raised their voices, saying: 1087

'Behold the great Muni; his mind unmoved by any feeling of resentment, whilst all that wicked Mâra race, besotted, are vainly bent on his destruction; 1088

'Let go your foul and murderous thoughts against that silent Muni, calmly seated! You cannot with a breath move the Sumeru mountain; 1089

'Fire may freeze, water may burn, the roughened earth may grow soft and pliant, but ye cannot hurt the Bodhisattva! Thro' ages past disciplined by suffering, 1090

'Bodhisattva rightly trained in thought, ever

advancing in the use of "means," pure and illustrious for wisdom, loving and merciful to all, 1091

'These four conspicuous (excellent) virtues cannot with him be rent asunder, so as to make it hard or doubtful whether he gain the highest wisdom. 1092

'For as the thousand rays of yonder sun must drown the darkness of the world, or as the boring wood must kindle fire, or as the earth deep-dug gives water, 1093

'So he who perseveres in the "right means," by seeking thus, will find. The world without instruction, poisoned by lust and hate and ignorance, 1094

'Because he pitied "flesh," so circumstanced, he sought on their account the joy of wisdom. Why then would you molest and hinder one who seeks to banish sorrow from the world? 1095

'The ignorance that everywhere prevails is due to false pernicious books (sûtras), and therefore Bodhisattva, walking uprightly, would lead and draw men after him. 1096

'To obscure and blind the great world-leader, this undertaking is impossible¹, for 'tis as though in the Great Desert a man would purposely mislead the merchant-guide; 1097

'So "all flesh" having fallen into darkness, ignorant of where they are going, for their sakes he would light the lamp of wisdom; say then! why would you extinguish it? 1098

'All flesh engulfed and overwhelmed in the great sea of birth and death, this one prepares the boat of wisdom; say then! why destroy and sink it? 1099

'Patience is the sprouting of religion, firmness

¹ In the sense of 'not commendable.'

its root, good conduct is the flower, the enlightened heart the boughs and branches, 1100

‘Wisdom supreme the entire tree, the “transcendent law¹” the fruit, its shade protects all living things; say then! why would you cut it down? 1101

‘Lust, hate, and ignorance, (these are) the rack and bolt, the yoke placed on the shoulder of the world; through ages long he has practised austerities to rescue men from these their fetters, 1102

‘He now shall certainly attain his end, sitting on this right-established throne; (seated) as all the previous Buddhas, firm and compact like a diamond; 1103

‘Though all the earth were moved and shaken, yet would this place be fixed and stable; him, thus fixed and well assured, think not that you can overturn. 1104

‘Bring down and moderate your mind’s desire, banish these high and envious thoughts, prepare yourselves for right reflection, be patient in your services.’ 1105

Māra hearing these sounds in space, and seeing Bodhisattva still unmoved, filled with fear and banishing his high and supercilious thoughts, again took up his way to heaven above; 1106

Whilst all his host (were scattered), o’erwhelmed with grief and disappointment, fallen from their high estate, ’reft of their warrior pride, their warlike weapons and accoutrements thrown heedlessly and cast away ’mid woods and deserts. 1107

Like as when some cruel chieftain slain, the hateful

¹ Anuttara-dharma.

band is all dispersed and scattered, so the host of Māra disconcerted, fled away. The mind of Bodhisattva (now reposed) peaceful and quiet. 1108

The morning sun-beams brighten with the dawn, the dust-like mist dispersing, disappears; the moon and stars pale their faint light, the barriers of the night are all removed, 1109

Whilst from above a fall of heavenly flowers pay their sweet tribute to the Bodhisattva. 1110.

VARGA 14. O-WEI-SAN-POU-TI (ABHISAMBODHI)¹.

Bodhisattva having subdued Māra, his firmly fixed mind at rest, thoroughly exhausting the first principle of truth², he entered into deep and subtle contemplation, 1111

Self-contained. Every kind of Sâmadhi in order passed before his eyes. During the first watch he entered on 'right perception³,' and in recollection all former births passed before his eyes; 1112

Born in such a place, of such a name, and downwards to his present birth, so through hundreds, thousands, myriads, all his births and deaths he knew; 1113

Countless in number were they, of every kind and sort; then knowing, too, his family relationships, great pity rose within his heart. 1114

This sense of deep compassion passed, he once again considered 'all that lives,' and how they moved within the six⁴ portions of life's revolution, no final term to birth and death; 1115

¹ The condition that looks wisdom face to face.

² 'Eternally exhausting the highest truth' (paramartha).

³ The word for 'perception' is vedanâ (sheu).

⁴ The six modes of birth (transmigration).

Hollow all, and false and transient (unfixed) as the plantain tree, or as a dream, or phantasy. Then in the middle watch of night, he reached to knowledge (eyes) of the pure Devas¹, 1116

And beheld before him every creature, as one sees images upon a mirror; all creatures born and born again to die, noble and mean, the poor and rich, 1117

Reaping the fruit of right or evil doing, and sharing happiness or misery in consequence. First he considered and distinguished evil-doers (works), that such must ever reap an evil birth; 1118

Then he considered those who practise righteous deeds, that these must gain a place with men or gods; but those again born in the nether hells, (he saw) participating in every kind of misery; 1119

Swallowing (drinking) molten brass (metal), the iron skewers piercing their bodies, confined within the boiling caldron, driven and made to enter the fiery oven (dwelling), 1120

Food for hungry, long-toothed dogs, or preyed upon by brain-devouring birds; dismayed by fire, then (they wander through) thick woods, with leaves like razors gashing their limbs, 1121

While knives divide their (writhing) bodies, or hatchets lop their members, bit by bit; drinking the bitterest poisons, their fate yet holds them back from death. 1122

Thus those who found their joy in evil deeds, he saw receiving now their direst sorrow; a momentary taste of pleasure here, a dreary length of suffering there; 1123

A laugh or joke because of others' pain, a crying

¹ Deva sight.

out and weeping now at punishment received. Surely if living creatures saw the consequence of all their evils deeds, self-visited, 1124

With hatred would they turn and leave them, fearing the ruin following—the blood and death. He saw, moreover, all the fruits of birth as beasts, each deed entailing its own return, 1125

(And) when death ensues born in some other form (beast shape), different in kind according to the deeds. Some doomed to die for the sake of skin or flesh¹, some for their horns or hair or bones or wings, 1126

Others torn or killed in mutual conflict, friend or relative before, contending thus; (some) burthened with loads or dragging heavy weights, (others) pierced and urged on by pricking goads, 1127

Blood flowing down their tortured forms, parched and hungry—no relief afforded; then, turning round, (he saw) one with the other struggling, possessed of no independent strength; 1128

Flying through air or sunk in deep water, yet no place as a refuge left from death. He saw, moreover, those, misers and covetous, born now as hungry ghosts, 1129

Vast bodies like the towering mountain, with mouths as small as any needle-tube, hungry and thirsty, nought but fire and poison'd flame to enwrap their burning forms within. 1130

Covetous, they would not give to those who sought, or duped the man who gave in charity, now born among the famished ghosts, they seek for food, but cannot find withal. 1131

The refuse of the unclean man they fain would

¹ That is, some born as beasts, whose hides are of value, and for which they are killed.

eat, but this is changed and lost (before it can be eaten); oh! if a man believes that covetousness is thus repaid, as in their case, 1132

Would he not give his very flesh in charity even as Sivi rāga did! Then, once more (he saw), those reborn as men, with bodies like some foul sewer, 1133

Ever moving 'midst the direst sufferings, born from the womb to fear and trembling, with body tender, touching anything its feelings painful, as if cut with knives; 1134

Whilst born in this condition, no moment free from chance of death, labour, and sorrow, yet seeking birth again, and being born again, enduring pain. 1135

Then (he saw those who) by a higher merit were enjoying heaven; a thirst for love ever consuming them, their merit ended with the end of life, the five signs¹ warning them of death (their beauty fades), 1136

Just as the blossom that decays, withering away, is robbed of all its shining tints; not all their associates, living still, though grieving, can avail to save the rest; 1137

The palaces and joyous precincts empty now, the Devts all alone and desolate, sitting or asleep upon the dusty earth, weep bitterly in recollection of their loves; 1138

Those who are born, sad in decay; those who are dead, beloved, cause of grief; thus ever struggling on, preparing future pain, covetous they seek the joys of heaven, 1139

¹ The five signs are the indications of a Deva's life in heaven coming to an end.

Obtaining which, these sorrows come apace; despicable joys! oh, who would covet them! using such mighty efforts (means) to obtain, and yet unable thence to banish pain. 1140

Alas, alas! these Devas, too, alike deceived—no difference is there! thro' lapse of ages bearing suffering, striving to crush desire and lust, 1141

Now certainly expecting long reprieve, and yet once more destined to fall! in hell enduring every kind of pain, as beasts tearing and killing one the other, 1142

As Pretas parched with direst thirst, as men worn out, seeking enjoyment; although, they say, when born in heaven, 'then we shall escape these greater ills,' 1143

Deceived, alas! no single place exempt, in every birth incessant pain! Alas! the sea of birth and death revolving thus—an ever-whirling wheel— 1144

All flesh immersed within its waves cast here and there without reliance! thus with his pure Deva eyes he thoughtfully considered the five domains of life. 1145

He saw that all was empty and vain alike! with no dependence! like the plantain or the bubble. Then, on the third eventful watch, he entered on the deep, true¹ apprehension²; 1146

He meditated on the entire world of creatures, whirling in life's tangle, born³ to sorrow; the crowds who live, grow old, and die, innumerable for multitude, 1147

¹ 受 for 念.

² That is, the deep apprehension of truth.

³ Sorrow self-natured.

Covetous, lustful, ignorant, darkly-fettered, with no way known for final rescue. Rightly considering, inwardly he reflected from what source birth and death proceed; 1148

He was assured that age and death must come from birth as from a source. For since a man has born with him a body, that body must inherit pain (disease). 1149

Then looking further whence comes birth, he saw it came from life-deeds done elsewhere; then with his Deva-eyes scanning these deeds, he saw they were not framed by Isvara; 1150

They were not self-caused, they were not personal existences, nor were they either uncaused; then, as one who breaks the first bamboo joint finds all the rest easy to separate, 1151

Having discerned the cause of birth and death, he gradually came to see the truth; deeds come from upâdâna (cleaving), like as fire which catches hold of grass; 1152

Upâdâna (tsu) comes from *trishnâ* ('ngai), just as a little fire enflames the mountains; *trishnâ* comes from *vedanâ* (shau), (the perception of pain and pleasure, the desire for rest); 1153

As the starving or the thirsty man seeks food and drink, so 'sensation' (perception) brings 'desire' for life; then contact (*sparsa*) is the cause of all sensation, producing the three kinds of pain or pleasure, 1154

Even as by art of man the rubbing wood produces fire for any use or purpose; *sparsa* (contact) is born from the six entrances (*âyatanas*)¹,

¹ The six organs of sense.

(a man is blind because he cannot see the light)¹; 1155

The six entrances are caused by name and thing, just as the germ grows to the stem and leaf; name and thing are born from knowledge (*vigñāna*), as the seed which germinates and brings forth leaves. 1156

Knowledge, in turn, proceeds from name and thing, the two are interinvolved leaving no remnant; by some concurrent cause knowledge engenders name and thing, whilst by some other cause concurrent, name and thing engender knowledge; 1157

Just as a man and ship advance together, the water and the land mutually involved²; thus knowledge brings forth name and thing; name and thing produce the roots (*āyatana*s); 1158

The roots engender contact; contact again brings forth sensation; sensation brings forth longing desire; longing desire produces *upādāna*; 1159

Upādāna is the cause of deeds; and these again engender birth; birth again produces age and death; so does this one incessant round 1160

Cause the existence of all living things. Rightly illumined, thoroughly perceiving this, firmly established, thus was he enlightened; destroy birth, old age and death will cease; 1161

Destroy *bhava* then will birth cease; destroy 'cleaving' (*upādāna*) then will *bhava* end; destroy *trishṇā* (desire) then will cleaving end; destroy sensation then will *trishṇā* end; 1162

¹ This clause is obscure, it may mean, 'blind to darkness therefore he sees.'

² It is difficult to catch the meaning here; literally translated the passage runs thus: 'Water and dry land cause mutual involution.'

Destroy contact then will end sensation; destroy the six entrances, then will contact cease; the six entrances all destroyed, from this, moreover, names and things will cease; 1163

Knowledge destroyed, names and things¹ will cease; *samskāra* (names and things) destroyed, then knowledge perishes; ignorance destroyed, then the *samskāra*² will die; the great *Rishi* was thus perfected in wisdom (*sambodhi*). 1164

Thus perfected, Buddha then devised for the world's benefit the eightfold path, right sight, and so on, the only true path for the world to tread. 1165

Thus did he complete the end (destruction) of 'self,' as fire goes out for want of grass; thus he had done what he would have men do; he first had found the way of perfect knowledge; 1166

He finished thus the first great lesson (*paramārtha*); entering the great *Rishi*'s house³, the darkness disappeared; light coming on, perfectly silent, all at rest, 1167

He reached at last the exhaustless source of truth (*dharma*); lustrous with all wisdom the great *Rishi* sat, perfect in gifts, whilst one convulsive throe shook the wide earth. 1168

And now the world was calm again and bright, when Devas, *Nāgas*, spirits, all assembled, amidst the void raise heavenly music, and make their offerings as the law⁴ directs; 1169

A gentle cooling breeze sprang up around, and

¹ Here evidently equivalent to *samskāra*.

² *Samskāra*, i. e. the five *skandhas*, or constituents of individual life.

³ I. e. attained *Nirvāna*.

⁴ 'As the law directs;' that is, 'religious offerings' (*dharma dāna*).

from the sky a fragrant rain distilled; exquisite flowers, not seasonable¹, bloomed; sweet fruits before their time were ripened; 1170

Great Mandâras², and every sort of heavenly precious flower, from space in rich confusion fell, as tribute³ to the illustrious monk. 1171

Creatures of every different kind were moved one towards the other lovingly; fear and terror altogether put away, none entertained a hateful thought; 1172

And all things living in the world with faultless men⁴ consorted freely; the Devas giving up their heavenly joys, sought rather to alleviate the sinner's sufferings; 1173

Pain and distress grew less and less, the moon of wisdom waxed apace; whilst all the *Rîshis* of the *Ikshvâku* clan who had received a heavenly birth, 1174

Beholding Buddha thus benefitting men, were filled with joy and satisfaction; and whilst throughout the heavenly mansions religious offerings fell as raining flowers, 1175

The Devas and the *Nâga* spirits⁵, with one voice, praised the Buddha's virtues; men seeing the religious offerings, hearing, too, the joyous hymn of praise, 1176

Were all rejoiced in turn; they leapt for unre-

¹ 'Not seasonable;' that is, out of season; or, before their season.

² The *Mahâ Mandâra*, or *Mandârava*; one of the five trees of the paradise of Indra (Wilson); the *Erythrina fulgens*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 306.

³ As a religious offering to the Muni-lord.

⁴ *Wou lau gin*, leakless men. It means that all things living consorted freely with the good.

⁵ The Devas, *Nâgas*, and heavenly spirits (*kwei shin*).

strained joy; Māra, the Devarāga, only, felt in his heart great anguish. 1177

Buddha for those seven days, in contemplation lost, his heart at peace, beheld and pondered on the Bodhi tree, with gaze unmoved and never wearying: 1178

‘Now resting here, in this condition, I have obtained,’ he said, ‘my ever-shifting¹ heart’s desire, and now at rest I stand, escaped from self².’ The eyes of Buddha³ then considered ‘all that lives,’ 1179

And forthwith rose there in him deep compassion; much he desired to bring about their welfare (purity), but how to gain for them that most excellent deliverance, 1180

From covetous desire, hatred, ignorance, and false teaching (this was the question); how to suppress this sinful heart by right direction; not by anxious use of outward means, but by resting quietly in thoughtful silence. 1181

Now looking back and thinking of his mighty vow, there rose once more within his mind a wish to preach the law; and looking carefully throughout the world, he saw how pain and sorrow ripened and increased everywhere. 1182

Then Brahma-deva knowing his thoughts, and considering⁴ it right to request him to advance religion for the wider spread of the Brahma-glory, in the deliverance of all flesh from sorrow, 1183

¹ My heart which has experienced constant and differing birth-changes.

² Wou-ngo, in a condition without personal (ngo) limitations. The sense seems to be, that, by casting away the limitations of the finite, he had apprehended the idea of the infinite.

³ The eye of Buddha; the last of the *paññā* takkhus, for which see Childers, Pāli Dict. sub voce.

⁴ The sense may be, ‘thinking that he ought to be requested to preach.’

Coming, beheld upon the person of the reverend monk all the distinguishing marks of a great preacher, visible in an excellent degree; fixed and unmoved (he sat) in the possession of truth and wisdom, 1184

Free from all evil impediments, with a heart cleansed from all insincerity or falsehood. Then with reverent and a joyful heart, (great Brahma stood and) with hands joined, thus made known his request: 1185

‘What happiness in all the world so great as when a loving master meets the unwise¹; the world with all its occupants, filled with impurity and dire confusion², 1186

‘With heavy grief oppressed, or, in some cases, lighter sorrows, (waits deliverance); the lord of men, having escaped by crossing the wide and mournful sea of birth and death, 1187

‘We now entreat to rescue others—those struggling creatures all engulfed therein; as the just worldly man, when he gets profit, gives some rebate withal³, 1188

‘So the lord of men enjoying such religious gain, should⁴ also give somewhat to living things. The world indeed is bent on large personal gain, and hard it is to share one’s own with others; 1189

‘O! let your loving heart be moved with pity towards the world burthened⁵ with vexing cares.’

¹ In the sense of ‘the uninstructed.’

² With sense-pollution and distracted heart, oppressed with heavy grief, or, may be, with lighter and less grievous sorrow.

³ These lines are obscure; the sense, however, is plainly that given in the text.

⁴ In the way of request, ‘would that the lord of men,’ &c.

⁵ Oppressed amidst oppressions (calamities).

Thus having spoken by way of exhortation, with reverent mien he turned back to the Brahma heaven. 1190

Buddha regarding the invitation of Brahma-deva rejoiced at heart, and his design was strengthened; greatly was his heart of pity nourished, and purposed was his mind to preach. 1191

Thinking he ought to beg some food, each of the four kings offered him a Pâtra; Tathâgata¹, in fealty to religion, received the four and joined them all in one. 1192

And now some merchant men were passing by, to whom 'a virtuous friend², a heavenly spirit, said: 'The great Rîshi, the venerable monk, is dwelling in this mountain grove, 1193

'(Affording) in the world a noble field for merit³; go then and offer him a sacrifice!' Hearing the summons, joyfully they went, and offered the first meal religiously. 1194

Having partaken of it, then he deeply pondered, who first should hear the law⁴; he thought at once of Ârâda Kâlâma and Udraka Râmaputra, 1195

¹ Here the Buddha is called Tathâgata. It is a point to be observed that this title is only used after the Bodhisattva's enlightenment.

² There is a great deal said in Buddhist books about this expression 'virtuous,' or, 'good friend.' In general it means Bodhi or wisdom. It is used also in Zend literature to denote the sun (mithra); see Haug (Parsis), p. 209.

³ That is, giving the world a noble opportunity of obtaining religious merit. The expression 'field for merit' is a common one, as we say, 'field for work,' 'field for usefulness,' and so on.

⁴ Who ought to be first instructed in religion; or, who should hear the first religious instruction (sermon). The first sermon is that which is sometimes called 'the foundation of the kingdom of righteousness.' It is given further on.

As being fit to accept the righteous law; but now they both were dead. Then next he thought of the five men, that they were fit to hear the first sermon. 1196

Bent then on this design to preach Nirvâna¹, as the sun's glory bursts thro' the darkness, so went he on towards Benares, the place where dwelt the ancient *Rishis*; 1197

With eyes as gentle as the ox king's, his pace as firm and even as the lion's, because he would convert the world he went on towards the Kâsi² city; 1198

Step by step, like the king of beasts, did he advance watchfully through the grove of wisdom (Uruvilva wood). 1199

VARGA 15. TURNING THE LAW-WHEEL³.

Tathâgata piously composed and silent, radiant with glory, shedding light around, with unmatched dignity advanced alone, as if surrounded by a crowd of followers. 1200

Beside the way he encountered a young Brahman⁴, whose name was Upaka⁵; struck⁶ with the

¹ To preach the law of perfect quietude (quiet extinction; that is, quietness or rest, resulting from the extinction of sorrow).

² That is, Benares.

³ Concerning this expression, which means 'establishing the dominion of truth,' see Childers, *Pâli Dict.*, sub voce *pavatteti*.

⁴ A Brahmacârin, a religious student, one who was practising a life of purity.

⁵ Called 'Upagana' by Burnouf (Introd. p. 389), and in the *Lalita Vistara* an *Agivaka* (hermit), (Foucaux, 378). For some useful remarks on this person's character, see *Études Buddhiques* (Leon Féer), pp. 15, 16, 17.

⁶ So I construe '*k'ih k'i*;' it means 'taken by,' or 'attracted by'

deportment of the Bhikshu, he stood with reverent mien on the road side ; 1201

Joyously he gazed at such an unprecedented sight, and then, with closed hands, he spake¹ as follows: 'The crowds who live around are stained with sin, without a pleasing feature, void of grace, 1202

'And the great world's heart is everywhere disturbed; but you alone, your senses all composed, with visage shining as the moon when full, seem to have quaffed the water of the immortals' stream; 1203

'The marks of beauty yours, as the great man's (Mahâpurusha); the strength of wisdom, as an all-sufficient (independent) king's (samrâg); what you have done must have been wisely done, what then your noble tribe and who your master?' 1204

Answering he said, 'I have no master; no honourable tribe; no point of excellence²; self-taught in this profoundest doctrine, I have arrived at superhuman wisdom³. 1205

'That which behoves the world to learn, but through the world no learner found, I now myself

the demeanour of the mendicant (Bhikshu). This incident is introduced as the first instance of Buddha's mendicant life and its influence on others.

¹ Or, 'he questioned thus.'

² 'Nothing that has been conquered.'

³ I have attained to that which man has not attained. That is, I have arrived at superhuman wisdom. It appears to me that this point in Buddha's history is a key to the whole system of his religion. He professes to have grasped absolute truth (the word 'absolute' corresponds with 'unfettered'); and by letting go the finite, with its limitations and defilements, to have passed into the free, boundless, unattached infinite.

and by myself¹ have learned throughout; 'tis rightly called Sambodhi (*king kioh*); 1206

'That hateful family of griefs the sword of wisdom has destroyed; this then is what the world has named, and rightly named, the "chiefest victory." 1207

'Through all Benares soon will sound the drum of life, no stay is possible—I have no name²—nor do I seek profit or pleasure, 1208

'But simply to declare the truth; to save men (living things) from pain, and to fulfil my ancient oath, to rescue all not yet delivered. 1209

'The fruit of this my oath is ripened now, and I will follow out my ancient vow. Wealth, riches, self all given up, unnamed, I still am named "Righteous Master³." 1210

'And bringing profit to the world (empire), I also have the name "Great Teacher⁴;" facing sorrows, not swallowed up by them, am I not rightly called Courageous Warrior? 1211

'If not a healer of diseases, what means the name of Good Physician? seeing the wanderer, not showing him the way, why then should I be called "Good Master-guide?" 1212

'Like as the lamp shines in the dark, without a

¹ This assertion is a fundamental one (see Mr. Rhys Davids' *Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana-sutta*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, throughout); so that Buddha disclaims any revelation in the sense of the result of a higher wisdom than his own. The cloud, in fact, of sin moved away, the indwelling of light, by itself, revealed itself.

² 'I am a voice.'

³ (Called by the) not-called name, 'Master of righteousness.'

⁴ Here follow a list of names applied to Tathâgata in virtue of his office. He gives up his name Gautama, and claims to be known only by his religious titles.

purpose of its own, self-radiant, so burns the lamp of the Tathâgata, without the shadow of a personal feeling. 1213

'Bore wood in wood, there must be fire; the wind blows of its own free self in space; dig deep and you will come to water; this is the rule of self-causation. 1214

'All the Munis who perfect wisdom, must do so at Gayâ; and in the Kâsi country they must first turn the Wheel of Righteousness.' 1215

The young Brahman Upâka, astonished, breathed the praise of such strange doctrine¹, and called to mind like thoughts he had before experienced²; lost in thought at the wonderful occurrence, 1216

At every turning of the road he stopped to think; embarrassed in every step he took. Tathâgata proceeding slowly onwards, came to the city of Kâsi, 1217

The land so excellently adorned as the palace of Sakrâdevendra; the Ganges and Baranâ³, two twin rivers flowed amidst; 1218

The woods and flowers and fruits so verdant, the peaceful cattle wandering together, the calm retreats

¹ Sighed 'oh!' and praised in under tone the strange behaviour of Tathâgata.

² Or perhaps the following translation is better: 'following in mind the circumstances which led to the strange encounter.'

³ The account in the text makes the city of Benares to be between the Ganges and the Baranâ or Varanâ; General Cunningham (Archæolog. Report, vol. i, p. 104) says, 'The city of Benares is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, between the Barnâ Nadi on the north-east and the Asi Nâla on the south-west. The Barnâ is a considerable rivulet which rises to the north of Allahabad, and has a course of about 100 miles. The Asi is a mere brook of no length.'

free from vulgar noise, such was the place where the old *Rishis* dwelt. 1219

Tathâgata glorious and radiant, redoubled the brightness of the place; the son of the *Kaundînya*-tribe (*Kaundînya-kulaputra*), and next *Dasabala-kâsyapa*, 1220

And the third *Vâshpa*, the fourth *Asvagit*, the fifth called *Bhadra*, practising austerities as hermits, 1221

Seeing from far Tathâgata approaching, sitting together all engaged in conversation, (said), 'This *Gautama*, defiled by worldly indulgence, leaving the practice of austerities, 1222

'Now comes again to find us here, let us be careful not to rise in salutation, nor let us greet him when he comes, nor offer him the customary refreshments; 1223

'Because he has broken his first vow, he has no claim to hospitality;' [for men on seeing an approaching guest by rights prepare things for his present and his after wants, 1224

They arrange a proper resting-couch, and take on themselves care for his comfort.]¹ Having spoken thus and so agreed, each kept his seat, resolved and fixed. 1225

And now Tathâgata slowly approached, when, lo! these men unconsciously, against their vow, rose and invited him to take a seat; offering to take his robe and *Pâtra*, 1226

They begged to wash and rub his feet, and asked him what he required more; thus in everything attentive, they honour'd him and offered all to him as teacher. 1227

They did not not cease however to address him

¹ This [] seems to be parenthetical.

still as Gautama, after his family¹. Then spake the Lord to them and said: 'Call me not after my private name, 1228

'For it is a rude and careless way of speaking to one who has obtained Arhatship²; but whether men respect or disrespect me, my mind is undisturbed and wholly quiet; 1229

'But you³—your way is not so courteous, let go, I pray, and cast away your fault. Buddha can save the world; they call him, therefore, Buddha; 1230

'Towards all living things, with equal heart he looks as children, to call him then by his familiar name is to despise a father; this is sin⁴.' 1231

Thus Buddha, by exercise of mighty love, in deep compassion spoke to them; but they, from ignorance and pride, despised the only wise⁵ and true one's words. 1232

They said that first he practised self-denial, but having reached thereby no profit, now giving rein to body, word, and thought⁶, how by these means (they asked) has he become a Buddha? 1233

Thus equally entangled by doubts, they would not credit that he had attained the way. Thoroughly versed in highest truth, full of all-embracing wisdom, 1234

¹ The address 'Bho Gotama' or 'Gotama,' according to Childers (Pâli Dict. p. 150), was an appellation of disrespect used by unconverted Brahmins in addressing Buddha. The title Gautama Buddha is rarely met with in Northern translations.

² The Arhat is the highest grade among the Buddhist saints. See Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 295.

³ Here the appeal is to them as religious persons.

⁴ Or, is the sin of dishonouring a father.

⁵ The true words of the Only Enlightened; that is, of the Buddha.

⁶ 樂 for 意.

Tathâgata on their account briefly declared to them the one true way; the foolish masters practising austerities, and those who love to gratify their senses, 1235

He pointed out to them these two distinctive classes¹, and how both greatly erred. 'Neither of these (he said) has found the way of highest wisdom, nor are their ways of life productive of true rescue. 1236

'The emaciated devotee by suffering produces in himself confused and sickly thoughts, not conducive even to worldly knowledge, how much less to triumph over sense! 1237

'For he who tries to light a lamp with water, will not succeed in scattering the darkness, (and so the man who tries) with worn-out body to trim the lamp of wisdom shall not succeed, nor yet destroy his ignorance or folly. 1238

'Who seeks with rotten wood to evoke the fire will waste his labour and get nothing for it; but boring hard wood into hard, the man of skill forthwith gets fire for his use; 1239

'In seeking wisdom then it is not by these austerities a man may reach the law of life. But (likewise) to indulge in pleasure is opposed to right, this is the fool's barrier against wisdom's light; 1240

'The sensualist cannot comprehend the Sûtras or the Sâstras, how much less the way of overcoming all desire! As some man grievously afflicted eats food not fit to eat, 1241

'And so in ignorance aggravates his sickness, so

¹ The two extremes.

how can he get rid of lust who pampers lust? Scatter the fire amid the desert grass, dried by the sun, fanned by the wind, 1242

‘The raging flames who shall extinguish? Such is the fire of covetousness and lust (or, hankering lust), I, then, reject both these extremes, my heart keeps in the middle way. 1243

‘All sorrow at an end and finished, I rest at peace, all error put away; my true sight¹ greater than the glory of the sun, my equal and unvarying wisdom², vehicle of insight, 1244

‘Right words³ as it were a dwelling-place, wandering through the pleasant groves of right conduct⁴, making a right life⁵ my recreation, walking along the right road of proper means⁶, 1245

‘My city of refuge in right recollection⁷, and my sleeping couch right meditation⁸; these are the eight even and level roads⁹ by which to avoid the sorrows of birth and death; 1246

‘Those who come forth by these means from the slough, doing thus, have attained the end; such shall fall neither on this side or the other, amidst the sorrow-crowd of the two periods¹⁰. 1247

‘The tangled sorrow-web of the three worlds by this road alone can be destroyed; this is my own way, unheard of before; by the pure eyes of the true law, 1248

¹ Samyag drishī.

² Samyag vāk.

³ Samyag āgīva.

⁴ Samyak smṛti.

⁵ The right roads (orthodox ways).

¹⁰ Or rather, of the ‘two ages;’ this age and the next.

⁶ Samyak saṃkalpa.

⁷ Samyak karma.

⁸ Samyag vyâyāma.

⁹ Samyak samādhi.

‘Impartially seeing the way of escape, I, only I, now first make known this way; thus I destroy the hateful company of *Trishná*’s¹ host, the sorrows of birth and death, old age, disease, 1249

‘And all the unfruitful aims of men, and other springs of suffering. There are those who warring against desire are still influenced by desire; who whilst possessed of body, act as tho’ they had none; 1250

‘Who put away from themselves all sources of true merit, briefly will I recount their sorrowful lot. Like smothering a raging fire, though carefully put out, yet a spark left, 1251

‘So in their abstraction, still the germ of “I”², the source³ of great sorrow still surviving, perpetuates the suffering caused by lust (*trishná*), and the evil consequences of every kind of deed survive; 1252

‘These are the sources of further pain, but let these go and sorrow dies, even as the seed of corn taken from the earth and deprived of water dies; 1253

‘The concurrent causes not uniting, then the bud and leaf cannot be born; the intricate bonds of every kind of existence, from the Deva down to the evil ways of birth, 1254

‘Ever revolve and never cease; all this is produced from covetous desire; falling from a high estate to lower ones, all is the fault of previous deeds; 1255

‘But destroy the seed of covetousness and the rest, then there will be no intricate binding, but all

¹ For some account of *Trishná*, Páli *Tañha*, see Rhys Davids (op. cit.), p. 149 note.

² The germ of self; that is, of individual existence.

³ Having the nature of great sorrow.

effect of deeds destroyed, the various degrees of sorrow then will end for good; 1256

‘Having this, then, we must inherit that; destroying this, then that is ended too; no birth, old age, disease, or death; no earth, or water, fire, or wind; 1257

‘No beginning, end, or middle; and no deceptive systems of philosophy; this is the standpoint of wise men and sages; the certain and exhausted termination, (complete *Nirvāṇa*). 1258

‘Such do the eight right ways declare; this one expedient has no remains; that which the world sees not, engrossed by error (I declare), 1259

‘I know the way to sever all these sorrow-sources; the way to end them is by right reason, meditating on these four highest truths, following and perfecting this highest wisdom. 1260

‘This is what means the “knowing” sorrow; this is to cut off the cause of all remains of being; these destroyed, then all striving, too, has ended, the eight right ways have been assayed. 1261

‘(Thus, too), the four great truths have been acquired, the eyes of the pure law completed. In these four truths, the equal (i. e. true or right) eyes not yet born, 1262

‘There is not mention made of gaining true deliverance, it is not said what must be done is done, nor that all (is finished), nor that the perfect truth has been acquired. 1263

‘But now because the truth is known, then by myself is known “deliverance gained,” by myself is known that “all is done,” by myself is known “the highest wisdom.”’ 1264

And having spoken thus respecting truth, the

member of the Kaundīnya family, and eighty thousand of the Deva host, were thoroughly imbued with saving knowledge; 1265

They put away defilement from themselves, they got the eyes of the pure law; Devas and earthly masters thus were sure, that what was to be done was done. 1266

And now with lion-voice he joyfully enquired, and asked Kaundīnya, 'Knowest thou yet?' Kaundīnya forthwith answered Buddha, 'I know the mighty master's law;' 1267

And for this reason, knowing it, his name was Āgñāta Kaundīnya (āgñāta, known). Amongst all the disciples of Buddha, he was the very first in understanding. 1268

Then as he understood the sounds of the true law, hearing (the words of) the disciple—all the earth spirits together raised a shout triumphant, 'Well done! deeply seeing (the principles of) the law, 1269

'Tathāgata, on this auspicious day, has set revolving that which never yet revolved, and far and wide, for gods and men, has opened the gates of immortality¹. 1270

'(Of this wheel) the spokes are the rules of pure conduct; equal contemplation, their uniformity of length; firm wisdom is the tire; modesty and thoughtfulness, the rubbers (sockets in the nave in which the axle is fixed); 1271

'Right reflection is the nave; the wheel itself the law of perfect truth; the right truth now

¹ The way or gate of sweet dew.

has gone forth in the world, not to retire before another teacher.' 1272

Thus the earth spirits shouted, the spirits of the air took up the strain, the Devas all joined in the hymn of praise, up to the highest Brahma heaven. 1273

The Devas of the triple world, now hearing what the great *Rishi* taught, in intercourse together spoke, 'The widely-honoured Buddha moves the world! 1274

'Wide-spread, for the sake of all that lives, he turns the wheel of the law of complete purity!' The stormy winds, the clouds, the mists, all disappeared; down from space the heavenly flowers descended; 1275

The Devas revelled in their joys celestial, filled with unutterable gladness. 1276

KIOUEN IV.

VARGA 16. BIMBISÂRA RÂGA BECOMES A DISCIPLE.

And now those five men, Asvagit, Vâshpa, and the others, having heard that he (*Kaundînya*) 'knew' the law, with humble mien and self-subdued, 1277

Their hands joined, offered their homage, and looked with reverence in the teacher's face. *Tathâgata*, by wise expedient, caused them one by one to embrace the law. 1278

And so from first to last the five *Bhikshus* obtained reason and subdued their senses, like the five stars which shine in heaven, waiting upon the brightening moon. 1279

At this time in the town of *Ku-i*¹ (*Kusinârâ*) there was a noble's son (called) *Yasas*; lost in night-sleep suddenly he woke, and when he saw his attendants all, 1280

Men and women, with ill-clad bodies, sleeping, his heart was filled with loathing; reflecting on the root of sorrow, (he thought) how madly foolish men were immersed in it; 1281

Clothing himself, and putting on his jewels, he left his home and wandered forth; then on the way he stood and cried aloud, 'Alas! alas! what endless chain of sorrows.' 1282

¹ The scene of this history of *Yasas* is generally laid in Benares; see *Romantic Legend*, p. 261; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiii, p. 102.

Tathāgata, by night, was walking forth, and hearing sounds like these, 'Alas! what sorrow,' forthwith replied, 'You are welcome! here, on the other hand, there is a place of rest, 1283

'The most excellent, refreshing, Nirvāṇa, quiet and unmoved, free from sorrow.' Yasas hearing Buddha's exhortation, there rose much joy within his heart, 1284

And in the place of the disgust he felt, the cooling streams of holy wisdom found their way, as when one enters first a cold pellucid lake. Advancing then, he came where Buddha was; 1285

His person decked with common ornaments, his mind already freed from all defects; by power of the good root obtained in other births, he quickly reached the fruit of an Arhat; 1286

The secret light of pure wisdom's virtue (li) enabled him to understand, on listening to the law; just as a pure silken fabric¹ with ease is dyed a different colour; 1287

Thus having attained to self-illumination, and done that which was to be done, (he was converted); then looking at his person richly ornamented, his heart was filled with shame. 1288

Tathāgata knowing his inward thoughts, in gāthas spoke the following words: 'Tho' ornamented with jewels, the heart may yet have conquered sense; 1289

'Looking with equal mind on all that lives, (in such a case) the outward form does not affect religion; the body, too, may wear the ascetic's garb, the heart, meanwhile, be immersed in worldly thoughts; 1290

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 105.

‘Dwelling in lonely woods, yet covetous of worldly show, such men are after all mere worldlings; the body may have a worldly guise, the heart mount high to things celestial; 1291

‘The layman and the hermit are the same, when only both have banished thought of “self,” but if the heart be twined with carnal bonds, what use the marks of bodily attention? 1292

‘He who wears martial decorations, does so because by valour he has triumphed o’er an enemy,—so he who wears the hermit’s colour’d robe, does so for having vanquished sorrow as his foe.’ 1293

Then he bade him come, and be a member of his church (a Bhikshu); and at the bidding lo! his garments changed! and he stood wholly attired in hermit’s dress, complete; in heart and outward look, a *Sramana*. 1294

Now (Yasas) had in former days some light companions, in number fifty and four; when these beheld their friend a hermit, they too, one by one, attained true wisdom [entered the true law]; 1295

By virtue of deeds done in former births, these deeds now bore their perfect fruit. Just as when burning ashes are sprinkled by water, the water being dried, the flame bursts forth. 1296

So now, with those above, the *Srāvakas* (disciples) were altogether sixty, all Arhats; entirely obedient and instructed in the law of perfect discipleship¹. So perfected he taught them further: 1297

‘Now ye have passed the stream and reached “the other shore,” across the sea of birth and death;

¹ The law of Arhats.

what should be done, ye now have done! and ye may now receive the charity of others. 1298

'Go then through every country, convert those not yet converted; throughout the world that lies burnt up with sorrow, teach everywhere; (instruct) those lacking right instruction; 1299

'Go, therefore! each one travelling by himself¹; filled with compassion, go! rescue and receive. I too will go alone, back to yonder Kia-*ke*² mountain; 1300

'Where there are great *Rishis*, royal *Rishis*, Brahman *Rishis* too, these all dwell there, influencing men according to their schools; 1301

'The *Rishi* Kâsyapa, enduring pain, revered by all the country, making converts too of many, him will I visit and convert.' 1302

Then the sixty Bhikshus respectfully receiving orders to preach, each according to his fore-determined purpose, following his inclination, went thro' every land; 1303

The honour'd of the world went on alone, till he arrived at the Kia-*ke* mountain, then entering a retired religious dell, he came to where the *Rishi* Kâsyapa was. 1304

Now this one had a 'fire grot' where he offered sacrifice, where an evil Nâga dwelt³, who wandered here and there in search of rest, through mountains and wild places of the earth. 1305

¹ In after time the disciples were not allowed to travel alone, but two and two.

² Gayâśrsha, or Gayâśisa in the Pâli (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 134).

³ The episode here translated is found amongst the Sanchi sculptures. See Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xxiv.

The honoured of the world, (wishing) to instruct this hermit and convert him, asked him, on coming, for a place to lodge that night. Kâsyapa, replying, spake to Buddha thus: 'I have no resting-place to offer for the night, 1306

'Only this fire grot where I sacrifice, this is a cool and fit place for the purpose, but an evil dragon dwells there, who is accustomed, as he can, to poison men.' 1307

Buddha replied, 'Permit me only, and for the night I'll take my dwelling there.' Kâsyapa made many difficulties, but the world-honoured one still asked the favour. 1308

Then Kâsyapa addressed Buddha, 'My mind desires no controversy, only I have my fears and apprehensions, but follow you your own good pleasure.' 1309

Buddha forthwith stepped within the fiery grot, and took his seat with dignity and deep reflection; and now the evil Nâga seeing Buddha, belched forth in rage his fiery poison, 1310

And filled the place with burning vapour. But this could not affect the form of Buddha. Throughout the abode the fire consumed itself, the honoured of the world still sat composed: 1311

Even as Brahma, in the midst of the kalpa-fire that burns and reaches to the Brahma heavens, still sits unmoved, without a thought of fear or apprehension, 1312

(So Buddha sat); the evil Nâga seeing him, his face glowing with peace, and still unchanged, ceased his poisonous blast, his heart appeased; he bent his head and worshipped. 1313

Kâsyapa in the night seeing the fire-glow, sighed;

‘Ah! alas! what misery! this most distinguished man is also burnt up by the fiery Nâga,’ 1314

Then Kâsyapa and his followers at morning light came one and all to look. Now Buddha having subdued the evil Nâga, had straightway placed him in his pâtra, 1315

(Beholding which) and seeing the power of Buddha, Kâsyapa conceived within him deep and secret thoughts: ‘This Gotama,’ he thought, ‘is deeply versed (in religion), but still he said, “I am a master of religion.”’ 1316

Then Buddha, as occasion offered, displayed all kinds of spiritual changes¹, influencing his (Kâsyapa’s) heart-thoughts, changing and subduing them; 1317

Making his mind pliant and yielding, until at length prepared to be a vessel of the true law, he confessed that his poor wisdom could not compare with the complete wisdom of the world-honoured one. 1318

And so, convinced at last, humbly submitting, he accepted right instruction. (Thus) U-pi-lo (Uravilva) Kâsyapa, and five hundred of his followers 1319

Following their master, virtuously submissive, in turn received the teaching of the law. Kâsyapa and all his followers were thus entirely converted. 1320

The *Rishi* then, taking his goods and all his sacrificial vessels, threw them together in the river, which floated down upon the surface of the current. 1321

Nadi and Gada, brothers, who dwelt adown the stream, seeing these articles of clothing (and the rest) floating along the stream disorderly, 1322

¹ The different wonders wrought by Buddha are detailed in Spence Hardy’s Manual, and in the Romantic Legend of Buddha:

Said, 'Some great change has happened,' and deeply pained, were restlessly (concerned). The two, each with five hundred followers, going up the stream to seek their brother, 1323

Seeing him now dressed as a hermit, and all his followers with him, having got knowledge of the miraculous law—strange thoughts engaged their minds— 1324

'Our brother having submitted thus, we too should also follow him (they said).' Thus the three brothers, with all their band of followers, 1325

Were brought to hear the lord's discourse on the comparison of a fire sacrifice¹: (and in the discourse he taught), 'How the dark smoke of ignorance arises², whilst confused thoughts, like wood drilled into wood, create the fire, 1326

'Lust, anger, delusion, these are as fire produced, and these enflame and burn all living things. Thus the fire of grief and sorrow, once enkindled, ceases not to burn, 1327

'Ever giving rise to birth and death; but whilst this fire of sorrow ceases not, yet are there two kinds of fire, one that burns but has no fuel left; 1328

'So when the heart of man has once conceived distaste for sin, this distaste removing covetous desire, covetous desire extinguished, there is rescue; 1329

'If once this rescue has been found, then with it is born sight and knowledge, by which distinguishing

¹ So I translate *i sse fo pi*; it may mean, however, 'in respect of the matter of the fire comparison.'

² This is the sermon on 'The Burning'; see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiii, p. 135.

the streams of birth and death, and practising pure conduct, 1330

'All is done that should be done, and hereafter shall be no more life (bhava).' Thus the thousand Bhikshus hearing the world-honoured preach, 1331

All defects¹ for ever done away, their minds found perfect and complete deliverance. Then Buddha for the Kâsyapas' sakes, and for the benefit of the thousand Bhikshus, having preached, 1332

And done all that should be done, himself with purity and wisdom and all the concourse of high qualities excellently adorned, he gave them, as in charity, rules for cleansing sense. 1333

The great *Rishi*, listening to reason, lost all regard for bodily austerities, and, as a man without a guide, was emptied of himself, and learned discipleship. 1334

And now the honoured one and all his followers go forward to the royal city² (*Râgagrîha*), remembering, as he did, the Magadha king, and what he heretofore had promised. 1335.

The honoured one when he arrived, remained within the 'staff grove'³; Bimbisâra Râga hearing thereof, with all his company of courtiers, 1336

Lords and ladies all surrounding him, came to where the master was. Then at a distance seeing Buddha seated, with humbled heart and subdued presence, 1337

Putting off his common ornaments, descending from his chariot, forward he stepped; even as

¹ The Âsravas.

² So also in the Pâli.

³ The 'Kang lin,' called in Sanskrit *Yashâvana*.

Sakra, king of gods, going to where Brahmadeva-râga dwells. 1338

Bowing down at Buddha's feet, he asked him, with respect, about his health of body; Buddha in his turn, having made enquiries, begged him to be seated on one side. 1339

Then the king's mind reflected silently: 'This Sâkyas must have great controlling power, to subject to his will these Kâsyapas who now are round him as disciples.' 1340

Buddha, knowing all thoughts, spoke thus to Kâsyapa, questioning him: 'What profit have you found in giving up your fire-adoring law?' 1341

Kâsyapa hearing Buddha's words, rising with dignity before the great assembly, bowed lowly down, and then with clasped hands and a loud voice addressing Buddha, said: 1342

'The profit I received, adoring the fire spirit, was this,—continuance in the wheel of life, birth and death with all their sorrows growing,—this service I have therefore cast away; 1343

'Diligently I persevered in fire-worship, seeking to put an end to the five desires, in return I found desires endlessly increasing, therefore have I cast off this service. 1344

'Sacrificing thus to fire with many Mantras, I did but miss (i.e. I did not find) escape from birth; receiving birth, with it came all its sorrows, therefore I cast it off and sought for rest. 1345

'I was versed, indeed, in self-affliction, my mode of worship largely adopted, and counted of all most excellent, and yet I was opposed to highest wisdom. 1346

'Therefore have I discarded it, and gone in quest

of the supreme Nirvâna. Removing from me birth, old age, disease, and death, I sought a place of undying rest and calm. 1347

‘And as I gained the knowledge of this truth, then I cast off the law of worshipping the fire (or, by fire).’ The honoured-of-the-world, hearing Kâsyapa declaring his experience of truth, 1348

Wishing to move the world throughout to conceive a heart of purity and faith, addressing Kâsyapa further, said, ‘Welcome ! great master, welcome ! 1349

‘Rightly have you distinguished law from law, and well obtained the highest wisdom ; now before this great assembly, pray you ! exhibit your excellent endowments ; 1350

‘As any rich and wealthy noble opens for view his costly treasures, causing the poor and sorrow-laden multitude to increase their forgetfulness awhile ; 1351

‘(So do you now) and honour well your lord’s instruction.’ Forthwith in presence of the assembly, gathering up his body and entering Samâdhi, calmly he ascended into space, 1352

And there displayed himself, walking, standing, sitting, sleeping, emitting fiery vapour from his body, on his right and left side water and fire, not burning and not moistening him ; 1353

Then clouds and rain proceeded from him, thunder with lightning shook the heaven and earth ; thus he drew the world to look in adoration, with eyes undazzled as they gazed ; 1354

With different mouths, but all in language one, they magnified and praised this wondrous spectacle, then afterwards drawn by spiritual force, they came and worshipped at the master’s feet, 1355

(Exclaiming), 'Buddha is our great teacher! we are the honoured one's disciples.' Thus having magnified his work and finished all he purposed doing, 1356

Drawing the world as universal witness, the assembly was convinced that he, the world-honoured, was truly the 'Omniscient!' 1357

Buddha, perceiving that the whole assembly was ready as a vessel to receive the law, spoke thus to Bimbisāra Rāga: 'Listen now and understand; 1358

'The mind, the thoughts, and all the senses are subject to the law of life and death. This fault¹ of birth and death, once understood, then there is clear and plain perception; 1359

'Obtaining this clear perception, then there is born knowledge of self, knowing oneself and with this knowledge laws of birth and death, then there is no grasping and no sense-perception. 1360

'Knowing oneself, and understanding how the senses act, then there is no room for "I," or ground for framing it; then all the accumulated mass of sorrow, sorrows born from life and death, 1361

'Being recognised as attributes of body, and as this body is not "I," nor offers ground for "I," then comes the great superlative (discovery), the source of peace unending; 1362

'This thought (view) of "self" gives rise to all these sorrows, binding as with cords² the world, but having found there is no "I" that can be bound, then all these bonds are severed. 1363

'There are no bonds indeed—they disappear—

¹ This fault; that is, this flaw.

² As with fetters.

and seeing this there is deliverance. The world holds to this thought of "I," and so, from this, comes false apprehension. 1364

'Of those who maintain the truth of it, some say the "I" endures, some say it perishes; taking the two extremes of birth and death, their error is most grievous! 1365

'For if they say the "I" (soul) is perishable, the fruit they strive for, too, will perish; and at some time there will be no hereafter, this is indeed a meritless deliverance. 1366

'But if they say the "I" is not to perish, then in the midst of all this life and death there is but one identity (as space), which is not born and does not die. 1367

'If this is what they call the "I," then are all things living, one—for all have this unchanging self—not perfected by any deeds, but self-perfect; 1368

'If so, if such a self it is that acts, let there be no self-mortifying conduct, the self is lord and master; what need to do that which is done? 1369

'For if this "I" is lasting and imperishable, then reason would teach it never can be changed. But now we see the marks of joy and sorrow, what room for constancy then is here? 1370

'Knowing that birth brings this deliverance then I put away all thought of sin's defilement; the whole world, everything, endures! what then becomes of this idea of rescue. 1371

'We cannot even talk of putting self away, truth is the same as falsehood, it is not "I" that do a thing, and who, forsooth, is he that talks of "I?" 1372

‘ But if it is not “I” that do the thing, then there is no “I” that does it, and in the absence of these both, there is no “I” at all, in very truth. 1373

‘ No doer and no knower, no lord, yet notwithstanding this, there ever lasts this birth and death, like morn and night ever recurring. But now attend to me and listen ; 1374

‘ The senses six and their six objects united cause the six kinds of knowledge, these three (i. e. senses, objects, and resulting knowledge) united bring forth contact, then the intervolved effects of recollection (follow). 1375

‘ Then like the burning glass and tinder thro’ the sun’s power cause fire to appear, so thro’ the knowledge born of sense and object, the lord (of knowledge) (self) (like the fire) is born. 1376

‘ The shoot springs from the seed, the seed is not the shoot, not one and yet not different, such is the birth of all that lives.’ 1377

The honoured of the world preaching the truth, the equal and impartial paramârtha, thus addressed the king with all his followers. Then king Bimbisâra filled with joy, 1378

Removing from himself defilement, gained religious sight, a hundred thousand spirits also, hearing the words of the immortal law, shook off and lost the stain of sin. 1379

VARGA 17. THE GREAT DISCIPLE BECOMES A HERMIT.

At this time Bimbisâra Râga, bowing his head, requested the honoured of the world to change his

place of abode for the bamboo grove¹; graciously accepting it, Buddha remained silent. 1380

Then the king, having perceived the truth, offered his adoration and returned to his palace. The world-honoured, with the great congregation, proceeded on foot, to rest for awhile in the bamboo garden². 1381

(There he dwelt) to convert all that breathed³, to kindle once for all⁴ the lamp of wisdom, to establish Brahma and the Devas, and to confirm the lives⁵ of saints and sages. 1382

At this time Asvagit and Vâshpa⁶, with heart composed and every member (sense) subdued, the time having come for begging food, entered into the town of Râgagriha: 1383

Unrivalled in the world were they for grace of person, and in dignity of carriage excelling all. The lords and ladies of the city seeing them, were filled with joy; 1384

Those who were walking stood still, those before waited, those behind hastened on. Now the Rishi Kapila amongst all his numerous disciples 1385

¹ This garden, called the *Karanda Venuvana*, was a favourite residence of Buddha. For an account of it, see Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 194. It was situated between the old city of Râgagriha and the new city, about three hundred yards to the north of the former (see Fā-hien, chap. xxx, Beal's translation, p. 117 and note 2).

² I have translated Ku'an 'to rest awhile,' it might be supposed to refer to the rest of the rainy season. But it is doubtful whether this ordinance was instituted so early.

³ All living things.

⁴ To establish and settle the brightness of the lamp of wisdom.

⁵ To establish the settlement of sages and saints.

⁶ He is sometimes called Darabala Kâryapa (Eitel, *Handbook*, p. 158 b).

Had one of wide-spread fame, whose name was Sāriputra; he, beholding the wonderful grace of the Bhikshus, their composed mien and subdued senses, 1386

Their dignified walk and carriage, raising his hands, enquiring, said: 'Young in years, but pure and graceful in appearance, such as I before have never seen, 1387

'What law most excellent (have you obeyed)? and who your master that has taught you? and what the doctrine you have learned? Tell me, I pray you, and relieve my doubts.' 1388

Then of the Bhikshus, one¹, rejoicing at his question, with pleasing air and gracious words, replied: 'The omniscient, born of the Ikshvāku family, 1389

'The very first 'midst gods and men, this one is my great master. I am indeed but young, the sun of wisdom has but just arisen, 1390

'How can I then explain the master's doctrine? Its meaning is deep and very hard to understand, but now, according to my poor capability (wisdom), I will recount in brief the master's doctrine: 1391

"Whatever things exist all spring from cause, the principles (cause) of birth and death (may be) destroyed, the way is by the means he has declared²." 1392

¹ In the Pāli account of this incident Asvagit alone is represented as begging his food; but here Asvagit and Vāshpa are joined according to the later rule (as it would seem) which forbade one mendicant to proceed alone through a town. (Compare Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 144.)

² For the Southern version of this famous stanza, see Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 146; also Manual of Buddhism,

Then the twice-born Upata (Upatishya), embracing heartily what he had heard, put from him all sense-pollution, and obtained the pure eyes of the law. 1393

The former explanations he had trusted, respecting cause and what was not the cause, that there was nothing that was made, but was made by Īsvara, 1394

All this, now that he had heard the rule of true causation, understanding (penetrating) the wisdom of the no-self, adding thereto the knowledge of the minute (dust) troubles¹, which can never be overcome in their completeness (completely destroyed), 1395

But by the teaching of Tathāgata, all this he now for ever put away; leaving no room for thought of self, the thought of self will disappear². 1396

‘Who, when the brightness of the sun gives light, would call for the dimness of the lamp? for, like the severing of the lotus, the stem once cut, the pods (?) will also die; 1397

‘So Buddha’s teaching cutting off the stem of sorrow, no seeds are left to grow or lead to further increase.’ Then bowing at the Bhikshu’s feet, with grateful mien, he wended homewards. 1398

The Bhikshus after having begged their food, likewise went back to the bamboo grove. Sâri-

p. 196. For a similar account from the Chinese, see Wong Puh, § 77.

¹ The ‘dust troubles’ are the troubles caused by objects of sense, as numerous as motes in a sunbeam.

² ‘Look upon the world as void, O Mogharāgan, being always thoughtful; having destroyed the view of oneself (as really existing), so one may overcome death; the king of death will not see him who thus regards the world,’ Sutta Nipāta, Fausböll, p. 208.

putra on his arrival home, (rested) with joyful face and full of peace. 1399

His friend the honoured Mugalin (Maudgalyāyana), equally renowned for learning, seeing Sâriputra in the distance¹, his pleasing air and lightsome step, 1400

Spoke thus: 'As I now see thee, there is an unusual look I notice, your former nature seems quite changed, the signs of happiness I now observe, 1401

'All indicate the possession of eternal truth, these marks are not uncaused.' Answering he said: 'The words of the Tathâgata are such as never yet were spoken;' 1402

And then, requested, he declared (what he had heard). Hearing the words and understanding them, he too put off the world's defilement, and gained the eyes of true religion, 1403

The reward of a long-planted virtuous cause; and, as one sees by a lamp that comes to hand, so he obtained an unmoved faith in Buddha; and now they both set out for Buddha's presence, 1404

With a large crowd of followers, two hundred men and fifty. Buddha seeing the two worthies² coming, spoke thus to his disciples: 1405

'These two men who come shall be my two most eminent followers, one unsurpassed for wisdom, the other for powers miraculous;' 1406

And then with Brahma's voice³, profound and

¹ 'Then the paribbâgaka Sâriputta went to the place where the paribbâgaka Moggallâna was,' Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 147.

² The two 'bhadras,' i. e. 'sages,' or 'virtuous ones.'

³ Or, with 'Brahma-voice' (Brahmaghosha), for which, see Childers sub voce.

sweet, he forthwith bade them 'Welcome!' Here is the pure and peaceful law (he said); here the end of all discipleship! 1407

Their hands grasping the triple-staff¹, their twisted hair holding the water-vessel², hearing the words of Buddha's welcome, they forthwith changed into complete *Sramanas*³; 1408

The leaders two and all their followers, assuming the complete appearance of Bhikshus, with prostrate forms fell down at Buddha's feet, then rising, sat beside him⁴: 1409

And with obedient heart listening to the word, they all became Rahats. At this time there was a twice-(born) sage⁵, Kâsyapa Shi-ming-teng (Eggidatta) (Agnidatta), 1410

Celebrated and perfect in person, rich in possessions, and his wife most virtuous. But all this he

¹ This triple (three-wonderful) staff is, I suppose, a mark of a Brahman student.

² Twisted hair holding the pitcher; this may also refer to some custom among the Brahmans. Or the line may be rendered, 'their hair twisted and holding their pitchers.'

³ This sudden transformation from the garb and appearance of laymen into shorn and vested Bhikshus, is one often recounted in Buddhist stories.

⁴ Or, sat on one side (*ekamantam*).

⁵ This expression, which might also be rendered 'two religious leaders' ('rh sse), may also, by supplying the word 'sing,' be translated a 'twice-born sage,' i.e. a Brahman; and this appears more apposite with what follows, and therefore I have adopted it. The Brahman alluded to would then be called Kâsyapa Agnidatta. The story of Eggidatta is given by Bigandet (*Legend*, p. 180, first edition), but there is nothing said about his name Kâsyapa. Eitel (*Handbook*, sub voce *Mahâkâsyapa*) gives an explanation of the name Kâsyapa, 'he who swallowed light;' but the literal translation of the words in our text is, 'Kâsyapa giving in charity a bright lamp.'

had left and become a hermit, seeking the way of salvation. 1411

And now in the way by the To-tseu¹ tower he suddenly encountered Sākya Muni, remarkable for his dignified and illustrious appearance, as the embroidered flag of a Deva (temple); 1412

Respectfully and reverently approaching, with head bowed down, he worshipped his feet, whilst he said: 'Truly, honoured one, you are my teacher, and I am your follower, 1413

'Much and long time have I been harassed with doubts, oh! would that you would light the lamp² (of knowledge).' Buddha knowing that this twice-(born) sage was heartily desirous of finding the best mode of escape³, 1414

With soft and pliant voice, he bade him come and welcome. Hearing his bidding and his heart complying, losing all listlessness of body or spirit, 1415

His soul embraced the terms of this most excellent salvation⁴. Quiet and calm, putting away defilement, the great merciful, as he alone knew how, briefly explained the mode of this deliverance, 1416

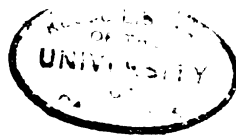
Exhibiting the secrets of his law, ending with

¹ This 'many children' tower is perhaps the one at Vaisâli alluded to by Fā-hien, chap. xxv.

² Here the phrase 'teng ming,' light of the lamp, seems to be a play on the name 'ming teng,' bright lamp. The method and way in which a disciple (saddhivihārika) chooses a master (upagghāya) is explained, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 154.

³ Literally, '(had) a heart rejoicing in the most complete method of salvation (moksha).'

⁴ Or, 'the mode of salvation explained by the most excellent (Buddha).'



the four indestructible acquirements¹. The great sage, everywhere celebrated, was called Mahâ Kâsyapa, 1417

His original faith was that 'body and soul are different,' but he had also held that they are the same, that there was both 'I' and a place² for I; but now he for ever cast away his former faith, 1418

And considered only (the truth) that 'sorrow' is ever accumulating; so (he argued) by removing sorrow there will be 'no remains' (i. e. no subject for suffering); obedience to the precepts and the practice of discipline, though not themselves the cause, yet he considered these the necessary mode by which to find deliverance. 1419

With equal and impartial mind, he considered the nature of sorrow, for evermore freed from a cleaving heart. Whether we think 'this is,' or 'this is not' (he thought), both tend to produce a listless (idle) mode of life; 1420

But when with equal mind we see the truth, then certainty is produced and no more doubt. If we rely for support on wealth or form, then wild confusion and concupiscence result, 1421

Inconstant and impure. But lust and covetous desire removed, the heart of love and equal thoughts produced, there can be then no enemies or friends (variance), 1422

But the heart is pitiful and kindly disposed to all, and thus is destroyed the power of anger and of hate. Trusting to outward things and their relationships, then crowding thoughts of every kind are gendered; 1423

¹ *Katuḥ-samyak-pradhâna?*

² 所 'the place of.'

Reflecting well, and crushing out confusing thought, then lust for pleasure is destroyed. Though born in the Arûpa world (he saw) that there would be a remnant of life still left; 1424

Unacquainted with the four right truths, he had felt an eager longing for this deliverance, for the quiet resulting from the absence of all thought. And now putting away for ever covetous desire for such a formless state of being, 1425

His restless heart was agitated still, as the stream is excited by the rude wind. Then entering on deep reflection in quiet he subdued his troubled mind, 1426

And realised the truth of there being no 'self,' and that therefore birth and death are no realities; but beyond this point he rose not, his thought of 'self' destroyed, all else was lost. 1427

But now the lamp of wisdom lit, the gloom of every doubt dispersed, he saw an end to that which seemed without an end; ignorance finally dispelled, 1428

He considered the ten points of excellence; the ten seeds of sorrow destroyed, he came once more to life, and what he ought to do, he did. And now regarding with reverence the face of his lord, 1429

He put away the three¹ and gained the three²; so were there three disciples³ in addition to the

¹ The three poisons, lust, hatred, ignorance.

² The three treasures (triratna), Buddha, the law, the community.

³ The three disciples, as it seems, were Sâriputra, Maudgalyâyana, and Agnidatta (Kâsyapa).

three¹; and as the three stars range around the Trayastrimsas heaven, 1430

Waiting upon the three and five², so the three wait on Buddha. 1431

VARGA 18. CONVERSION OF³ THE 'SUPPORTER OF THE ORPHANS AND DESTITUTE'⁴ (ANĀTHAPIṆḌADA).

At this time there was a great householder⁵ whose name was 'Friend of the Orphan and Destitute;' he was very rich and of unbounded means, and widely charitable in helping the poor and needy. 1432

Now this man coming far away from the north, even from the country of Kosala⁶, stopped at the house of a friend whose name was Sheu-lo⁷ (in Rāgagrīha). 1433

Hearing that Buddha was in the world and dwell-

¹ In addition to the three brothers (the Kāsyapas).

² The allusion here is obscure; there may be a misprint in the text.

³ Literally, 'he converts,' &c.

⁴ This is the Chinese explanation of the name of Anāthapiṇḍada (or Anāthapiṇḍaka), 'the protector or supporter of the destitute.' He is otherwise called Sudatta (see Jul. II, 294).

⁵ The Chinese is simply 'ta k'ang k'é,' but this is evidently the equivalent of 'Mahā-seṭṭhi,' a term applied emphatically to Anāthapiṇḍada (see Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiii, p. 102, note 2). Where I have translated it 'nobleman,' the word 'treasurer' might be substituted; the term 'elder' cannot be allowed. Yasa the son of a seṭṭhi is called by Rh. D. a 'noble youth' (op. cit., p. 102, § 7).

⁶ That is, Uttara Kosala (Northern Kosala), the capital of which was Srāvastī.

⁷ Rhys Davids gives the name of one of the rich merchant's daughters, Kūla-Subhaddā (*Birth Stories*, p. 131); perhaps his friend at Rāgagrīha was called Sūla or Kūla (see also *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 219).

ing in the bamboo grove near at hand, understanding moreover his renown and illustrious qualities, he set out that very night¹ for the grove. 1434

Tathāgata, well aware of his character, and that he was prepared to bring forth purity and faith², according to the case, called him by his true³ (name), and for his sake addressed him in words of religion: 1435

‘Having rejoiced in the true law⁴, and being humbly⁵ desirous for a pure and believing heart, thou hast overcome desire for sleep, and art here to pay me reverence; 1436

‘Now then will I for your sake discharge fully the duties of a first meeting⁶. In your former births the root of virtue planted firm in pure and rare expectancy⁷, 1437

‘Hearing now the name of Buddha, you rejoiced because you are a vessel fit for righteousness, humble

¹ The statements that he came ‘by night,’ and that Buddha called him by his name—or, as the Chinese might be translated, called him ‘true’ (? guileless)—appear as though borrowed from the Gospel narrative. Nicodemus was rich, and Nathaniel (Bartholomew) preached in India (Euseb. Lib. v. cap. 10). He is said to have carried the Gospel of St. Matthew there, where it was discovered by Pantaenus.

² That is, that he was ripe for conversion.

³ The name by which he was called, according to Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 217), was Sudatta.

⁴ That is, ‘because’ you have rejoiced. The ‘true law’ is the same as ‘religious truth.’

⁵ Literally, ‘pure and truthful of heart, with meekness thirsting (after knowledge).’

⁶ The meaning is, as we have now met for the first time, I will explain my doctrine (preach) in a formal (polite) way.

⁷ That is, your merit in former births has caused you to reap a reward in your present condition.

in mind, but large in gracious deeds, abundant in your charity to the poor and helpless— 1438

‘The name you possess wide spread and famous, (this is) the just reward (fruit) of former merit. The deeds you now perform are done of charity, done with the fullest purpose and of single heart. 1439

‘Now, therefore, take from me¹ the charity of perfect rest (Nirvâna), and for this end accept my rules of purity. My rules² are full of grace, able to rescue from destruction (evil ways of birth), 1440

‘And cause a man to ascend to heaven and share in all its pleasures. But yet to seek for these (pleasures) is a great evil, for lustful longing in its increase brings much sorrow. 1441

‘Practise then the art of “giving up³” all search, for “giving up” desire is the joy of perfect rest (Nirvâna)⁴. Know⁵ then! that age, dis-

¹ The construction here is difficult. There seems to be a play on the word ‘shi,’ religious charity; the sense is, that as Anâtha-pindada was remarkable for his liberality now, he should be liberally rewarded by gaining a knowledge of salvation (Nirvâna).

² Instead of ‘my rules,’ it would be better to understand the word in an indefinite sense as ‘rules of morality’ (sīla).

³ ‘Giving up,’ that is, putting away all desire and giving up ‘self,’ even in relation to future reward; compare the hymn of S. Francis Xavier,

‘O Deus, ego amo Te
Nec amo Te ut salves me,’ etc.

And again,

‘Non ut in coelo salves me
Nec praemii ullius spe.’

⁴ This definition of Nirvâna, as a condition of perfect rest resulting from ‘giving up’ desire, is in agreement with the remarks of Mr. Rhys Davids and others, who describe Nirvâna as resulting from the absence of a ‘grasping’ disposition.

⁵ It would seem, from the context, that the word ‘xi’ (know), in this line, is a mistake for ‘sing,’ birth.

ease, and death, these are the great sorrows of the world. 1442

‘Rightly considering the world, we put away birth and old age, disease and death; (but now) because we see that men at large inherit sorrow caused by age, disease, and death, 1443

‘(We gather that) when born in heaven, the case is also thus; for there is no continuance there for any, and where there is no continuance there is sorrow, and having sorrow there is no “true self.” 1444

‘And if the state of “no continuance” and of sorrow is opposed to “self,” what room is there for such idea or ground for “self¹?” Know then! that “sorrow” is this very sorrow (viz. of knowledge), and its repetition is “accumulation²,” 1445

‘Destroy³ this sorrow and there is joy, the way⁴ is in the calm and quiet place. The restless busy nature of the world, this I declare is at the root of pain. 1446

‘Stop then the end by choking up the source⁵.

¹ The argument is, that there can be no personal self, in other words, no ‘soul,’ where there is no continuance, or power of independent existence. This is one of the principles of Buddhism, viz. that what has had a beginning must come to an end; the ‘soul,’ therefore, as it began with the birth of the individual, must die (and as the Buddhists said) with the individual. If we put this into modern phraseology, it will be something like this, ‘the very nature of phenomena demonstrates that they must have had a beginning, and that they must have an end’ (Huxley, Lay Sermons, p. 17).

² The sorrow of ‘accumulation’ is the second of the ‘four truths’ (according to Northern accounts).

³ ‘Destruction’ is the third great truth.

⁴ The ‘way’ is the fourth truth.

⁵ The sentiment here enunciated is repeated, under various forms, in Dhammapada; the first paragraph in the Sûtra of Forty-two Sections, also, exhibits the same truth.

Desire not either life (bhava) or its opposite; the raging fire of birth, old age, and death burns up the world on every side. 1447

'Seeing the constant toil (unrest) of birth and death we ought to strive to attain a passive state (no-thought), the final goal of Sammata¹, the place of immortality² and rest. 1448

'All is empty! neither "self," nor place for "self," but all the world is like a phantasy; this is the way to regard ourselves, as but a heap of composite qualities (samskāra).' 1449

The nobleman hearing the spoken law forthwith attained the first³ degree of holiness, he emptied, as it were, the sea of birth and death, one drop⁴ alone remaining. 1450

By practising, apart from men, the banishment of all desire he soon attained the one impersonal

¹ Sammata or Sammati seems to be the same as Samatha in Pāli (concerning which, see Childers, Pāli Dict. sub voce). The Chinese expression 'yih sin' (one heart) is generally equivalent to 'sammata,' ecstatic union. It cannot here be rendered by samādhi.

² The place of 'sweet dew' (amṛita).

³ That is, of a Srotāpanna. Spence Hardy, in his Manual of Buddhism, p. 218, also says that Anāthapindada entered the first path after hearing the sermon; but in his account the sermon consisted of two stanzas only, 'He who is free from evil desire attains the highest estate and is always in prosperity. He who cuts off demerit, who subdues the mind and attains a state of perfect equanimity, secures Nirvāṇa; this is his prosperity.' In this account the idea of 'prosperity' is the same as the 'charity of Nirvāṇa' in our version.

⁴ This appears to allude to the circumstance that at the dedication of the Vihāra Anāthapindada arrived at the third degree of holiness, after which there was but one birth (drop) more to experience before reaching Nirvāṇa (Manual of Buddhism, p. 220).

condition, not¹ as common folk do now-a-day who speculate upon the mode of true deliverance; 1451

For he who does not banish sorrow-causing *samskâras* does but involve himself in every kind of question; and though he reaches to the highest form of being, yet grasps not the one and only truth; 1452

Erroneous thoughts as to the joy of heaven are still entwined by the fast cords of lust². The nobleman attending to the spoken law the cloud of darkness opened before the shining splendour; 1453

Thus he attained true sight, erroneous views for ever dissipated; even as the furious winds of autumn sway to and fro and scatter all the heaped-up clouds. 1454

He argued³ not that *Îsvara* was cause, nor did he advocate some cause heretical, nor yet again did he affirm there was no cause for the beginning of the world. 1455

'If the world was made by *Îsvara deva*⁴, there should be neither young nor old, first nor after, nor the five ways of birth (transmigration); and when once born there should be no destruction. 1456

'Nor should there be such thing as sorrow or calamity, nor doing wrong nor doing right; for all,

¹ These lines appear to be by way of reflection.

² 'Lust' in the sense of 'appetite.'

³ Here follows a long dissertation on the subject of the 'maker' of the world. The theories refuted are (1) that *Îsvara* is maker, (2) that self-nature is the cause, (3) that time is the maker, (4) that self (in the sense of 'universal self') is the cause, (5) that there is no cause.

⁴ Here I begin with inverted commas, as if the discourse were either spoken by Buddha or interpolated by *Aravaghosha*.

both pure and impure deeds, these must come from
Īsvara deva. 1457

‘Again, if Īsvara deva made the world there
should be never question (doubt) about the fact,
even as a son born of his father ever confesses him
and pays him reverence. 1458

‘Men when pressed by sore calamity ought not
(if Īsvara be creator) to rebel against him, but rather
reverence him completely, as the self-existent. Nor
ought they to adore more gods than one (other
spirits). 1459

‘Again, if Īsvara be the maker he should not be
called the self-existent¹, because in that he is the
maker now he always should have been the maker
(ever making). 1460

‘But if ever making, then ever self-remembering²,
and therefore not the self-existent one. And if he
made without a mind (purpose) then is he like the
sucking child; 1461

‘But if he made having an (ever prompting) pur-
pose, then is he not, with such a purpose, self-
existent. Sorrow and joy spring up in all that lives,
these at least are not the works of Īsvara; 1462

‘For if he causes grief³ and joy, he must himself

¹ In the sense of ‘existing in himself’ or independently. How
entirely Northern Buddhism changed its character shortly after
Arvaghosha’s time, is evident from the fact that Avalokitesvara,
‘the god who looks down’ (in the sense of protector), became an
object of almost universal worship, and was afterwards regarded
as the creating god.

² That is, ever ‘purposing’ to make, and so not complete in
himself.

³ ‘This question, “unde malum et quare,”’ was the question
that of old met the thoughtful at every turn. And it has always

have love (preference) and hate; but if he loves unduly, or has hatred, he cannot properly be named the self-existent. 1463

'Again, if *Īsvara* be the maker, all living things should silently submit, patient beneath the maker's power, and then what use to practise virtue? 1464

'Twere equal, then, the doing right or wrong, there should be no reward of works; the works themselves being his making, then all things are the same with him, the maker. 1465

'But if all things are one with him, then our deeds, and we who do them, are also self-existent. But if *Īsvara* be uncreated, then all things (being one with him) are uncreated. 1466

'But if you say there is another cause beside him as creator, then *Īsvara* is not the "end of all" (*Īsvara*, who ought to be inexhaustible, is not so), and therefore all that lives may after all be uncreated (without a maker). 1467

'Thus, you see, the thought of *Īsvara* is overthrown in this discussion (*sāstra*); and all such contradictory assertions should be exposed; if not, the blame is ours¹. 1468

'Again, if it be said self-nature² is the maker, this

done so. Many of the arguments used in the text may be found in works treating on the subject of 'evil' and its origin.

¹ So the passage must be translated; but if so, it would appear, as before stated, that this discourse on the 'maker' is introduced here parenthetically by *Āsvaghosha*, not as spoken by *Buddha*. No doubt the theories and their confutations were such as prevailed in his day.

² By self-nature, or, original nature, is evidently meant '*svabhāva*.' The theory of such a cause had evidently gained ground at this time in the North, although it seems unknown amongst

is as faulty as the first assertion ; nor has either of the Hetuvidyâ¹ sâstras asserted such a thing as this, till now. 1469

‘ That which depends on nothing cannot as a cause make that which is ; but all things round us come from a cause, as the plant comes from the seed ; 1470

‘ We cannot therefore say that all things are produced by self-nature. Again, all things which exist (are made) spring not from one (nature) as a cause ; 1471

‘ And yet you say self-nature is but one, it cannot then be cause of all. If you say that that self-nature pervades and fills all places, 1472

‘ If it pervades and fills all things, then certainly it cannot make them too ; for there would be nothing, then, to make, and therefore this cannot be the cause. 1473

‘ If, again, it fills all places and yet makes all things that exist, then it should throughout “ all time ” have made for ever that which is. 1474

‘ But if you say it made things thus, then there is nothing to be made “ in time² ; ” know then for certain self-nature cannot be the cause of all. 1475

‘ Again, they say that that self-nature excludes all

Southern Buddhists. Nâgasena wrote a Sâstra (‘ of one sloka ’) to disprove it.

¹ The usual Chinese expression for ‘ hetuvidyâ ’ is ‘ in ming ; ’ here the phrase is ‘ ming in ; ’ but I suppose this to be either an error, or equivalent with the other. The Hetuvidyâ sâstra is a treatise on the ‘ explanation of causes. ’

² The argument seems to be that self-nature must have made all things from the first as they are ; there is no room therefore for further creation, but things are still made, therefore self-nature cannot be the cause.

gunas¹ (modifications), therefore all things made by it ought likewise to be free from gunas. 1476

‘But we see, in fact, that all things in the world are fettered throughout by gunas, therefore, again, we say that self-nature cannot be the cause of all. 1477

‘If, again, you say that that self-nature is different from such qualities (gunas), (we answer), since self-nature must have ever caused, it cannot differ in its nature (from itself); 1478

‘But if the world (all living things) be different from these qualities (gunas), then self-nature cannot be the cause. Again, if self-nature be unchangeable, so things should also be without decay; 1479

‘If we regard self-nature as the cause, then cause and consequence of reason should be one; but because we see decay in all things, we know that they at least are caused. 1480

‘Again, if self-nature be the cause, why should we seek to find “escape?” for we ourselves possess this nature; patient then should we endure both birth and death. 1481

‘For let us take the case that one may find “escape,” self-nature still will re-construct the evil of birth. If self-nature in itself be blind, yet ’tis the maker of the world that sees. 1482

‘On this account again it cannot be the maker, because, in this case, cause and effect would differ in their character, but in all the world around us, cause and effect go hand in hand. 1483

‘Again, if self-nature have no purpose² (aim), it

¹ That is, that it is nirguna, devoid of qualities.

² ‘No purpose’—no heart; if we take the two powers of soul

cannot cause that which has such purpose. We know on seeing smoke there must be fire, and cause and result are ever classed together thus. 1484

'We are forbidden, then, to say an unthinking cause can make a thing that has intelligence. The gold of which the cup is made is gold throughout from first to last. 1485

'Self-nature then that makes these things from first to last must permeate all it makes. Once more, if "time" is maker of the world, 'twere needless then to seek "escape," 1486

'For "time" is constant and unchangeable, let us in patience bear the "intervals" of time. The world in its successions has no limits, the "intervals" of time are boundless also. 1487

'Those then who practise a religious life need not rely on "methods" or "expedients." The To-lo-piu Kiu-na¹ (Tripuna guṇa śāstra?), the one strange Śāstra in the world, 1488

'Although it has so many theories (utterings), yet still, be it known, it is opposed to any single cause. But if, again, you say that "self"² is maker, then surely self should make things pleasingly, 1489

'But now things are not pleasing for oneself, how then is it said that self is maker? But if he did not wish to make things so, then he who wishes for things pleasing, is opposed to self, the maker. 1490

(according to the scholastic method) to be a 'vis cognitiva' and a 'vis effectiva,' the expression in the text appears to correspond with the latter.

¹ I do not know any other way of restoring these symbols than the one I have used. But what is the Tripuna guṇa śāstra?

² 'Self' in the sense of a 'universal cause' co-extensive with the things made.

‘Sorrow and joy are not self-existing, how can these be made by “self?” But if we allow that self was maker, there should not be, at least, an evil karman¹; 1491

‘But yet our deeds produce results both good and evil, know then that “self” cannot be maker. But perhaps you say “self” is the maker according to occasion² (time), and then the occasion ought to be for good alone; 1492

‘But as good and evil both result from “cause,” it cannot be that “self” has made it so. But if you adopt the argument—there is no maker—then it is useless practising expedients³; 1493

‘All things are fixed and certain of themselves, what good to try to make them otherwise? Deeds of every kind, done in the world, do, notwithstanding, bring forth every kind of fruit; 1494

‘Therefore we argue all things that exist are not without some cause or other. There is both “mind” and “want of mind,” all things come from fixed causation; 1495

‘The world and all therein is not the result of “nothing” as a cause.’ The nobleman⁴ (householder), his heart receiving light, perceived throughout the most excellent system of truth, 1496

Simple, and of wisdom born; thus firmly settled

¹ There should not be works producing birth in one of the evil ways.

² I do not understand the point here; literally the passage is ‘saying self according to time makes’—the Chinese ‘ts’ui shi’ means ‘whenever convenient,’ or ‘at a good time;’ so that the passage may mean ‘but if you say that self creates only when so prompted by itself.’

³ That is, using means for salvation or escape from sorrow.

⁴ Here the narrative seems to take up the thread dropped at v. 1451.

in the true doctrine he lowly bent in worship at the feet of Buddha and with closed hands made his request: 1497

‘I dwell indeed at Srāvastī (Sāvatthi)¹, a land rich in produce, and enjoying peace; Prasenagit (Pasenit)² is the great king thereof, the offspring of the “lion” family; 1498

‘His high renown and fame spread everywhere, revered by all both far and near. Now am I wishful there to found a Vihāra, I pray you of your tenderness accept it from me. 1499

‘I know the heart of Buddha has no preferences, nor does he seek a resting-place from labour, but on behalf of all that lives refuse not my request.’ 1500

Buddha, knowing the householder’s heart, that his great charity was now the moving cause, untainted and unselfish charity, nobly considerate of the heart of all that lives 1501

(He said), ‘Now you have seen the true doctrine, your guileless heart loves to exercise its charity, for wealth and money are inconstant treasures, ’twere better quickly to bestow such things on others. 1502

‘For when a treasury has been burnt, whatever precious things may have escaped the fire, the wise

¹ She-po-ti; evidently a Pāli or Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Srāvastī. The Chinese explanation of this name is (as found in the next line) a ‘country of abundance.’ It has been identified by General Cunningham with Sāhet Māhet.

² Po-sze-nih, i.e. Prasenagit (victorious army). With respect to this king, we know from Hiouen Thsang (Jul. II, 317) that he did not belong to the Sākya race, but he became a convert to Buddhism. His son Virūdhaka massacred a number of the Sākyas, ‘and the ground was covered with their dead bodies as with pieces of straw’ (Jul. II, 317). The king is here described as belonging to the Simha race; probably he was a Scyth, of the same family as the Vaggis, one tribe of whom was called the ‘lion’ tribe.

man, knowing their inconstancy, gives freely, doing acts of kindness with his saved possessions. 1503

‘But the niggard guards them carefully, fearing to lose them, worn by anxiety, but never fearing (worst of all!) “inconstancy¹,” and that accumulated sorrow, when he loses all! 1504

‘There is a proper time and a proper mode in charity, just as the vigorous warrior goes to battle, so is the man “able to give,” he also is an able warrior; a champion strong and wise in action. 1505

‘The charitable man is loved by all, well-known and far-renowned! his friendship prized by the gentle and the good, in death his heart at rest and full of joy! 1506

‘He suffers no repentance, no tormenting fear, nor is he born a wretched ghost or demon! this is the opening flower of his reward, the fruit that follows—hard to conjecture²! 1507

‘In all the six conditions born there is no sweet companion like pure charity; if born a Deva or a man, then charity brings worship and renown on every hand; 1508

‘If born among the lower creatures (beasts), the result of charity will follow in contentment got; wisdom leads the way to fixed composure without dependence and without number³. 1509

‘And if we even reach the immortal path, still by continuous acts of charity we fulfil ourselves in

¹ ‘Inconstancy,’ or ‘death.’

² This is a singular expression, implying that the character of a good man’s final condition is difficult to describe: ‘it has not entered the heart.’

³ These two lines appear to be irrelevant; nor do I understand the last phrase ‘without number,’ in its connection with the context.

consequence of kindly charity done elsewhere. Training ourselves in the eightfold¹ path of recollection, 1510

‘In every thought the heart is filled with joy, firm fixed in holy contemplation (samâdhi), by meditation still we add to wisdom, able to see aright (the cause of) birth and death; 1511

‘Having beheld aright the cause of these, then follows in due order perfect deliverance. The charitable man discarding earthly wealth, nobly excludes the power of covetous desire; 1512

‘Loving and compassionate now, he gives with reverence and banishes all hatred, envy, anger. So plainly may we see the fruit of charity, putting away all covetous and unbelieving ways, 1513

‘The bands of sorrow all destroyed, this is the fruit of kindly charity. Know then! the charitable man has found the cause of final rescue; 1514

‘Even as the man who plants the sapling, thereby secures the shade, the flowers, the fruit (of the tree full grown); the result of charity is even so, its reward is joy and the great Nirvâṇa. 1515

‘The charity which unstores² wealth leads to returns of well-stored fruit. Giving away our food we get more strength, giving away our clothes we get more beauty, 1516

‘Founding religious rest-places³ (pure abodes) we

¹ The eight recollections (nim); doubtless these are the eight ‘samâpattis’ (attainments or endowments), concerning which we may consult Childers’ Pâli Dict., sub ‘samâpatti.’

² That is, which does not store up wealth, but unstores it to give away. There seems to be here a tacit allusion to Sudatta’s wealth, which he unstored and gave in charity by purchasing the garden of Geta.

³ That is, Vihâras.

reap the perfect fruit of the best charity. There is a way of giving, seeking pleasure by it; there is a way of giving, coveting to get more; 1517

'Some also give away to get a name for charity, others to get the happiness of heaven, others to avoid the pain of being poor (hereafter), but yours, O friend! is a charity without such thoughts, 1518

'The highest and the best degree of charity without self-interest or thought of getting more. What your heart inclines you now to do, let it be quickly done and well completed! 1519

'The uncertain and the lustful heart goes wandering here and there, but the pure eyes (of virtue) opening, the heart comes back and rests¹' The nobleman accepting Buddha's teaching, his kindly heart receiving yet more light, 1520

He invited Upatishya², his excellent friend, to accompany him on his return to Kosala; and then going round to select a pleasant site, 1521

He saw the garden of the heir-apparent, Geta, the groves and limpid streams most pure. Proceeding where the prince was dwelling, he asked for leave to buy the ground; 1522

The prince, because he valued it so much, at first was not inclined to sell, but said at last: 'If you can cover it with gold then, but not else, you may possess it³.' 1523

¹ These two lines are probably proverbial, something of this kind, 'the uncertain, amorous mind is profligate (wandering), the enlightened man comes to himself.'

² Upatissa is the same as Sâriputra. Hiouen Thsang (Jul. II, 296) says that Buddha sent Sâriputra with Sudatta, to advise and counsel him.

³ The famous contract between Sudatta and Geta, the heir-apparent, is well known, and may be read in all the translations of the

The nobleman, his heart rejoicing, forthwith began to spread his gold. Then Geta said: 'I will not give, why then spread you your gold?' 1524

The nobleman replied, 'Not give; why then said you, "Fill it with yellow gold?"' And thus they differed and contended both, till they resorted to the magistrate. 1525

Meanwhile the people whispered much about his unwonted¹ (charity), and Geta too, knowing the man's sincerity, asked more about the matter: what his reasons were. On his reply, 'I wish to found a Vihâra, 1526

'And offer it to the Tathâgata and all his Bhikshu followers,' the prince, hearing the name of Buddha, received at once illumination, 1527

And only took one half the gold, desiring to share in the foundation: 'Yours is the land (he said), but mine the trees; these will I give to Buddha as my share in the offering.' 1528

Then the noble took the land, Geta the trees, and settled both in trust on Sâriputra. Then they began to build the hall, labouring night and day to finish it; 1529

Lofty it rose and choicely decorated, as one of the four kings' palaces, in just proportions, following the

lives of Buddha. There is a representation of the proceeding in plate lvii (Bharhut Stûpa). I may observe here that the figure immediately in front (by the side of Geta, the prince, who is apparently giving away the trees, whilst Sudatta below him is giving the land), whistling with thumb and forefinger, and waving the robe, is typical of a number of others in these sculptures similarly engaged (see e.g. plate xiii [outer face]).

¹ Or, the unwonted circumstance; or, the 'unusual' character of Sudatta.

directions which Buddha had declared the right ones; 1530

Never yet so great a miracle as this! the priests shone in the streets of Srāvastī! Tathâgata, seeing the divine shelter, with all his holy ones resorted to the place to rest¹; 1531

No followers there to bow in prostrate service, his followers rich in wisdom only. The nobleman reaping his reward, at the end of life ascended up to heaven, 1532

Leaving to sons and grandsons a good foundation, through successive generations, to plough the field of merit. 1533

VARGA 19. INTERVIEW BETWEEN FATHER AND SON.

Buddha in the Magadha country (employing himself in) converting all kinds of unbelievers² (heretics), entirely changed them by the one and self-same³ law he preached, even as the sun drowns with its brightness all the stars. 1534

Then leaving the city of the five mountains⁴ with the company of his thousand disciples, and with a

¹ The expression 'to rest' may also mean 'to observe the rainy season rest,' if the ordinance of Vass had been enacted at this time.

² 'I tau,' different persuasions. It was during Buddha's stay near Râgagrîha that different rules for the direction of the 'Order' were framed. See *Romantic Legend*, p. 340 seq. There is no reference in our text to the stately march of Buddha to Kapilavastu, or of the different messages sent to him, as related by Bigandet, p. 160, and in Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 198, 199, also *Romantic Legend*, p. 349.

³ Yih-mi-fă, 'one-taste law.'

⁴ That is, Râgagrîha; the city surrounded by five mountains.

great multitude who went before and came after him, he advanced towards the Ni-kin¹ mountain, 1535

Near Kapilavastu; and there he conceived in himself a generous purpose to prepare an offering according to his religious doctrine² to present to his father, the king. 1536

And now in anticipation of his coming the royal teacher (purohita) and the chief minister had sent forth certain officers and their attendants to observe on the right hand and the left (what was taking place); and they soon espied him (Buddha) as he advanced or halted on the way. 1537

Knowing that Buddha was now returning to his country they hastened back³ and quickly announced the tidings, 'The prince who wandered forth afar to obtain enlightenment, having fulfilled his aim, is now coming back.' 1538

The king hearing the news was greatly rejoiced, and forthwith went out with his gaudy equipage to meet (his son); and the whole body of gentry (sse) belonging to the country, went forth with him in his company. 1539

Gradually advancing he beheld Buddha from afar, his marks of beauty sparkling with splendour two-

¹ This may be the Nyagrodha garden alluded to by Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 200, and also in the *Romantic Legend*, p. 350. The symbols ni-kin, however, seem to have some other equivalent, such as Nigantha.

² This of course means 'a religious offering,' or 'service of religion,' i. e. agreeable to religion.

³ There is no reference here to their conversion as in the Southern accounts. The account in the *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 200, of the king's preparation to meet his son, bears the appearance of a late date, and in exaggeration surpasses all we find in the Northern books.

fold greater than of yore; placed in the middle of the great congregation he seemed to be even as Brahma rāga. 1540

Descending from his chariot and advancing with dignity, (the king) was anxious lest there should be any religious¹ difficulty (in the way of instant recognition); and now beholding his beauty he inwardly rejoiced, but his mouth found no words to utter. 1541

He reflected, too, how that he was still dwelling among the unconverted throng, whilst his son had advanced and become a saint (*Rishi*); and although he was his son, yet as he now occupied the position of a religious lord², he knew not by what name to address him. 1542

Furthermore he thought with himself how he had long ago desired earnestly (this interview), which now had happened unawares³ (without arrangement). Meantime his son in silence took a seat, perfectly composed and with unchanged countenance. 1543

Thus for some time sitting opposite each other, with no expression of feeling (the king reflected thus)⁴, 'How desolate and sad does he now make my heart, as that of a man, who, fainting, longs for water, upon the road espies a fountain pure and cold; 1544

'With haste he speeds towards it and longs to

¹ That is, whether religion required a greeting first from him, the father.

² An Arhat or distinguished saint.

³ Without any summons.

⁴ I supply this (as in many other cases); in the text we are without direction when and where to bring in these explanatory phrases.

drink, when suddenly the spring dries up and disappears. Thus, now I see my son, his well-known features as of old; 1545

'But how estranged his heart! and how his manner high and lifted up! There are no grateful outflowings of soul, his feelings seem unwilling to express themselves; cold and vacant (there he sits); and like a thirsty man before a dried-up fountain (so am I).' 1546

Still distant thus (they sat), with crowding thoughts rushing through the mind, their eyes full met, but no responding joy; each looking at the other, seemed as one who thinking of a distant friend, gazes by accident upon his pictured form¹. 1547

'That you' (the king reflected) 'who of right might rule the world, even as that *Māndhātṛi rāga*, should now go begging here and there your food! what joy or charm has such a life as this? 1548

'Composed and firm as Sumeru², with marks of beauty bright as the sunlight, with dignity of step like the ox king, fearless as any lion, 1549

'And yet receiving not the tribute of the world, but begging food sufficient for your body's nourishment!' Buddha, knowing his father's mind, still kept to his own filial purpose. 1550

And then to open out his³ mind, and moved with

¹ This translation is doubtful; there is some question as to the correct reading.

² Buddha is often called 'the golden mountain,' and in this particular, as in many others, there is in Buddhism a marked resemblance with traditions known among primitive races; Bel, for example, is called 'the great mountain.'

³ That is, as I understand it, to move his father's mind. It may be understood, however, in the sense of carrying out his own purpose.

pity for the multitude of people, by his miraculous power he rose in mid-air, and with his hands (appeared) to grasp the sun and moon¹. 1551

Then he walked to and fro in space, and underwent all kinds of transformation, dividing his body into many parts, then joining all in one again. 1552

Treading firm on water as on dry land, entering the earth as in the water, passing through walls of stone without impediment, from the right side and the left water and fire produced²! 1553

The king, his father, filled with joy, now dismissed all thought of son and father³; then upon a lotus throne, seated in space, he (Buddha) for his father's sake declared the law. 1554

'I know that the king's heart (is full of) love and recollection, and that for his son's sake he adds grief to grief; but now let the bands of love that bind him, thinking of his son, be instantly unloosed and utterly destroyed. 1555

'Ceasing from thoughts of love, let your calmed mind receive from me, your son, religious nourishment; such as no son has offered yet to father, such do I present to you the king, my father. 1556

'And what no father yet has from a son received, now from your son you may accept, a gift miraculous for any mortal king to enjoy, and seldom had by any heavenly king! 1557

'The way superlative of life immortal⁴ (sweet

¹ Here we have an account of the grotesque miracles that distinguish this part of the narrative in all Northern Buddhist books; see *Romantic Legend*, p. 352.

² This is probably the twin-miracle (*yamaka-pâśihâriya*) referred to by Mr. Rhys Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 105 n.

³ That is, of the relative duties of father and son.

⁴ This phrase, 'the way of sweet dew,' I can only restore to 'the

dew) I offer now the Mahârâga; from accumulated deeds comes birth, and as the result of deeds comes recompense; 1558

‘Knowing then that deeds bring fruit, how diligent should you be to rid yourself of worldly deeds! how careful that in the world your deeds should be only good and gentle! 1559

‘Fondly affected by relationship or firmly bound by mutual ties of love, at end of life the soul (spirit) goes forth alone,—then, only our good deeds befriend us.— 1560

‘Whirled in the five ways of the wheel of life, three kinds of deeds produce three kinds of birth¹, and these are caused by lustful hankering, each kind different in its character. 1561

‘Deprive these of their power by the practice now of (proper) deeds of body and of word; by such right preparation day and night strive to get rid of all confusion of the mind and practise silent (contemplation); 1562

‘Only this brings profit in the end, besides this there is no reality; for be sure! the three worlds are but as the froth and bubble of the sea. 1563

‘Would you have pleasure, or would you practise that which brings it near? then prepare yourself by

way of immortality;’ of course it means ‘immortality’ (*amritam*) according to Buddhist ideas, that is, *Nirvâna*. Childers tells us that ‘Buddhaghosa says that *Nirvâna* is called *amata*, because not being born it does not decay or die’ (Pâli Dict., sub *amataṃ*). This definition of *Nirvâna* is the usual one found in Chinese books, that state which admits ‘neither of birth nor death.’

¹ Referring to the three inferior kinds of birth, as a beast, a preta, or in hell.

deeds that bring the fourth birth¹: but (still) the five ways in the wheel of birth and death are like the uncertain wanderings of the stars; 1564

‘For heavenly beings too must suffer change: how shall we find with men (a hope of) constancy; Nirvâna! that is the chief rest; composure! that the best of all enjoyments! 1565

‘The five indulgences (pleasures) enjoyed by mortal kings are fraught with danger and distress, like dwelling with a poisonous snake; what pleasure, for a moment, can there be in such a case? 1566

‘The wise man sees the world as compassed round with burning flames; he fears always, nor can he rest till he has banished, once for all, birth, age, and death. 1567

‘Infinitely quiet is the place where the wise man finds his abode; no need of arms (instruments) or weapons there! no elephants or horses, chariots or soldiers there! 1568

‘Subdued the power of covetous desire and angry thoughts and ignorance, there’s nothing left in the wide world to conquer! Knowing what sorrow is, he cuts away the cause of sorrow; 1569

‘This destroyed, by practising right means, rightly enlightened in the four true principles², he casts off fear and escapes the evil ways of birth.’ The king when first he saw his wondrous spiritual power (of miracle) rejoiced in heart; 1570

But now his feelings deeply affected by the joy of (hearing) truth, he became a perfect vessel for receiving true religion, and with clasped hands he

¹ The ‘fourth birth’ would be as ‘a man;’ but it may refer here to birth as ‘a Deva.’

² That is, in the ‘four truths.’

breathed forth his praise : 'Wonderful indeed ! the fruit of your resolve (oath)¹ completed thus ! 1571

'Wonderful indeed ! the overwhelming sorrow passed away ! Wonderful indeed, this gain to me ! At first my sorrowing heart was heavy, but now my sorrow has brought forth only profit ! 1572

'Wonderful indeed ! for now, to-day, I reap the full fruit of a begotten son. It was right he should reject the choice pleasures of a monarch (conqueror); it was right he should so earnestly and with diligence practise penance ; 1573

'It was right he should cast off his family and kin; it was right he should cut off every feeling of love and affection. The old *Rishi* kings boasting of their penance gained no merit ; 1574

'But you, living in a peaceful, quiet place, have done all and completed all ; yourself at rest now you give rest to others, moved by your mighty sympathy (compassion) for all that lives ! 1575

'If you had kept your first estate with men, and as a *Kakravartin* monarch ruled the world, possessing then no self-depending power of miracle, how could my soul have then received deliverance ? 1576

'Then there would have been no excellent law declared, causing me such joy to-day ; no ! had you been a universal sovereign, the bonds of birth and death would still have been unsevered ; 1577

'But now you have escaped from birth and death ; the great pain of transmigration overcome, you are able, for the sake of every creature, widely to preach the law of life immortal (sweet dew), 1578

¹ That is, the oath to become enlightened and a deliverer.

‘And to exhibit thus your power miraculous, and (show) the deep and wide power of wisdom; the grief of birth and death eternally destroyed, you now have risen far above both gods and men. 1579

‘You might have kept the holy state of a *Kakra-vartin* monarch; but no such good as this would have resulted.’ Thus his words of praise concluded, filled with increased reverence and religious love, 1580

He who occupied the honoured place of a royal father, bowed down respectfully and did obeisance. Then all the people of the kingdom, beholding Buddha’s miraculous power, 1581

And having heard the deep and excellent law, seeing, moreover, the king’s grave reverence, with clasped hands bowed down and worshipped. Possessed with deep portentous thoughts, 1582

Satiated with sorrows attached to lay-life, they all conceived a wish to leave their homes¹. The princes, too, of the *Sākya* tribe, their minds enlightened to perceive the perfect fruit of righteousness, 1583

Entirely satiated with the glittering joys of the world, forsaking home, rejoiced to join his company (become hermits). *Ānanda*, *Nanda*, *Kin-pi* (*Kim-bila*)², *Anuruddha*, 1584

Nandupānanda, with *Kundadana*³, all these principal nobles and others of the *Sākya* family, 1585

¹ That is, to become mendicants, or religious followers of Buddha.

² The conversion of *Nanda* &c. is referred to in Spence Hardy’s *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 227. I have restored *Kin-pi* to *Kim-bila* from this authority, p. 228. Perhaps also in the *Romantic Legend*, p. 386, it ought to have been so restored.

³ *Kun-ta-to-na*. I do not remember having met with this name before. It may be meant for *Khandaka*, see Schiefner, ‘*Lebensbeschreibung Sākyamuni’s*,’ p. 266.

From the teaching of Buddha became disciples and accepted the law. The sons of the great minister of state, Udāyin being the chief, 1586

With all the royal princes following in order became recluses. Moreover, the son of Atalt, whose name was Upāli, 1587

Seeing all these princes and the sons of the chief minister becoming hermits, his mind opening for conversion, he, too, received the law of renunciation. 1588

The royal father seeing his son possessing the great qualities of *Riddhi*, himself entered on the calm flowings (of thought), the gate of the true law of eternal life. 1589

Leaving his kingly estate and country, lost in meditation, he drank sweet dew. Practising (his religious duties) in solitude, silent and contemplative he dwelt in his palace, a royal *Rishi*. 1590

Tathāgata following a peaceable¹ life, recognised fully by his tribe, repeating the joyful news of religion, gladdened the hearts of all his kinsmen hearing him. 1591

And now, it being the right time for begging food, he entered the Kapila country (Kapilavastu); in the city all the lords and ladies, in admiration, raised this chant of praise: 1592

'Siddhārtha! fully enlightened! has come back again!' The news flying quickly in and out of doors, the great and small came forth to see him; 1593

Every door and every window crowded, climbing on shoulders², bending down the eyes, they gazed

¹ Or, living in peaceful prosecution of his work.

² Or it may be 'shoulder to shoulder.'

upon the marks of beauty on his person, shining and glorious! 1594

Wearing his Kashâya garment outside, the glory of his person from within shone forth, like the sun's perfect wheel; within, without, he seemed one mass of splendour¹. 1595

Those who beheld were filled with sympathising² joy; their hands conjoined, they wept (for gladness)³; and so they watched him as he paced with dignity the road, his form collected, all his organs well-controlled! 1596

His lovely body exhibiting the perfection⁴ of religious beauty, his dignified compassion adding to their regretful joy! his shaven head, his personal beauty sacrificed! his body clad in dark and sombre vestment, 1597

His manner natural and plain, his unadorned appearance; his circumspection as he looked upon the earth in walking! 'He who ought to have had held over him the feather-shade' (they said), 'whose hands should grasp "the reigns of the flying⁵ dragon," 1598

'See how he walks in daylight on the dusty road! holding his alms-dish, going to beg! Gifted enough to tread down every enemy, lovely enough to gladden woman's heart, 1599

¹ The glory of his person within and without, together, like a mass of light.

² Compassion and joy.

³ That is, they wept for pity and for joy.

⁴ Manifesting religious uprightness or rectitude.

⁵ This appears to be a Chinese phrase, adapted perhaps from some expression in the Sanskrit original signifying 'supreme power.'

‘With glittering vesture and with godlike crown
reverenced he might have been by servile crowds !
But now, his manly beauty hidden, with heart re-
strained, and outward form subdued, 1600

‘Rejecting the much-coveted and glorious apparel,
his shining body clad with garments grey, what
aim, what object, now ! Hating the five delights
that move the world, 1601

‘Forsaking virtuous wife and tender child, loving
the solitude, he wanders friendless ; hard, indeed,
for virtuous wife through the long night¹, cherishing
her grief ; 1602

‘And now to hear he is a hermit ! She enquires
not now (so lost to life) of the royal Suddhodana if
he has seen his son or not ! 1603

‘But as she views his beauteous person, (to think)
his altered form is now a hermit’s ! hating his home,
still full of love ; his father, too, what rest for him
(they say) ! 1604

‘And then his loving child Râhula, weeping with
constant sorrowful desire ! And now to see no
change, or heart-renting ; and this the end of such
enlightenment ! 1605

‘All these attractive marks, the proofs of a reli-
gious calling, whereas, when born, all said, these are
marks of a “great man,” who ought to receive
tribute from the four seas ! 1606

‘And now to see what he has come to ! all these
predictive words vain and illusive.’ Thus they
talked together, the gossiping multitude, with con-
fused accents. 1607

Tathâgata, his heart unaffected, felt no joy and

¹ I. e. her life of widowhood.

no regret. But he was moved by equal love to all the world, his one desire that men should escape the grief of lust; 1608

To cause the root of virtue to increase, and for the sake of coming ages, to leave the marks of self-denial¹ behind him, to dissipate the clouds and mists of sensual desire, 1609

He entered, thus intentioned, on the town to beg. He accepted food both good or bad, whatever came, from rich or poor, without distinction; having filled his alms-dish, he then returned back to the solitude. 1610

VARGA 20. RECEIVING THE GETAVANA VIHÂRA.

The lord of the world, having converted² the people of Kapilavastu according to (their several) circumstances³, his work being done, he went with the great body of his followers, 1611

And directed his way to the country of Kosala, where dwelt king Prasenagit (Po-se-nih). The Getavana was now fully adorned, and its halls and courts carefully prepared; 1612

The fountains and streams flowed through the garden which glittered with flowers and fruit; rare birds sat by the pools (water side), and on the land

¹ Little desire.

² The expression in the original is 'having opened for conversion.'

³ It is not necessarily 'according to their circumstances,' but it may also be rendered 'according to circumstances,' or 'as the occasion required.'

they sang in sweet concord, according to their kind; 1613

Beautiful in every way as the palace of Mount Kilas (Kailâsa)¹, (such was the *Getavana*.) Then the noble friend of the orphans, surrounded by his attendants, who met him on the way, 1614

Scattering flowers and burning incense, invited the lord to enter the *Getavana*. In his hand he carried a golden dragon-pitcher², and bending low upon his knees he poured the flowing water 1615

As a sign of the gift of the *Getavana Vihâra* for the use of the priesthood throughout the world³. The lord then received it, with the prayer⁴ that 'overruling all evil influences it might give the kingdom permanent rest, 1616

'And that the happiness of *Anâthapindada* might flow out in countless streams.' Then the king *Prasenagit*, hearing that the lord had come, 1617

With his royal equipage went to the *Getavana* to worship at the lord's feet⁵. (Having arrived) and

¹ Mount Kailâsa, the fabulous residence of Kuvera ; the paradise of Siva.

² In the Barahut sculpture there is a figure carrying a pitcher in the act of pouring out the water ; but the figure is not kneeling.

³ 'The four quarters,' that is, 'the world.'

⁴ 'The prayer,' the 'devout incantation;' it has often been questioned whether 'prayer' is possible with Buddhists; the expression in the Chinese is the same as that used for prayer in other books; but it may of course denote sincere or earnest desire, coming from the heart.

⁵ There are various representations of *Prasenagit* going to the *Getavana* in the Barahut sculptures. In plate xiii (Cunningham's Barahut) the *Vihâra* is represented, the wheel denoting the sermon which Buddha preached; the waving of garments and whistling with fingers denoting the joy of the hearers.

taken a seat on one side, with clasped hands he spake to Buddha thus : 1618

‘O that my unworthy and obscure kingdom should thus suddenly have met such fortune! For how can misfortunes or frequent calamities possibly affect it, (in the presence of) so great a man? 1619

‘And now that I have seen your sacred features, I may perhaps partake of the converting streams of your teaching. A town although it is composed of many sections¹, yet both ignoble and holy persons may enter the surpassing² stream ; 1620

‘And so the wind which fans the perfumed grove causes the scents to unite and form one pleasant breeze; and as the birds which collect on Mount Sumeru (are many), and the various shades that blend in shining gold, 1621

‘So an assembly may consist of persons of different capacities, individually insignificant, but a glorious body. The desert master by nourishing the *Rishi*, procured a birth as the san-tsu (three leg or foot) star³; 1622

‘Worldly profit is fleeting and perishable, religious (holy) profit is eternal and inexhaustible; a man though a king is full of trouble, a common man, who is holy, has everlasting rest.’ 1623

¹ I cannot be sure of this translation ; yet I can suggest no other. The line is 鄙雖處凡品.

² ‘The victorious stream;’ this may refer to the Rapti, on the banks of which Srāvastī was situated. The object of the allusion is that as both rich and poor, noble and ignoble may enter the stream of the river, so all may seek the benefit of the stream of religious doctrine.

³ I am unable to explain the reference here; nor do I know what the ‘three-footed star’ can be.

Buddha knowing the state of the king's heart,—that he rejoiced in religion as Sakrarâga¹,—considered the two obstacles that weighted him, viz. too great love of money, and of external pleasures²; 1624

Then seizing the opportunity, and knowing the tendencies of his heart, he began, for the king's sake, to preach: 'Even those who, by evil karman³, have been born in low degree, when they see a person of virtuous character, feel reverence for him; 1625

'How much rather ought an independent⁴ king, who by his previous conditions of life has acquired much merit, when he encounters Buddha, to conceive even more reverence. Nor is it difficult to understand, 1626

'That a country should enjoy more rest and peace, by the presence of Buddha, than if he were not to dwell therein⁵. And now, as I briefly declare my law, let the Mahârâga listen and weigh my words, 1627

'And hold fast that which I deliver! See now the end of my perfected merit⁶, my life is done,

¹ General Cunningham (Barahut Stûpa, plate xiii) has remarked that the Preaching Hall visited by Prasenagit resembles in detail the Palace of Sakrarâga; the reference in the text seems to allude to this.

² Reference is often made in Buddhist books to the self-indulgence of king Prasenagit. Compare section xxix of the Chinese Dhammapada.

³ That is, in consequence of evil deeds.

⁴ This expression 'tsze tsai,' which I render 'independent,' means 'self-sufficient,' or 'self-existing;' the reference is probably to a lord paramount (samrâg).

⁵ This exordium appears intended to take down the pride of the king.

⁶ Buddha points to himself as having gained the end of all his

there is for me no further body or spirit, but freedom from all ties of kith or kin! 1628

'The good or evil deeds we do from first to last (beginning to end) follow us as shadows; most exalted then the deeds (karman) of the king of the law¹. The prince² (son) who cherishes his people, 1629

'In the present life gains renown, and hereafter ascends to heaven; but by disobedience and neglect of duty, present distress is felt and future misery! 1630

'As in old times Lui'-ma (lean horse)³ rāga, by obeying the precepts, was born in heaven, whilst Kin-pu (gold step) rāga, doing wickedly, at the end of life was born in misery. 1631

'Now then, for the sake of the great king, I will briefly relate the good and evil law (the law of good and evil). The great requirement⁴ is a loving heart! to regard the people as we do an only son, 1632

'Not to oppress, not to destroy; to keep in due check every member of the body, to forsake unrighteous doctrine and walk in the straight path; not to exalt oneself by treading down others (or inferiors), 1633

'But to comfort and befriend those in suffer-
previous meritorious conduct, in the attainment of his present condition.

¹ Dharmarāga, an epithet of every Buddha (Eitel).

² The symbol here stands for 'son;' it may mean 'prince' in the sense of 'son of the king of the law' (fă wang tseu), which is a common one in Buddhist books, and is often rendered by 'Kumāra bhūta.'

³ Lui'-ma may be a phonetic equivalent of the name of the king, or a translation of the name, viz. *Kṛiśārva*. So also in the next line *Hiraṇyakaripu* may be meant.

⁴ The 'great deficiency,' or 'the great need.'

ing; not to exercise oneself in false theories¹ (treatises), nor to ponder much on kingly dignity (strength), nor to listen to the smooth words of false teachers; 1634

‘Not to vex oneself by austerities, not to exceed (or transgress) the right rules of kingly conduct, but to meditate on Buddha and weigh his righteous law, and to put down and adjust all that is contrary to religion; 1635

‘To exhibit true superiority by virtuous conduct and the highest exercise of reason, to meditate deeply on the vanity of earthly things, to realise the fickleness of life by constant recollection; 1636

‘To exalt the mind to the highest point of reflection, to seek sincere faith (truth) with firm purpose; to retain an inward sense of happiness resulting from oneself², (and to look forward to) increased happiness hereafter; 1637

‘To lay up a good name for distant ages, this will secure the favour of Tathâgata³, as men now loving sweet fruit will hereafter be praised by their descendants⁴. 1638

‘There is a way of darkness out of light⁵, there is a way of light out of darkness; there is darkness which follows after the gloom (signs of gloom),

¹ In false theories and ‘vidyâs’ (ming).

² Self-dependent happiness.

³ Whether the phrase ‘gu-lai’ ought to be here translated Tathâgata, or whether it refers simply to ‘future generations,’ is a question.

⁴ This again is an uncertain translation, although the meaning is plain, that those who here love ‘sweet fruit,’ will not set their children’s teeth on edge hereafter.

⁵ In this and the following lines the reference is apparently to the possibility of growing worse or better by our deeds.

there is a light which causes the brightening of light. 1639

‘The wise man leaving first principles¹, should go on to get more light²; evil words will be repeated far and wide by the multitude, but there are few to follow good direction; 1640

‘It is impossible however to avoid result of works³, the doer cannot escape; if there had been no first works, there had been in the end no result of doing, 1641

‘— No reward for good, no hereafter joy —; but because works are done, there is no escape. Let us then practise good works; 1642

‘(Let us) inspect our thoughts that we do no evil, because as we sow so we reap⁴. As when enclosed in a four-stone [stone or rock-encircled] mountain, there is no escape or place of refuge for any one, 1643

‘So within this mountain-wall of old age, birth, disease, and death, there is no escape for the world⁵. Only by considering and practising the true law can we escape from this sorrow-piled mountain. 1644

‘There is, indeed, no constancy in the world, the end of the pleasures of sense is as the lightning flash, whilst old age and death are as the piercing bolts; what profit, then, in doing (practising) iniquity⁶! 1645

¹ San p'hin, the ‘three sections.’

² ‘Ought to learn from first to last, illumination.’ Does it refer to books or vidyās (ming) of instruction?

³ There is not such a thing as ‘not making fruit,’ or the fruit of ‘not making;’ but the former is the more likely. ‘Fruit,’ of course, refers to the result of works.

⁴ ‘Because as we ourselves do, we ourselves receive.’

⁵ For all living creatures.

⁶ ‘Why then ought we to do iniquity!’ (fi fā.)

'All the ancient conquering kings, who were as gods¹ on earth, thought by their strength to overcome decay²; but after a brief life they too disappeared³. 1646

'The Kalpa-fire will melt Mount Sumeru, the water of the ocean will be dried up, how much less can our human frame, which is as a bubble, expect to endure for long upon the earth! 1647

'The fierce wind scatters the thick mists, the sun's rays encircle (hide) Mount Sumeru, the fierce fire licks up the place of moisture, so things are ever born once more to be destroyed! 1648

'The body is a thing (vessel) of unreality, kept through the suffering of the long night⁴, pampered by wealth, living idly and in carelessness, 1649

'Death suddenly comes and it is carried away as rotten wood in the stream! The wise man expecting these changes with diligence strives against sloth; 1650

'The dread of birth and death acts as a spur to keep him from lagging on the road; he frees himself from engagements, he is not occupied with self-pleasing, he is not entangled by any of the cares of life, 1651

'He holds to no business, seeks no friendships, engages in no learned career, nor yet wholly separates himself from it; for his learning is the wisdom

¹ Who were as Īśvaradeva.

² Literally, 'to conquer emptiness;' it may mean to 'surpass the sky'—to climb to heaven.

³ They were ground to dust and disappeared.

⁴ The suffering of the 'long night' (the period of constant transmigration) keeps and guards it.

of not-perceiving¹ wisdom, but yet perceiving that which tells him of his own impermanence; 1652

‘Having a body, yet keeping aloof from defilement, he learns to regard defilement as the greatest evil. (He knows) that tho’ born in the Arûpa world, there is yet no escape from the changes of time; 1653

‘His learning, then, is to acquire the changeless body; for where no change is, there is peace. Thus the possession of this changeful body is the foundation of all sorrow. 1654

‘Therefore, again, all who are wise make this their aim—to seek a bodiless condition; all the various orders of sentient creatures, from the indulgence of lust, derive pain; 1655

‘Therefore all those in this condition ought to conceive a heart, loathing lust; putting away and loathing this condition, then they shall receive no more pain; 1656

‘Though born in a state with or without an external form, the certainty of future change is the root of sorrow; for so long as there is no perfect cessation of personal being, there can be, certainly, no absence of personal desire; 1657

‘Beholding, in this way, the character of the three worlds, their inconstancy and unreality, the presence of ever-consuming pain, how can the wise man seek enjoyment therein? 1658

‘When a tree is burning with fierce flames how

¹ ‘The wisdom of not perceiving;’ the symbol ‘sheu’ corresponds with ‘vedanâ,’ perception, or sensation. The meaning therefore is that true wisdom depends not on the power of sense; but yet he perceives by his senses that he (his body) is impermanent.

can the birds congregate therein? The wise man, who is regarded as an enlightened sage, without this knowledge is ignorant; 1659

‘ Having this knowledge, then true wisdom dawns; without it, there is no enlightenment. To get this wisdom is the one aim, to neglect it is the mistake of life. 1660.

‘ All the teaching of the schools should be centred here; without it is no true reason. To recount this excellent system is not for those who dwell in family connection; 1661 .

‘ Nor is it, on that account, not to be said¹, for religion concerns a man individually [is a private affair]. Burned up with sorrow, by entering the cool stream, all may obtain relief and ease; 1662

‘ The light of a lamp in a dark room lights up equally objects of all colours, so is it with those who devote themselves to religion,—there is no distinction between the professed disciple and the unlearned (common). 1663

‘ Sometimes the mountain-dweller (i.e. the religious hermit) falls into ruin, sometimes the humble householder mounts up to be a *Rishi*; the want of faith (doubt) is the engulfing sea, the presence of disorderly belief is the rolling flood, 1664

‘ The tide of lust carries away the world; involved in its eddies there is no escape; wisdom is the handy boat, reflection is the hold-fast. 1665

‘ The drum-call of religion (expedients), the barrier (dam) of thought, these alone can rescue from

¹ This and the preceding line are obscure. The sense of the whole passage seems to point to the adaptation of religion for the life of all persons, laïc or cleric.

the sea of ignorance.' At this time the king sincerely attentive to the words of the All-wise¹, 1666

Conceived a distaste for the world's glitter and was dissatisfied with the pleasures of royalty, even as one avoids a drunken elephant, or returns to right reason after a debauch. 1667

Then all the heretical teachers, seeing that the king was well affected to Buddha, besought the king (mahârâga), with one voice, to call on Buddha to exhibit² his miraculous gifts. 1668

Then the king addressed the lord of the world: 'I pray you, grant their request!' Then Buddha silently acquiesced³. And now all the different professors of religion, 1669

The doctors who boasted of their spiritual power, came together in a body to where Buddha was; then he manifested before them his power of miracle; ascending up into the air, he remained seated, 1670

Diffusing his glory as the light of the sun he shed abroad the brightness of his presence. The heretical teachers were all abashed, the people all were filled with faith. 1671

Then for the sake of preaching to his mother, he forthwith ascended to the heaven of the thirty-three gods; and for three months dwelt in heavenly mansions⁴. There he converted the occupants (Devas) of that abode, 1672

¹ The words of him who knew all things.

² To substantiate his claim by exhibiting miraculous power.

³ By his silence showed his acquiescence.

⁴ There is an account of Buddha's ascent to this heaven in the Manual of Buddhism, pp. 298 seq. Also in Fā-hien, cap. xvii. There are pictures (sculptures) of the scene of his descent in Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xvii, and in the account of the Stūpa of Barahut.

And having concluded his pious mission to his mother, the time of his sojourn in heaven finished, he forthwith returned, the angels accompanying him on wing¹; he travelled down a seven-gemmed ladder, 1673

And again arrived at Gambudvīpa. Stepping down he alighted on the spot where all the Buddhas return², countless hosts of angels accompanied him, conveying with them their palace abodes (as a gift); 1674

The people of Gambudvīpa with closed hands looking up with reverence, beheld him. 1675

VARGA 21. ESCAPING THE DRUNKEN ELEPHANT AND DEVADATTA.

Having instructed his mother in heaven with all the angel host, and once more returned to men, he went about converting those capable of it. 1676

Gutika, Gīva(ka)³, Sula, and Kūrma, the noble's son Aṅga and the son of the fearless king (Abhaya) 1677

Nyagrodha⁴ and the rest; Śrīkutaka (or, Śrī-

¹ It would be curious, if this translation were absolutely certain, to find that Arvaghoṣha had heard of angels with 'wings.' In the sculptures the Devas are represented as ordinary mortals. The Chinese may, however, simply mean 'accompanying him, as if on wing,' i.e. following him through the air.

² That is, at Sankisa (Sāṅkāśya), [see the Archæological Survey of India, 1862-1863.]

³ This I suppose is the physician Gīvaka. The names of many of the persons in the context may be found in Spence Hardy, M. B., *passim*.

⁴ For Nyagrodha, see M. B., p. 39.

guptaka), Upâli the Nirgrantha¹, (all these) were thoroughly converted. 1678

So also the king of Gandhâra, whose name was Fo-kia-lo (Pudgala?); he, having heard the profound and excellent law, left his country and became a recluse. 1679

So also the demons Himapati and Vâtagiri, on the mountain Vibhâra, were subdued and converted; 1680

The Brahma-kârin Prayan(tika), on the mountain Vagana (Po-sha-na), by the subtle meaning of half a gâtha, he convinced and caused to rejoice in faith; 1681

The village of Dânamati (Khânumat)² had one Kûtadanta, the head of the twice-born (Brahmans); at this time he was sacrificing countless victims; 1682

Tathâgata by means (upâya, expedients) converted him, and caused him to enter the true path. On Mount Bhatika³ (?) a heavenly being of eminent distinction, 1683

Whose name was Pañkasikha⁴, receiving the law, attained Dhyâna⁵; in the village of Vainu-

¹ For Upâli the Nirgrantha, see M. B., p. 267.

² The village Dânamati must be the same as that called Khânumat by Spence Hardy, M. B., p. 271.

³ For this event, see Spence Hardy's M. B., p. 288. He calls the mountain or rock by the name of Wédi.

⁴ For Pañkasikha and his conversion, see M. B., p. 289; also Fā-hien, cap. xxviii. [I may here correct my translation of the passage in my 'Buddhist Pilgrims' (p. 110), instead of 'each one possessing a five-stringed lute,' it should be 'attended by the divine musician Pañkasikha.'] For Pañkasikha, see Childers' Pali Dict., sub voce Pañcasikho; also Eitel's Handbook.

⁵ Or attained rest, or a fixed mind.

shā, he converted the mother of the celebrated Nanda¹; 1684

In the town of Añḍavari (Agrāvatī), he subdued the powerful (mahābāla) spirit; Bhanabhadra (patāla), Sronadanta; 1685

The malevolent and powerful Nāgas, the king of the country and his harem, received together the true law, as he opened to them the gate of immortality (sweet dew). 1686

In the celebrated Viggī village (or in the village Paviggi) Kina and Sila, earnestly seeking to be born in heaven, he converted and made to enter the right path; 1687

The Aṅgulimāla², in that village of Sumu, through the exhibition of his divine power, he converted and subdued; 1688

There was that noble's son, Purigīvana, rich in wealth and stores as Punavattī (punyavattī?), 1689

Directly he was brought to Buddha (Tathāgata) accepting the doctrine, he became vastly liberal. So in that village of Padattī he converted the celebrated Patalī (or, Potālī), 1690

And also Pātala, brothers, and both demons. In Bhidhavalī (Pi-ti-ho-fu-li) there were two Brahmins, 1691

One called Great-age (Mahāyus?), the other Brahma-age (Brahmāyus?). These by the power of a discourse he subdued, and caused them to attain knowledge of the true law; 1692

¹ The mother of Nanda was Pragāpatī; for her conversion, see M. B., p. 307. She was the foster-mother of Buddha.

² For the history of the conversion of the Aṅgulimāla, see M. B., p. 249.

When he came to Vaisâlt, he converted all the Raksha demons, and the lion (*Simha*) of the *Likkhavis*, and all the *Likkhavis*, 1693

*Saka*¹ the Nirgrantha, all these he caused to attain the true law. Hama kinkhava had a demon Potala, 1694

And another Potalaka (in) Potalagâma [these he converted]. Again he came to Mount Ala, to convert the demon Alava, 1695

And a second called Kumâra, and a third Asidaka; then going back to Mount Gaga (*Gayâsirsha*) he converted the demon *Kaṅgana*, 1696

And Kamo (kin-mau) the Yaksha, with the sister and son. Then coming to Benares, he converted the celebrated *Katyâyana*²; 1697

Then afterwards going, by his miraculous power, to Sruvala (*Sou-lu-po-lo*), he converted the merchants Davakin and Nikin (?), 1698

And received their sandal-wood hall, exhaling its fragrant odours till now. Going then to Mahivatt, he converted the *Rishi* Kapila, 1699

And the Muni remained with him; his foot stepping on the stone, the thousand-spoked twin-wheels appeared, which never could be erased. 1700

Then he came to the place Po-lo-na (*Prâna*), where he converted the demon Po-lo-na; coming to the country of Mathurâ, he converted the demon Godama (*Khadama* ?); 1701

In the Thurakusati (?neighbourhood of Mathurâ)

¹ For *Saka* the Nirgrantha, see M. B., p. 255; also Dhammapada from the Chinese, p. 126.

² That is, Mahâkâtâyâna. There was another Kâtâyâna, mentioned by Hiouen Tshang, who lived 300 years after the *Nirvâna*.

he also converted *Pindapâla* (or, *vara*); coming to the village of *Vairañga*, he converted the Brahman; 1702

In the village of *Kalamasa* (or *Kramasa*), he converted *Savasasin*, and also that celebrated *Agirivasa*. 1703

Once more returning to the *Srāvastī* country, he converted the *Gautamas Gâtisruna* and *Dakâtīli*; 1704

Returning to the *Kosala* country, he converted the leaders of the heretics *Vakrapali* (or, *Vikravari*) and all the *Brahmakârins*. 1705

Coming to *Satavaka*, in the forest retreat, he converted the heretical *Rishis*, and constrained them to enter the path of the Buddha *Rishi*. 1706

Coming to the country of *Ayodhyâ*, he converted the Demon *Nâgas*; coming to the country of *Kimbila*, he converted the two *Nâgarâgas*; 1707

One called *Kimbila*, the other called *Kâlaka*. Again coming to the *Vaggi* country, he converted the *Yaksha* demon, 1708

Whose name was *Pisha*¹, the father and mother of *Nâgara*, and the great noble also, he caused to believe gladly in the true law. 1709

Coming to the *Kausâmbī* country, he converted *Goshira*², and the two *Upaskâs*, *Vaguttarâ* 1710

And her companion *Uvarī*; and besides these, many others, one after the other. Coming to the

¹ *Pi-sha*, i. e. *Vaisravaṇa*, the Regent of the North: converted by Buddha.

² For *Goshira*, see Jul. II, 285; *Fā-hien* cap. xxxiv.

country of Gandhâra he converted the Nâga Apalâla¹; 1711

Thus in due order all these air-going, water-loving natures he completely converted and saved, as the sun when he shines upon some dark and sombre cave. 1712

At this time Devadatta², seeing the remarkable excellences of Buddha, conceived in his heart a jealous hatred; losing all power of thoughtful abstraction, 1713

He ever plotted wicked schemes, to put a stop to the spread of the true law; ascending the *Gridhrakûta* (*Ghiggakûta*) mount he rolled down a stone to hit Buddha³; 1714

The stone divided into two parts, each part passing on either side of him. Again, on the royal highway he loosed a drunken, vicious elephant⁴; 1715

With his raised trunk trumpeting as thunder (he ran), his maddened breath raising a cloud around him, his wild pace like the rushing wind, to be avoided more than the fierce tempest; 1716

His trunk and tusks and tail and feet, when touched only, brought instant death. (Thus he ran) through the streets and ways of Râgagriha, madly wounding and killing men; 1717

Their corpses lay across the road, their brains

¹ For the conversion of Apalâla, see Jul. II, 135.

² Devadatta, the envious; he was the son of Suprabuddha, the father-in-law of Buddha, M. B., p. 61.

³ This event is related by Fă-hien, cap. xxix, p. 115 (*Buddhist Pilgrims*). Fă-hien says, 'The stone is still there,' but he does not say that it was divided. See also M. B., p. 383, where the account somewhat differs.

⁴ This story of the drunken elephant is related in nearly all the 'lives of Buddha.' The sculptures at Amarâvatî and Barahut also include this episode. See also Fă-hien, p. 113.

and blood scattered afar. Then all the men and women filled with fear, remained indoors; 1718

Throughout the city there was universal terror, only piteous shrieks and cries were heard; beyond the city men were running fast, hiding themselves in holes and dens. 1719

Tathâgata, with five hundred followers, at this time came towards the city; from tops of gates and every window, men, fearing for Buddha, begged him not to advance; 1720

Tathâgata, his heart composed and quiet, with perfect self-possession, thinking only on the sorrow caused by hate, his loving heart desiring to appease it, 1721

Followed by guardian angel-nâgas, slowly approached the maddened elephant. The Bhikshus all deserted him¹, Ânanda only remained by his side; 1722

Joined by every tie of duty, his steadfast nature did not shake or quail. The drunken elephant, savage and spiteful, beholding Buddha, came to himself at once, 1723

And bending, worshipped at his feet² just as a mighty mountain falls to earth. With lotus hand the master pats his head, even as the moon lights up a flying cloud. 1724

And now, as he lay crouched before the master's feet, on his account he speaks some sacred words: 'The elephant cannot hurt the mighty dragon³, hard it is to fight with such a one; 1725

¹ It is said, in the later accounts, that 'they rose into the air.'

² See Tree and Serpent Worship, plate lviii; also Burgess' Western Caves, plate xvii.

³ Buddha was also called the great Nâga or dragon.

‘The elephant desiring so to do will in the end obtain no happy state of birth; deceived by lust, anger, and delusion, which are hard to conquer, but which Buddha has conquered. 1726

‘Now, then, this very day, give up this lust, this anger and delusion! You! swallowed up in sorrow’s mud! if not now given up, they will increase yet more and grow.’ 1727

The elephant, hearing Buddha’s words, escaped from drunkenness, rejoiced in heart; his mind and body both found rest, as one athirst (finds joy) who drinks of heavenly dew. 1628

The elephant being thus converted, the people around were filled with joy; they all raised a cry of wonder at the miracle, and brought their offerings of every kind. 1729

The scarcely-good arrived at middle-virtue, the middling-good passed to a higher grade, the unbelieving now became believers, those who believed were strengthened in their faith. 1730

Agâtasatru, mighty king, seeing how Buddha conquered the drunken elephant, was moved at heart by thoughts profound; then, filled with joy, he found a twofold growth of piety. 1731

Tathâgata, by exercise of virtue, exhibited all kinds of spiritual powers; thus he subdued and harmonised the minds of all, and caused them in due order to attain religious truth; 1732

And through the kingdom virtuous seeds were sown, as at the first when men began to live (i.e. were first created). But Devadatta, mad with rage, because he was ensnared by his own wickedness, 1733

At first by power miraculous able to fly, now fallen, dwells in lowest hell¹. 1734

VARGA 22. THE LADY ÂMRA² (ÂMRAPÂLÎ) SEES
BUDDHA.

The lord of the world having finished his wide work of conversion conceived in himself a desire (heart) for Nirvâṇa. Accordingly proceeding from the city of Râgagrîha, he went on towards the town of Pa-lin-fo (Pâtaliputra)³. 1735

Having arrived there, he dwelt in the famous Pâtali *ketiya*⁴. Now this (town of Pâtaliputra) is

¹ For a full account of the deeds and punishment of Devadatta, see M. B., pp. 328, 329. We are told that Suprabuddha, the father of Devadatta, also went to hell, M. B., p. 339 seq.

² This lady is called Ambapâlî, the courtesan, in the southern records.

³ Pâtaliputra, so called, as it seems, from a flower, pâtali (*Bignonia suaveolens*). It was otherwise called Kusumapura, 'the city of flowers.' The Palimbothra of the Greeks, Arrian, Hist. Ind. p. 324 (ed. Gronovii); supposed to be the modern Patna. The story found in the text, viz. that the place was an unfortified village or frontier station of Magadha when Buddha was seventy-nine years old, compared with the statement that in the time of Megasthenes it was one of the largest and most prosperous towns of India (Arrian, as above), seems to show that some considerable time had elapsed between the Nirvâṇa and the period of the Greek conquest. It is singular however (as I stated in Buddhist Pilgrims, p. lxiv) that Fā-hien in his account of this town (cap. xxvii) makes no allusion to the Buddhist council said to have been held there under Dharmāsoka. (For further notice of Pâtaliputra, compare Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, pp. 16, 17; also Bigandet, p. 257, and Spence Hardy, *passim*.)

⁴ There is no mention of the Pâtali *ketiya* (unless the rest-house is the same as the *Ketiya* hall) in the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta, but in Bigandet, p. 257, it is stated that the people prepared the 'dzeat,' or hall, for his use. This 'dzeat' had been erected by

the frontier town of Magadha, defending the outskirts of the country. 1736

Ruling the country was a Brahman¹ of wide renown and great learning in the scriptures (sûtras); and (there was also) an overseer of the country, to take the omens of the land with respect to rest or calamity. 1737

At this time the king of Magadha sent to that officer of inspection (overseer) a messenger to warn and command him to raise fortifications in the neighbourhood (round) of the town for its security and protection. 1738

And now the lord of the world, as they were raising the fortifications, predicted that in consequence of the Devas and spirits who protected and kept (the land), the place should continue strong and free from calamity (destruction). 1739

king Agâtasatru for receiving the *Likkhavi* princes of Vaisâli, who had come to a conference at this place to settle their affairs with the king. This hall is probably represented at Agantâ, Cave xvi (see Burgess' Report, vol. i, plate xiii, fig. 2; also Mrs. Speirs' *Ancient India*, p. 197); at least it would seem so from the exact account left us of the position Buddha took on this occasion, 'he entered the hall and took his seat against the central pillar of the hall' (Rhys Davids and Bigandet in loc.) Does this hall, built by king Agâtasatru, and called in our text a 'Ketiya hall,' bear any resemblance to a Basilica?

¹ Rhys Davids (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 18) tells us that 'the chief magistrates of Magadha Sunîdha and Vassakâra were building a fortress at Pâ'aligâma to repel the Vaggians;' I have therefore in my translation supposed the 'ku kwô' and the 'yang kwan' to be the two officers referred to. It would seem that these titles 'ruling the country' and 'overseer' were recognised at the time. The text, however, would bear another translation, making the Brahman ruler the same as the omen-taking overseer.

On this the heart of the overseer greatly rejoiced¹, and he made religious offerings to Buddha, the law, and the church. Buddha now leaving the city gate went on towards the river Ganges. 1740

The overseer from his deep reverence for Buddha named the gate (through which the lord had passed) the 'Gautama gate².' Meanwhile the people all by the side of the river Ganges went forth to pay reverence to the lord of the world. 1741

They prepared for him every kind of religious offering, and each one with his gaudy boat (decorated boat)³ invited him to cross over. The lord of the world, considering the number of the boats, feared lest by an appearance of partiality in accepting one, he might hurt the minds of all the rest. 1742

Therefore in a moment by his spiritual power he transported himself and the great congregation (across the river), leaving this shore he passed at once to that, 1743

Signifying thereby the passage in the boat of wisdom⁴ (from this world to Nirvâṇa), a boat large enough to transport all that lives (to save the world), even as without a boat he crossed without hindrance the river (Ganges). 1744

¹ The account here given is less exact than that of the Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta, and it would seem as if it were borrowed from a popular form of that work.

² This is in agreement with the Southern account (see Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 21).

³ There is no mention here made of the river being 'brimful and overflowing' as in the Southern books, nor of the search for rafts of wood or basket-work.

⁴ Compare the account given by Rhys Davids (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 21) and the verse or song there preserved.

Then all the people on the bank of the river, with one voice, raised a rapturous shout¹, and all declared this ford should be called the Gautama ford. 1745

As the city gate is called the Gautama gate, so this Gautama ford is so known through ages; and shall be so called through generations to come². 1746

* Then Tathâgata, going forward still, came to that celebrated Kuli³ village, where he preached and converted many; again he went on to the Nâdi⁴ village, 1747

Where many deaths had occurred among the people. The friends of the dead then came (to the lord) and asked, 'Where have our friends and relatives deceased, now gone to be born, after this life ended⁵?' 1748

Buddha, knowing well the sequence of deeds, answered each according to his several case. Then going forward to Vaisâlî⁶, he located himself in the Âmra grove⁷. 1749

The celebrated Lady Âmrâ, well affected to Buddha, went to that garden followed by her waiting

¹ Or rather 'shouted out, "miraculous!"'

² Is there any name corresponding to the 'Gautama' ford known near Patna?

³ No doubt the same as Kośīgâma (op. cit., p. 23) called Kantikama by Bigandet, p. 259.

⁴ 'Come, Ânanda, let us go to the villages of Nâdika,' Rhys Davids, p. 24.

⁵ The names of the dead are given in the Pâli; the account here is evidently an abstract only.

⁶ 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Vesâlî,' Rh. D., p. 28.

⁷ 'And there at Vesâlî the Blessed One stayed at Ambapâlî's grove,' Rh. D., p. 28.

women, whilst the children from the schools¹ paid her respect. 1750

Thus with circumspection and self-restraint, her person lightly and plainly clothed, putting away all her ornamented robes and all adornments of scent and flowers, 1751

As a prudent and virtuous woman goes forth to perform her religious duties, so she went on, beautiful to look upon, like any Devī in appearance. 1752

Buddha seeing the lady in the distance approaching, spake thus to all the Bhikshus²: 'This woman is indeed exceedingly beautiful, able to fascinate the minds (feelings) of the religious; 1753

'Now then, keep your recollection straight! let wisdom keep your mind in subjection! Better fall into the fierce tiger's mouth, or under the sharp knife of the executioner, 1754

'Than to dwell with a woman and excite in yourselves lustful thoughts. A woman is anxious to exhibit her form and shape³, whether walking, standing, sitting, or sleeping. 1755

'Even when represented as a picture, she desires most of all to set off the blandishments of her beauty, and thus to rob men of their steadfast heart! How then ought you to guard yourselves? 1756

'By regarding her tears and her smiles as enemies, her stooping form, her hanging arms, and all her disentangled hair as toils designed to entrap man's heart. 1757

¹ So I translate ts'iang tsin; it may mean grown-up scholars, however, or 'students.'

² This sermon against 'woman's wiles' is not found in the Pāli.

³ Tsz' t'ai, her bewitching movements or airs.

‘Then how much more (should you suspect) her studied, amorous beauty! when she displays her dainty outline, her richly ornamented form, and chatters gaily with the foolish man! 1758

‘Ah, then! what perturbation and what evil thoughts, not seeing underneath the horrid, tainted shape, the sorrows of impermanence, the impurity, the unreality! 1759

‘Considering these as the reality, all lustful thoughts die out; rightly considering these, within their several limits, not even an Apsaras would give you joy. 1760

‘But yet the power of lust is great with men, and is to be feared withal; take then the bow of earnest perseverance, and the sharp arrow points of wisdom, 1761

‘Cover your head with the helmet of right-thought, and fight with fixed resolve against the five desires. Better far with red-hot iron pins bore out both your eyes, 1762

‘Than encourage in yourselves lustful thoughts, or look upon a woman’s form with such desires. Lust beclouding a man’s heart, confused with woman’s beauty, 1763

‘The mind is dazed, and at the end of life that man must fall into an “evil way.” Fear then the sorrow of that “evil way!” and harbour not the deceits of women. 1764

‘The senses not confined within due limits, and the objects of sense not limited as they ought to be, lustful and covetous thoughts grow up between the two, because the senses and their objects are unequally yoked. 1765

‘Just as when two ploughing oxen are yoked

together to one halter and cross-bar, but not together pulling as they go, so is it when the senses and their objects are unequally matched. 1766

‘Therefore, I say, restrain the heart, give it no unbridled license.’ Thus Buddha, for the Bhikshus’ sake, explained the law in various ways. 1767

And now that Âmrâ lady gradually approached the presence of the lord; seeing Buddha seated beneath a tree, lost in thought and wholly absorbed by it, 1768

She recollected that he had a great compassionate heart, and therefore she believed he would in pity receive her garden grove. With steadfast heart and joyful mien and rightly governed feelings, 1769

Her outward form restrained, her heart composed, bowing her head at Buddha’s feet, she took her place as the lord bade her, whilst he in sequence right declared the law: 1770

‘Your heart (O lady!) seems composed and quieted, your form without external ornaments; young in years and rich, you seem well-talented as you are beautiful. 1771

‘That one, so gifted, should by faith be able to receive the law of righteousness is, indeed, a rare thing in the world! The wisdom of a master¹, derived from former births, enables him to accept the law with joy, this is not rare; 1772

‘But that a woman, weak of will, scant in wisdom, deeply immersed in love, should yet be able to delight in piety, this, indeed, is very rare. 1773

‘A man born in the world, by proper thought comes to delight in goodness, he recognises the

¹ That is, of a man.

impermanence of wealth and beauty, and looks upon religion as his best ornament. 1774

‘He feels that this alone can remedy the ills of life and change the fate of young and old; the evil destiny that cramps another’s life cannot affect him, living righteously; 1775

‘Always removing that which excites desire, he is strong in the absence of desire; seeking to find, not what vain thoughts suggest, but that to which religion points him. 1776

‘Relying on external help, he has sorrow; self-reliant, there is strength and joy. But in the case of woman, from another comes the labour, and the nurture of another’s child. 1777

‘Thus then should every one consider well, and loath and put away the form of woman.’ Āmrā the lady, hearing the law, rejoiced. 1778

Her wisdom strengthened, and still more enlightened, she was enabled to cast off desire, and of herself dissatisfied with woman’s form, was freed from all polluting thoughts. 1779

Though still constrained to woman’s form, filled with religious joy, she bowed at Buddha’s feet and spoke: ‘Oh! may the lord, in deep compassion, receive from me, though ignorant, 1780

‘This offering, and so fulfil my earnest vow.’ Then Buddha knowing her sincerity, and for the good of all that lives, 1781

Silently accepted her request, and caused in her full joy, in consequence; whilst all her friends attentive, grew in knowledge, and, after adoration, went back home. 1782

KIOUEN V.

VARGA 23. BY SPIRITUAL POWER FIXING HIS (TERM OF) YEARS¹.

At this time the great men among the *Likkhavis*², hearing that the lord of the world had entered their country and was located in the *Âmra* garden, 1783

(Went thither) riding in their gaudy chariots with silken canopies and clothed in gorgeous robes, both blue and red and yellow and white, each one with his own cognizance. 1784

Accompanied by their body guard surrounding them, they went; others prepared the road in front; and with their heavenly crowns and flower-bespangled robes (they rode), richly dight with every kind of costly ornament. 1785

Their noble forms resplendent increased the glory of that garden grove; now taking off the five dis-

¹ This title may also be rendered, 'By spiritual power stopping his years of life.' It probably refers to the incident related by Mr. Rhys Davids (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 35), 'Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come.' There is no mention, however, in the text of Buddha's sickness, which caused the determination here referred to. The sickness is mentioned in the Chinese copy of the *Parinirvâna Sûtra*, which in the main agrees with the Pâli.

² The *Likkhavis* were residents of *Vaisâli*. I have shown elsewhere (*Journal of the R. A. S.*, Jan. 1882) that they were probably of Scythic origin. The account given in the text of their gorgeous chariots, cognizances, &c. is quite in keeping with the customs of the Northern nations. The account given in the *Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta* is in agreement with the text (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 31).

tinative ornaments¹, alighting from their chariots, they advanced afoot. 1786

Slowly thus with bated breath, their bodies reverent (they advanced). Then they bowed down and worshipped Buddha's foot², and, a great multitude, they gathered round the lord, shining as the sun's disc, full of radiance. 1787

(There was) the lion *Likkhavi*³, among the *Likkhavis* the senior, his noble form (bold) as the lion's, standing there with lion eyes, 1788

But without the lion's pride, taught by the Sākya lion⁴ (who thus began): 'Great and illustrious personages, famed as a tribe for grace and comeliness! 1789

'Put aside, I pray, the world's high thoughts, and now accept the abounding lustre⁵ of religious teaching. Wealth and beauty, scented flowers and ornaments like these, are not to be compared for grace with moral rectitude! 1790

¹ These five distinctive ornaments were, probably, crowns, earrings, necklets, armlets, and sandals.

² The worship of the foot of Buddha is exemplified in many of the plates of the Sanchi and Amarâvatî sculptures, where we see worshippers adoring the impression of his foot on the stool before the throne (plates lviii, lxxi, &c.)

³ This and following lines are somewhat obscure, as it is not plain whether the reference is to one, or all the *Likkhavis*. I have preferred to refer it to one of them, the chief or leader; for so we read in Spence Hardy's Manual, p. 282: 'A number of the Lichawi princes then went to the king (i. e. the chief of their tribe), whose name was Maha-li.' It would seem as if 'li' were a component part of the name *Likkhavi*, and meant 'a lion,'—the chief would then be 'the great lion.' Compare the root 'ur' in the Assyrian *urmakh*, 'great lion;' and the Hebrew *layish*, 'a great or strong lion.'

⁴ The Sākya lion was Buddha, the lion of the Sākyas (*Sākyasimha*).

⁵ The 'abounding lustre,' that is, the additional glory or lustre of religion. The sermon appears to be addressed principally against pride of person, and anger.

'Your land productive and in peaceful quiet—this is your great renown; but true gracefulness of body and a happy people depend upon the heart well-governed. 1791

'Add but to this a reverent (joyful) feeling for religion, then (a people's) fame is at its height! a fertile land and all the dwellers in it, as a united body, virtuous¹! 1792

'To-day then learn this virtue², cherish with carefulness the people, lead them as a body in the right way of rectitude³, even as the ox-king leads the way across the river-ford. 1793

'If a man with earnest recollection ponder on things of this world and the next, he will consider how by right behaviour⁴ (right morals) he prepares, as the result of merit, rest in either world. 1794

'For all in this world will exceedingly revere him, his fame will spread abroad through every part, the virtuous will rejoice to call him friend, and the outflowings of his goodness will know no bounds for ever. 1795

'The precious gems found in the desert wilds are all from earth engendered; moral conduct, likewise, as the earth, is the great source of all that is good⁵. 1796

¹ Much of this discourse seems to refer to the fertility of the land occupied by these *Likkhavis* in the valley of the Ganges, and to their good rules of government. The character of their government is alluded to in pp. 3, 4, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi.

² The symbol 'tīh,' which I have translated by 'virtue,' means 'quality' (*guṇa*) or 'lustre' (*tejas*).

³ The literal rendering of this line is 'lead the body of them all in the clear and right (path).'

⁴ Right behaviour, right morality, here refer to the Buddhist rules of right conduct (*sīla*).

⁵ All that is illustrious (*śhen*).

‘By this, without the use of wings, we fly through space, we cross the river needing not a handy boat; but without this a man will find it hard indeed to cross (the stream of) sorrow (or, stay the rush of sorrow). 1797

‘As when a tree with lovely flowers and fruit, pierced by some sharp instrument, is hard to climb, so is it with the much-renowned for strength and beauty, who break through the laws of moral rectitude! 1798

‘Sitting upright in the royal palace (the palace of the conqueror) the heart of the king was grave and majestic¹; with a view to gain the merit of a pure and moral life, he became a convert of a great *Rishi*. 1799

‘With garments dyed and clad with hair, shaved, save one spiral knot² (he led a hermit’s life), but, as he did not rule himself with strict morality, he was immersed in suffering and sorrow. 1800

‘Each morn and eve he used the three ablutions, sacrificed to fire and practised strict austerity, let his body be in filth as the brute beast, passed through fire and water, dwelt amidst the craggy rocks, 1801

‘Inhaled the wind, drank from the Ganges’ stream, controlled himself with bitter fasts—but all! far short of moral rectitude³. 1802

¹ This line is difficult; I was prepared to regard 端坐 as a proper name. Dr. Legge, however, has kindly suggested the translation in the text. But who is the king referred to?

² The spiral knot of hair may be seen in many of the sculptures (e.g. plate lxx, Tree and Serpent Worship).

³ This is a free rendering; I have supposed that the description throughout refers to the ‘king’ alluded to above; this line may mean, ‘(he did all this) having put aside right morals.’

'For though a man inure himself to live as any brute, he is not on that account a vessel of the righteous law¹; whilst he who breaks the laws of right behaviour invites detraction, and is one no virtuous man can love; 1803

'His heart is ever filled (ever cherishes) with boding fear, his evil name pursues him as a shadow. Having neither profit nor advantage in this world, how can he in the next world reap content (rest)? 1804

'Therefore the wise man ought to practise pure behaviour (morals); passing through the wilderness of birth and death, pure conduct is to him a virtuous guide. 1805

'From pure behaviour comes self-power, which frees a man from (many) dangers; pure conduct, like a ladder, enables us to climb to heaven. 1806

'Those who found themselves on right behaviour, cut off the source of pain and grief; but they who by transgression destroy this mind, may mourn the loss of every virtuous principle. 1807

'(To gain this end)² first banish every ground of

¹ A vessel of righteousness.

² I have supplied this, although the sentence would make complete sense without it. In the context 'every ground of self' ('ngo sho) seems to refer to the aim after selfish ends. The sermon from this point refers to 'pride of self,' and its evil consequences; in the latter portion he joins hatred or anger with pride; the whole reminds us of Milton's description :

'Round he throws his baleful eyes
That witnessed huge affliction and dismay
Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate.'

Paradise Lost, I, 57, 58.

Whilst the war of Devas and Asuras is just Milton's idea when he says,

"self;" this thought of "self" shades every lofty (good) aim, even as the ashes that conceal the fire, treading on which the foot is burned. 1808

'Pride and indifference shroud this heart, too, as the sun is obscured by the piled-up clouds; supercilious thoughts root out all modesty of mind, and sorrow saps the strongest will. 1809

'(As) age and disease waste youthful beauty, (so) pride of self destroys all virtue; the Devas and Asuras, thus from jealousy and envy, raised mutual strife. 1810

'The loss of virtue and of merit which we mourn proceeds from "pride of self," throughout; and as I am a conqueror (*Gina*) amid conquerors¹, so he who (they who) conquers self, is one with me. 1811

'He who little cares to conquer self, is but a foolish master; beauty (or, earthly things), family renown (and such things), all are utterly inconstant, and what is changeable can give no rest of interval². 1812

'Storming fury rose

And clamour, such as heard in heaven till now

Was never.'

Ibid. VI, 207-209.

¹ Here there is allusion to Buddha's name 'Deva among Devas.' The construction of these sentences is obscure on account of the varied use of the word 'I' ('ngo'); this symbol is used sometimes, as in the line under present consideration, as a pronoun, but in the next line it means the evil principle of 'self.' I have found it difficult to avoid comparing this use of the word 'I,' meaning the 'evil self,' with the phrase the 'carnal mind.' The question, in fact, is an open one, whether the Buddhist teaching respecting the non-existence of 'I,' i.e. a personal self or soul, may not justly be explained as consisting in the denial of the reality of the 'carnal self.'

² I should like to translate it no 'interval of rest,' but it seems to

‘If in the end the law of entire destruction (is exacted) what use is there in indolence and pride? Covetous desire (lust) is the greatest (source of) sorrow, appearing as a friend in secret ’tis our enemy. 1813

‘As a fierce fire excited from within (a house), so is the fire of covetous desire: the burning flame of covetous desire is fiercer far than fire which burns the world (world-fire). 1814

‘For fire may be put out by water in excess, but what can overpower the fire of lust? The fire which fiercely burns the desert grass (dies out), and then the grass will grow again; 1815

‘But when the fire of lust burns up the heart, then how hard for true religion there to dwell! for lust seeks worldly pleasures, these pleasures add to an impure karman¹; 1816

‘By this evil karman a man falls into perdition (evil way), and so there is no greater enemy to man than lust. Lusting, man gives way to amorous indulgence (lit. “lust, then it brings forth love”), by this he is led to practise (indulge in) every kind of lustful longing; 1817

‘Indulging thus, he gathers frequent sorrow (all sorrow, or accumulated sorrow, referring to the second of the “four truths”). No greater evil (excessive evil) is there than lust. Lust is a dire disease, and the foolish master stops (i.e. neglects) the medicine of wisdom. 1818

‘(The study of) heretical books not leading to

mean the only rest given is momentary, no rest from interval, i.e. constant change.

¹ The impure karman is, of course, the power of evil (in the character) to bring about suffering by an evil birth.

right thought, causes the lustful heart to increase and grow, for these books are not correct (pure) on the points of impermanency, the non-existence of self, and any object (ground) for "self¹." 1819

'But a true and right apprehension through the power of wisdom, is effectual to destroy that false desire (heretical longing), and therefore our object (aim or purpose) should be to practise this true apprehension. 1820

'Right apprehension (views) once produced then there is deliverance from covetous desire, for a false estimate of excellency produces a covetous desire to excel, whilst a false view of demerit produces anger (and regret); 1821

'But the idea of excelling and also of inferiority (in the sense of demerit) both destroyed, the desire to excel and also anger (on account of inferiority) are destroyed. Anger! how it changes the comely face, how it destroys the loveliness of beauty! 1822

'Anger dulls (clouds) the brightness of the eye (or, the bright eye), chokes all desire to hear the principles of truth, cuts and divides the principle of family affection, impoverishes and weakens every worldly aim². 1823

¹ The meaning is, that heretical books, i. e. books of the Brahmans and so on, teach no sound doctrine as to the unreality of the world, the non-existence of a 'personal self,' and the impropriety of any personal selfish aim, and therefore not teaching these, men who follow them are taken up with the idea that there is reality in worldly pleasures, that there is a personal self capable of enjoying them, and that the aim after such enjoyment is a right aim. All this Buddha and his doctrine exclude.

² I am not sure whether this is a right translation, it appears rather to contradict Buddha's teaching about the unreality of the world; literally the line is this, 'it makes the world what is light and poor.'

'Therefore let anger be subdued, yield not (a moment) to the angry impulse (heart); he who can hold his wild and angry heart is well entitled "illustrious charioteer." 1824

'For men call such a one "illustrious team-breaker"¹ (who can) with bands restrain the unbroken steed; so anger not subdued, its fire unquenched, the sorrow of repentance burns like fire. 1825

'A man who allows wild passion to arise within, himself first burns his heart, then after burning adds the wind² thereto which ignites the fire again, or not (as the case may be)³. 1826

'The pain of birth, old age, disease, and death press heavily upon the world, but adding "passion" to the score, what is this but to increase our foes when pressed by foes? 1827

'But rather, seeing how the world is pressed by throngs of grief, we ought to encourage in us love⁴ (a loving heart), and as the world (all flesh) produces grief on grief, so should we add as antidotes unnumbered remedies.' 1828

Tathâgata, illustrious in expedients, according to

¹ This expression and that in the verse preceding is allied to the Pâli purisadammasârathi, 'trainer or breaker-in of the human steer,' the unconverted man being (as Childers says, Dict. sub voce puriso) like to a refractory bullock. In the Northern books the comparison generally refers to a 'breaker-in of horses,' derived doubtless from the associations of the Northern people (converts to Buddhism), who excelled in chariot racing.

² The wind of repentance, the frequent 'sighs' and moans of penitence.

³ It seems to mean that the wind may sometimes revive the fire, but sometimes not.

⁴ This remedy of 'love' is a singular feature in the Buddhist doctrine.

the disease, thus briefly spoke; even as a good physician in the world, according to the disease, prescribes his medicine. 1829

And now the *Likkhavis*, hearing the sermon preached by Buddha, arose forthwith and bowed at Buddha's feet, and joyfully they placed them on their heads¹. 1830

Then they asked both Buddha and the congregation on the morrow to accept their poor religious offerings. But Buddha told them that already *Âmrâ* (the lady) had invited him. 1831

On this the *Likkhavis*, harbouring thoughts of pride and disappointment², (said): 'Why should that one take away our profit?' But, knowing Buddha's heart to be impartial and fair, they once again regained their cheerfulness. 1832

Tathâgata, moreover, nobly (virtuously or illustriously) seizing the occasion (or, following the right plan), appeasing them, produced within a joyful heart; and so subdued, their grandeur of appearance came again, as when a snake subdued by charms glistens with shining skin. 1833

And now, the night being passed, the signs of dawn appearing, Buddha and the great assembly go to the abode of *Âmrâ*, and having received her entertainment, 1834

They went on to the village of *Pi-nau*³ (*Beluva*),

¹ Placing the foot on the head is a symbol of submission—the custom of putting relic-caskets on the head is illustrated in *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxxviii.

² 'We are outdone by this mango girl,' *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 31.

³ 'Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at *Ambapâli*'s grove, he addressed *Ânanda*, and said, "Come,

and there he rested during the rainy season; the three months' rest being ended, again he returned to Vaisālī, 1835

And dwelt beside the Monkey¹ Tank; sitting there in a shady grove, he shed a flood of glory from his person; aroused thereby, Māra Pisuna 1836

Came to the place where Buddha was, and with closed palms² exhorted him thus: 'Formerly, beside the Nairāṅganā river, when you had accomplished your true and steadfast aim, 1837

'(You said), "When I have done all I have to do, then will I pass at once to Nirvāṇa;" and now you have done all you have to do, you should, as then you said, pass to Nirvāṇa.' 1838

Then Buddha spake to Pisuna³: 'The time of my complete deliverance is at hand, but let three months elapse, and I shall reach Nirvāṇa.' 1839

Then Māra, knowing that Tathāgata had fixed the time for his emancipation, his earnest wish being thus fulfilled, joyous returned to his abode in heaven⁴. 1840

Ānanda, let us go on to Beluva,"' Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 34.

¹ The Markaḥrada.

² Here the description of Māra, 'with closed palms,' leaves no doubt that the figure in Tree and Serpent Worship (plate xxvi, fig. 1, 1st ed.) represents Māra in this scene, 'requesting Buddha to depart.' It is satisfactory to know that the Buddhist idea of the appearance of 'the Wicked One' (Pisuna) was not in agreement with our modern conception of the form of Satan. He is here represented as a Deva, 'lord of the world of desires' (kāmaloka).

³ Compare this account of Māra's appeal with Rhys Davids (Pāli Suttas, p. 53).

⁴ His abode in heaven. He is represented in Tree and Serpent Worship (plate xxx, fig. 1) as standing on the platform above the

Tathâgata, seated beneath a tree, straightway was lost in ecstasy, and willingly rejected his allotted years, and by his spiritual power fixed the remnant of his life. 1841

On this, Tathâgata thus giving up his years, the great earth shook and quaked through all the limits of the universe; great flames of fire were seen around, 1842

The tops of Sumeru were shaken (fell), from heaven there rained showers of flying stones, a whirling tempest rose on every side, the trees were rooted up and fell, 1843

Heavenly music rose with plaintive notes, whilst angels for a time were joyless. Buddha rising from out his ecstasy, announced to all the world: 1844

‘Now have I given up my term of years; I live henceforth by power of Samâdhi¹ (faith); my body like a broken chariot stands, no further cause of “coming” or of “going;” 1845

‘Completely freed from the three worlds, I go enfranchised, as a chicken from its egg.’ 1846

VARGA 24. THE DIFFERENCES OF THE LIKKHAVIS.

The venerable Ânanda, seeing the earth shaking on every side, his heart was fearful and his hair erect; he asked the cause thereof of Buddha. 1847

Trayastrimsas heaven (where the Devas are worshipping the tiara),—this is his right place as lord of the world of desires.

¹ Rhys Davids says samâdhi corresponds to the Christian faith, Buddhist Suttas, p. 145.

Buddha replied : 'Ānanda! I have fixed three months to end my life, the rest of life I utterly give up ; this is the reason why the earth is greatly shaken.' 1848

Ānanda, hearing the instruction of Buddha, was moved with pity and the tears flowed down his face, even as when an elephant of mighty strength shakes (with a blow) the sandal-wood tree. 1849

Thus was (Ānanda) shaken and his mind perturbed, whilst down (his cheeks) the tears, like drops of perfume, flowed ; so much he loved the lord his master, so full of kindness (was he), and, as yet, not freed from earthly thoughts (desire)¹. 1850

Thinking then on these four things² alone, he gave his grief full liberty, nor could he master it, (but said), ' Now I hear the lord declare that he has fixed for good his time to die (Nirvāṇa), 1851

' My body fails, my strength is gone, my mind is dazed, my soul is all discordant, and all the words of truth forgotten ; a wild deserted waste seems heaven and earth. 1852

' Have pity ! save me, master (lord of the world) ! perish not so soon³ ! Perished with bitter cold⁴, I chanced upon a fire—forthwith it disappeared. 1853

¹ 'Freedom from desire' (vītarāga) was the distinction of an Arhat ; Ānanda had not yet arrived at this condition.

² 'These four things,' or, the things of the world ; 'the four' denoting the 'four quarters,' that is, 'the world.'

³ This and the previous line may otherwise be translated, 'Have pity ! save the world, O lord ! from this so unexpected an end (of your life).'

⁴ These and the succeeding comparisons represent the condition of Ānanda in prospect of Buddha's death.

‘Wandering amid the wilds of grief and pain, deceived, confused, I lost my way—suddenly a wise and prudent guide encountered me, but hardly saved from my bewilderment, he once more vanished. 1854

‘Like some poor man treading through endless mud, weary and parched with thirst, longs for the water, suddenly he lights upon a cool refreshing lake, he hastens to it—lo! it dries before him. 1855

‘The deep blue, bright, refulgent eye¹, piercing through all the worlds, with wisdom brightens the dark gloom, the darkness (but) for a moment is dispelled². 1856

‘As when the blade shoots through the yielding earth, the clouds collect and we await the welcome shower, then a fierce wind drives the big clouds away, and so with disappointed hope we watch the dried-up field! 1857

‘Deep darkness reigned for want of wisdom, the world of sentient creatures groped for light, Tathâgata lit up the lamp of wisdom, then suddenly extinguished it—ere he had brought it out³.’ 1858

Buddha, hearing Ânanda speaking thus, grieved at his words, and pitying his distress, with soothing accents and with gentle presence spake with purpose to declare the one true⁴ law: 1859

¹ That is, the eye of Buddha, about which so much is said in the books.

² Such appears to be the meaning of the passage, implying that the disappearance of darkness is but for a moment.

³ Or, alas! why bring it out!

⁴ The expression here, as in other cases, is a strong affirmative, ‘the true law of truth,’ ‘the only true law;’ the word ‘law’ means religious system.

'If men but knew their own¹ nature, they would not dwell (indulge) in sorrow; everything that lives, whate'er it be², all this is subject to destruction's law; 1860

'I have already told you plainly, the law (nature) of things "joined"³ is to "separate;" the principle of kindness and of love⁴ is not abiding, 'tis better then to reject this pitiful and doting heart. 1861

'All things around us bear the stamp of instant change; born, they perish; no self-sufficiency⁵; those who would wish to keep them long, find in the end no room for doing so. 1862

'If things around us could be kept for aye, and were not liable to change or separation, then this would be salvation⁶! where then can this be sought? 1863

'You, and all that lives, can seek in me this great deliverance! That which you may all attain

¹ '(The character of) self-nature,' or as in the text.

² 'All things that have a personal or individual existence.' It would be well to compare the spirit of this sermon with the old belief of the Veda, respecting the birth of the 'one nature' from which the visible world took shape (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Max Müller, p. 561). It seems that the effort of Buddha was to transcend the time of the birth of this nature, and thus arrive at the condition of the original first cause, which 'breathed breathless;' in other words, this is the condition of Nirvāṇa.

³ As in the concluding verse of the *Vagratkṛhedikā Sūtra*, 'tārakā timiram,' &c. *Analecta Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, vol. I, part i, p. 46.

⁴ 'Love' in the sense of parental love; or the love which produced the world.

⁵ In the *Rig-veda* (according to Dr. Muir) the gods though spoken of as immortal are not regarded as unbeginning or self-existent; see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1864, p. 62.

⁶ That is, there would be no need to seek salvation, for it would be already possessed.

I have already told you, (and tell you) to the end. 1864

‘Why then should I preserve this body? The body of the excellent law¹ shall long endure! I am resolved; I look for rest! This is the one thing needful². 1865

‘So do I now instruct all creatures, and as a guide, not seen before, I lead them; prepare yourselves to cast off consciousness³, fix yourselves well in your own island⁴. 1866

‘Those who are thus fixed (mid-stream), with single aim and earnestness striving in the use of means, preparing quietly a quiet place, not moved by others’ way of thinking, 1867

‘Know well, such men are safe on the law’s island. Fixed in contemplation, lighted by the lamp of wisdom, they have thus finally destroyed ignorance and gloom. Consider well the world’s four bounds, 1868

‘And dare to seek for true religion only; forget “yourself,” and every “ground of self,” the bones, the nerves, the skin, the flesh, the mucus, the blood that flows through every little vein; 1869

¹ The ‘body of the law’ represents the teaching of the word of Buddha, which teaching is supposed to be accompanied with or attended by a living power, ever dwelling with the congregation of the faithful.

² ‘That which is wanting only resides in this.’

³ The Chinese ‘siang’ is equivalent to Sanskrit *saṅgñā*, the third skandha (constituents of personal being). It is the receptive (subjective) power, in distinction to the perceptive power (*vedanā*). Buddha denied the necessity of personal consciousness (i. e. of self-consciousness, or consciousness of self) as an element of life, i. e. life in the abstract.

⁴ This idea of ‘an island’ (*dvīpa*), fixed amid the running stream of life, is found in Dhammapada, verse 25.

‘Behold these things as constantly impure, what joy then can there be in such a body? every sensation born from cause, like the bubble floating on the water. 1870

‘The sorrow coming from (the consciousness of) birth and death and inconstancy, removes all thought of joy—the mind acquainted with the law of production¹, stability, and destruction, (recognises) how again and once again things follow or (succeed one another) with no endurance. 1871

‘But thinking well about Nirvāṇa², the thought of endurance is for ever dismissed, (we see how) the *samskāras*³ from causes have arisen, and how these aggregates will again dissolve, all of them impermanent. 1872

‘The foolish man conceives the idea of “self,” the wise man sees there is no ground on which to build the idea of “self,” thus through the world he rightly looks and well concludes, 1873

‘All, therefore, is but evil (one perverse way)—the aggregate amassed by sorrow must perish (in the end)! if once confirmed in this conviction, that man perceives the truth. 1874

¹ The law of production, stability, and destruction; this refers to the Buddhist theory of the successive stages in the development of the world. The world is produced from chaos, established for a period, and then destroyed; and this law is a perpetual one, extending through all space (the infinite systems of worlds) and through all time.

² Nirvāṇa, quietness and extinction.

³ The *samskāras*, the elements of being, i. e. individual being (for a full account of this term, see Childers' Pāli Dict. sub voce). With regard to the use of the Chinese ‘hing’ for *samskāra*, see Eitel, Handbook, sub *samskāra*; also consult Colebrooke, Hindu Philosophy, p. 254, and Burnouf (Introduction, pp. 504, 505, note 2).

‘This body, too, of Buddha now existing (soon will) perish, the law is one and constant, and without exception.’ Buddha having delivered this excellent sermon, appeased the heart of Ānanda. 1875

Then all the *Likkhavis*, hearing the report¹, with fear and apprehension assembled in a body; devoid of their usual ornaments, they hastened to the place where Buddha was. 1876

Having saluted him according to custom, they stood on one side, wishing to ask him a question, but not being able to find words. Buddha, knowing well their heart, by way of remedy, in the right use of means², spake thus: 1877

‘Now I perfectly understand that you have in your minds unusual thoughts, not referring to worldly matters, but wholly connected with subjects of religion; 1878

‘And now you wish to hear from me, what may be known respecting the report about my resolve to terminate my life, and my purpose to put an end to the repetition of birth. 1879

‘Impermanence is the nature of all that exists³, constant change and restlessness its conditions; unfixed, unprofitable, without the marks of long endurance. 1880

‘In ancient days the *Rishi* kings, *Vasishtha Rishi*,

¹ ‘Hearing it,’ in the original, i.e. hearing the report of Buddha’s approaching death.

² ‘The right use of means’ is the rendering of the Chinese ‘fang pien,’ the Sanskrit upāya; this term may mean ‘by artifice,’ or, ‘by way of expedient;’ but generally it refers to the use of means to an end, where the ‘means’ are evanescent and illusory; the end attained, lasting and real.

³ Here we have the well-known Pāli formula ‘sabbe *samkhārā* *anikkhā*.’

Māndhātṛi, the *Kakravartin* monarchs, and the rest, these and all others like them, 1881

‘The former conquerors (*Ginas*), who lived with strength like *Īsvara*, these all have long ago perished, not one remains till now; 1882

‘The sun and moon, *Sakra* himself, and the great multitude of his attendants, will all, without exception, perish¹; there is not one that can for long endure; 1883

‘All the Buddhas of the past ages, numerous as the sands of the Ganges, by their wisdom enlightening the world, have all gone out as a lamp²; 1884

‘All the Buddhas yet to come will also perish in the same way; why then should I alone be different? I too will pass into *Nirvāṇa*; 1885

‘But as they prepared others for salvation, so now should you press forward in the path; *Vaiśālī* may be glad indeed, if you should find the way of rest! 1886

‘The world, in truth, is void of help, the “three worlds” not enough for joy—stay then the course of sorrow, by engendering a heart without desire. 1887

‘Give up for good the long and straggling (way of life), press onward on the northern track³, step by

¹ That the gods were considered to be mortal appears, as Wilson says (*Rig-veda*, vol. i, p. 7 n), from the title (*nara*) given to them. Compare also Coxe, *Mythol.* II, p. 13, and Muir, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1864, p. 62.

² This idea of a lamp going out is a fundamental one as a definition of *Nirvāṇa* (*paggotassa nibbānam*). Its meaning has been discussed by Professor Max Müller in his *Introduction to Buddhaghosha's Parables* (by Captain Rogers).

³ That is, the northern track of the sun.

step advance along the upward road, as the sun skirts along (approaches) the western¹ mountains.' 1888

At this time the *Likkhavis*, with saddened hearts, went back along the way; lifting their hands to heaven and sighing bitterly: 'Alas! what sorrow this! 1889

'His body like the pure gold mountain², the marks upon his person so majestic, ere long and like a towering crag he falls; not to live, then why not, "not to love³?" 1890

'The powers of birth and death, weakened awhile, the lord Tathâgata, himself the fount (mother) of wisdom (appeared), and now to give it up and disappear! without a saviour now, what check to sorrow. 1891

'The world long time endured in darkness, and men were led by a false light along the way—when lo! the sun of wisdom rose; and now, again, it fades and dies—no warning given. 1892

'Behold the whirling waves of ignorance engulfing all the world! (Why is) the bridge or raft of wisdom in a moment cut away? 1893

'The loving and the great physician king (came) with remedies of wisdom, beyond all price, to heal the hurts and pains of men—why suddenly goes he away? 1894

'The excellent and heavenly flag of love adorned with wisdom's blazonry, embroidered with the dia-

¹ The idea appears to be, that as the sun advances in his course, he approaches the western mountains as his true setting place, i. e. he approaches the equinoctial point.

² This comparison of Buddha's body to the golden mountain (sumeru) is a very frequent one, and is probably allied in its origin with the idea of Bel, 'the great mountain' (sadu rabu).

³ The sense is, 'if he dies, where is the proof of his love?'

mond heart, the world not satisfied with gazing on it, 1895

'The glorious flag of heavenly worship¹! Why in a moment is it snapped? Why such misfortune for the world, when from the tide of constant revolutions 1896

'A way of escape was opened—but now shut again! and there is no escape from weary sorrow!' Tathâgata, possessed of fond and loving heart, now steels himself and goes away; 1897

He holds his heart² so patient and so loving, and, like the Wai-ka-ni (Vakkani?) flower, with thoughts cast down (irresolute) and tardy, he goes depressed along the road; 1898

Or like a man fresh from a loved one's grave, the funeral past and the last farewell taken, comes back (with anxious look). 1899

VARGA 25. PARINIRVÂNA.

When Buddha went towards the place of his Nirvâna, the city of Vaisâli was (as if) deserted, as when upon a dark and cloudy night the moon and stars withdraw their shining. 1900

The land that heretofore had peace, was now afflicted and distressed; as when a loving father dies, the orphan daughter yields to constant grief. 1901

Her personal grace unheeded, her clever skill but lightly thought of, with stammering lips she finds expression for her thoughts; how poor her brilliant wit and wisdom now! 1902

¹ Religious sacrifices.

² That is, he restrains himself.

Her spiritual powers (spirits¹) ill regulated (without attractiveness²), her loving heart³ faint (poor) and fickle (false), exalted high⁴ but without strength, and all her native grace neglected (without rule)⁵; 1903

Such was the case at Vaisâlt; all outward show⁶ now fallen (sorry-looking), like autumn verdure in the fields bereft of water, withered up and dry; 1904

Or like the smoke of a half-smouldering⁷ fire, or like those who having food before them yet forget to eat, so these forgot their common household⁸ duties, and nought prepared they for the day's emergencies. 1905

Thinking thus on Buddha, lost in deep reflection, silent they sat nor spoke a word. And now the lion-Likkhavis⁹, manfully enduring their great sorrow, 1906

¹ Shin-tung generally means 'spiritual (miraculous) powers,' but here it refers to the 'spirits' or 'good spirits,' i.e. the bearing or cheerful tone of mind.

² Without dignity.

³ That is, her heart capable of love now poor and estranged, i.e. incapable of earnest attachment.

⁴ The symbol 'shing' denotes not only 'power' generally, and hence used for the Sanskrit 'gina,' but also 'a head-dress worn by females.' It thus corresponds with the Greek *ἐξουσία* (1 Cor. xi. 10). The phrase in the text may therefore mean 'her horn (head-dress) exalted, but bereft of power,' where there is a play on the second word 'lih' (power).

⁵ 'Dignified and yet no ruler.'

⁶ Outward glory.

⁷ Like the smoking (ashes) of a fire put out.

⁸ Kung sz' may mean 'public and private,' or as in the text.

⁹ The difficulty here, as before, is to know whether one Likkhavi is referred to, or the whole clan. We may observe that there is an Accadian root 'lig' or 'lik,' meaning 'lion.' Sayce, Assyrian Grammar.

With flowing tears and doleful sighs, signifying thereby their love of kindred, destroyed for ever all their books of heresy, to show their firm adherence to the true law¹. 1907

Having put down all heresy (or heretics), they left it once for all² (never to return); severed from the world and the world's doctrines, convinced that non-continuance (impermanence) was the great disease (evil). 1908

(Moreover thus they thought): 'The lord of men now enters the great quiet place (Nirvâna), (and we are left) without support and with no saviour; the highest lord of "means" (means of saving men) is now about to extinguish all his glory in the final³ place (of death). 1909

'Now we indeed have lost our steadfast will, as fire deprived of fuel; greatly to be pitied is the world, now that the lord gives up his world-protecting (office), 1910

'Even as a man bereft of spiritual power (right reason) throughout the world is greatly pitied. Oppressed by heat we seek the cooling lake, nipped by the cold we use the fire; 1911

'But in a moment all is lost⁴, the world is left without resource⁵; the excellent law (superlative

¹ *K'ing-fâ* = saddharma.

² The passage may possibly mean that they sent away all heretics from their city; but the whole verse is obscure.

³ The 'final' or 'highest' place.

⁴ This is a doubtful translation; the original is *sih kwoh in*, 'all openly or widely (gone).'

⁵ Without a place of refuge, or a lodging-place. The line literally translated is, 'All things that live, what refuge have they?'

law), indeed, is left, to frame the world anew, as a metal-caster frames anew his work¹. 1912

‘The world has lost its master-guide, and, men bereaved of him, the way is lost; old age, disease, and death, self-sufficient², now that the road is missed, pervade the world without a way. 1913

‘What is there now throughout the world equal to overcome the springs of these great sorrows? The great cloud’s rain alone can make the raging and excessive fire, that burns the world, go out. 1914

‘So only he can make the raging fire of covetous desire go out; and now he, the skilful maker of comparisons³, has firmly fixed his mind to leave the world! 1915

‘And why, again, is the sword of wisdom, ever ready to be used for an uninvited friend (i. e. on behalf of the friendless), only like the draught of wine given to him about to undergo the torture and to die⁴? 1916

‘Deluded by false knowledge the mass of living things are only born to die again; as the sharp knife divides the wood, so constant change divides the world. 1917

‘The gloom of ignorance like the deep water, lust like the rolling billow, sorrow like the float-

¹ This is the idea, as it seems, of the original, implying that the law of Buddha alone was left to take the place of the teacher.

² Tsz’-tsai, independent, without control.

³ ‘Powerful in making comparisons,’ one of Buddha’s characteristic names. The construction of these lines is unlike Chinese, and is evidently adapted from the Sanskrit original.

⁴ The sense seems to be that the sword of Buddha’s wisdom, instead of rescuing the friendless, has only been used, as the executioner’s draught, to lull the pain of death.

ing bubbles, false views (heresy) like the Makara¹ fish, 1918

‘(Amidst all these) the ship of wisdom only can carry us across the mighty sea. The mass of ills (diseases) are like the flowers of the (sorrow) tree, old age and all its griefs, the tangled boughs; 1919

‘Death the tree’s tap-root, deeds done in life the buds, the diamond sword of wisdom only strong enough to cut down the mundane tree! 1920

‘Ignorance (is like) the burning fire-glass, covetous desire the scorching rays, the objects of the five desires the (dry) grass, wisdom alone the water to put out the fire. 1921

‘The perfect law, surpassing every law, having destroyed the gloom of ignorance, we see the straight road leading to quietness and rest, the end of every grief and sorrow. 1922

‘And now the loving (one), converting men, impartial in his thoughts to friend or foe, the all-knowing, perfectly instructed, even he is going to leave the world! 1923

‘He with his soft and finely modulated voice, his compact body and broad shoulders, he, the great *Rishi*², ends his life! Who then can claim exemption? 1924

‘Enlightened, now he quickly passes hence! let

¹ A mythical sea monster (see for a probable representation of it, Bharhut Stûpa, plate xxxiv, fig. 2).

² The great *Rishi* (Mahesi), even he has come to die, who then can claim exemption? It would seem, from this episode, that the *Likkhavis* were now convinced of the law of impermanence, and this was the lesson they most needed to learn, being of a proud and haughty disposition.

us therefore seek with earnestness the truth, even as a man meets with the stream beside the road, then drinks and passes on. 1925

'Inconstancy, this is the dreaded enemy—the universal destroyer—sparing neither rich nor poor; rightly perceiving this and keeping it in mind, this man, though sleeping, yet is the only ever-wakeful.' 1926

Thus the *Likkhavi* lions, ever mindful of the Buddha's wisdom, disquieted with (the pain of) birth and death, sighed forth their fond remembrance of the man-lion¹. 1927

Retaining in their minds no love of worldly things, aiming to rise above the power of every lustful quality², subduing in their hearts the thought of light or trivial matters, training their thoughts (hearts) (to seek) the quiet, peaceful place; 1928

Diligently practising (the rules) of unselfish, charitable conduct; putting away all listlessness, they found their joy in quietness and seclusion, meditating only on religious truth. 1929

And now the all-wise (omniscient), turning his body round with a lion-turn³, once more gazed upon Vaisâli, and uttered this farewell verse: 1930

¹ That is, of Buddha, the lion of the Sâkya tribe (*Sâkyasimha*). There is here, of course, reference to the *Likkhavi* lion, as contrasted with the Sâkya lion. It will be well to bear in mind that the beautiful pillar described by Stephenson, Cunningham, and others, found near the site of Vaisâli, was surmounted by a 'lion.'

² *Tih*, corresponding to *guna*.

³ In the text it is *yuen shin*, 'his round or perfect body;' in Fā-hien the symbol is *hwui*, 'turning' (cap. xxv). The passage in Fā-hien may be translated 'turning his body with a right-turn-look.' Here the passage is 'turning (*yuen* for *hwui*) his body with a lion-turn;' in the Pāli (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 64) it is 'he

'Now this, the last time this, I leave (wander forth from) Vaisālī—the land where heroes¹ live and flourish! Now am I going to die.' 1931

Then gradually advancing, stage by stage² he came to Bhoga-nagara (Po-ki'a-shing), and there he rested in the Sāla³ grove, where he instructed all his followers (Bhikshus) in the precepts: 1932

'Now having gone on high (ascended into heaven)⁴ I shall enter on Nirvāṇa: ye must rely upon the law (religious truth)—this is your highest, strongest, vantage ground⁵. 1933

'What is not found (what enters not) in Sūtra, or what disagrees with rules of Vinaya, opposing the one true system (of my doctrine), this must not be held by you⁶. 1934

'What opposes Dharma, what opposes Vinaya, or gazed at Vesālī with an elephant look' (nāgapalokitam), on which word Mr. Rhys Davids has an interesting note. The lion appears to be the favourite with Northern Buddhists, the elephant (nāga) with the Southern.

¹ Lih sse, generally translated 'Mallas'; in Fa-hien 'Kin kang lih sse' has been translated by Vagrapāmi (cap. xxiv), but this is not correct; it is singular that 'lih sse'—in old Chinese 'lik sse'—should be applied as another term for *Likkhavis*. As stated above, *lik* is an Accadian root for 'lion'—is the Chinese symbol 'lik,' strong, allied to this?

² The stages according to the Pāli (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 66) were from Vesālī to Bhandā-gāma, from Bhandā-gāma to Hatthi-gāma, from Hatthi-gāma to Amba-gāma, from Amba-gāma to Gambu-gāma, and thence to Bhoga-nagara.

³ At the Ānanda Ketiya (in the Pāli, as above).

⁴ This is a singular phrase, 'having ascended into heaven I shall enter Nirvāṇa'—it may refer to the process hereafter named through which the mind of Buddha passed (entering the dhyānas &c.) ere he died; but anyhow, it is a curious phrase.

⁵ This then is the noble, conquering place.

⁶ It will be well to compare this sermon with that in the Pāli (op. cit. pp. 67, 68).

what is contrary to my words, this is the result (speech) of ignorance, ye must not hold such doctrine, but with haste reject it. 1935

'Receiving that which has been said aright (in the light)¹, this is not subversive of true doctrine, this is what I have said², as the Dharma and Vinaya say. 1936

'Accepting that which I, the law, and the Vinaya declare, this is (the truth) to be believed. But words which neither I, the law, nor the Vinaya declare, these are not to be believed. 1937

'Not gathering (explaining) the true and hidden meaning, but closely holding to the letter³, this is the way of foolish teachers, but contrary to my doctrine (religion) and a false way of teaching. 1938

'Not separating the true from false, accepting in the dark without discrimination, is like a shop where gold and its alloys are sold together, justly condemned by all the world. 1939

'The foolish masters, practising (the ways of) superficial wisdom, grasp not the meaning of the truth; but to receive the law (religious doctrine) as it explains itself, this is to accept the highest mode of exposition (this is to accept the true law). 1940

¹ This dictum has been often quoted as illustrating the breadth of Buddha's teaching, 'keep and receive the right (vidyâ) spoken (words),' or 'whatever is according to right reason' (see Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, pp. 18, 68).

² The distinction between Dharma Vinaya and 'what I have said,' seems to point to the numerous discourses which are called 'Fo shwo' (in Chinese, i. e. spoken by Buddha. Compare with this phrase the Pâli 'Tathâgatena vutto,' see Leon Féer, *Études*, p. 192; Childers, Pâli Dict. sub vutti).

³ This 'holding to the letter' is also alluded to in the Pâli (see Childers, sub voce *vyañganam*).

‘Ye ought therefore thus to investigate true principles, to consider well the true law and the Vinaya, even as the goldsmith does who melts and strikes and then selects the true (metal). 1941

‘Not to know the Sûtras and the Sâstras, this is to be devoid of wisdom; not saying properly that which is proper, is like doing that which is not fit to see. 1942

‘Let all be done (accepted) in right and proper order, according as the meaning of the sentence guides, for he who grasps a sword unskilfully, does but inflict a wound upon his hand. 1943

‘Not skilfully to handle words and sentences, the meaning then is hard to know; as in the night time travelling and seeking for a house, if all be dark within, how difficult to find. 1944

‘Losing the meaning, then the law (dharma) is disregarded, disregarding the law the mind becomes confused; therefore every wise and prudent master neglects not to discover the true and faithful meaning.’ 1945

Having spoken these words respecting the precepts of religion, he advanced to the town of Pāvā¹; where all the Mallas (liḥ sse) prepared for him religious offerings of every kind. 1946

At this time a certain householder’s son², whose

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 70. It would seem from the people of Pāvā being called Mallas that they were allied with the *Likkhavis*.

² There is nothing said in the text about Kunda being a worker in metals, or about the character of his offering, or its consequences on Buddha’s health. The expression ‘householder’s son’ may be also translated a ‘householder,’ the symbol ‘tseu’ (son) being often used, as Wassiljew (*Buddhismus*, p. 168) has observed, as an honorific expletive.

name was *Kunda*, invited Buddha to his house, and there he gave him, as an offering, his very last repast. 1947

Having partaken of it and declared the law (preached), he onward went to the town of Kusi (Kusinagara), crossing the river Tsae-kieuh (Tsaku) and the *Hiranyavati* (Hi-lan)¹. 1948

Then in that *Sâla* grove, a place of quiet and seclusion (hermit-rest), he took his seat: entering the golden river (*Hiranyavati*) he bathed his body, in appearance like a golden mountain. 1949

Then he spake his bidding thus to *Ânanda*: 'Between those twin *Sâla* trees, sweeping and watering, make a clean space, and then arrange my sitting-mat (couch), 1950

'At midnight coming, I shall die' (enter *Nirvâna*). *Ânanda* hearing the bidding of his master (Buddha), his breath was choked with heart-sadness; 1951

But going and weeping he obeyed the instruction, and spreading out the mat he came forthwith back to his master and acquainted him. *Tathâgata* having lain down with his head towards the north and on his right side, slept thus. 1952

Resting upon his hand as on a pillow with his feet crossed², even as a lion-king; all grief is passed, his last-born body from this one sleep shall never rise. 1953

His followers (disciples) round him, in a circle

¹ Kusinagara is the present Kasia. I do not find any reference in General Cunningham's account of this city (*Archæological Survey of India*, I, 76 seq.) to the river Tsaku, but the *Hiranyavati* is still known as the Hirana.

² 'With one leg resting on the other,' *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 86.

gathered, sigh dolefully: 'The eye of the (great) world is now put out!' The wind is hushed, the forest streams are silent, no voice is heard of bird or beast. 1954

The trees sweat out large flowing drops, flowers and leaves out of season singly fall, whilst men and Devas, not yet free from desire, are filled with overwhelming fear. 1955

(Thus were they) like men wandering through the arid desert, the road full dangerous, who fail to reach the longed-for hamlet; full of fear they go on still, dreading they may not find it, their heart borne down with fear they faint and droop. 1956

And now Tathâgata, aroused from sleep, addressed Ânanda thus: 'Go! tell the Mallas, the time of my decease (Nirvâna) is come; 1957

'They, if they see me not, will ever grieve and suffer deep regret.' Ânanda listening to the bidding of his master (Buddha), weeping went along the road. 1958

And then he told those Mallas all—'The lord is near to death.' The Mallas hearing it, were filled with great, excessive grief (fear). 1959

The men and women hurrying forth, bewailing as they went, came to the spot where Buddha was; with garments torn and hair dishevelled, covered with dust and sweat they came. 1960

With piteous cries they reached the grove, as when a Deva's day of merit (heavenly merit or enjoyment) comes to an end¹, so did they bow

¹ The time when a Deva's sojourn in heaven is approaching its end is indicated by certain signs (fading of the head-garland, restlessness on his couch, &c.), on observing which there is general grief among the Devîs and others, his companions.

weeping and adoring at the feet of Buddha, grieving (to behold) his failing strength. 1961

Tathâgata, composed and quiet, spake: 'Grieve not! the time is one for joy; no call for sorrow or for anguish here; 1962

'That which for ages I have aimed at, now am I just about to obtain; delivered now from the narrow bounds of sense, I go to the place of never-ending rest and peace (purity). 1963

'I leave these things, earth, water, fire, and air, to rest secure where neither birth nor death can come. Eternally delivered there from grief, oh! tell me! why should I be sorrowful? 1964

'Of yore on Śrisha's¹ mount, I longed to rid me of this body, but to fulfil my destiny I have remained till now with men (in the world); 1965

'I have kept (till now) this sickly, crumbling body, as dwelling with a poisonous snake; but now I am come to the great resting-place, all springs of sorrow now for ever stopped. 1966

'No more shall I receive a body, all future sorrow now for ever done away; it is not meet for you, on my account, for evermore, to encourage any anxious fear.' 1967

The Mallas hearing Buddha's words, that he was now about to die (enter the great, peaceful, quiet state), their minds confused, their eyes bedimmed, as if they saw before them nought but blackness, 1968

With hands conjoined, spake thus to Buddha: 'Buddha is leaving now the pain of birth and death, and entering on the eternal joy of rest (peaceful extinction); doubtless we ought to rejoice thereat. 1969

¹ Near Gayâ.

‘ Even as when a house is burnt a man rejoices if his friends are saved from out the flames ; the gods ! perhaps they rejoice—then how much more should men ! 1970

‘ But—when Tathâgata has gone and living things no more may see him, eternally cut off from safety and deliverance—in thought of this we grieve and sorrow. 1971

‘ Like as a band of merchants crossing with careful steps a desert, with only a single guide, suddenly he dies ! 1972

‘ Those merchants now without a protector, how can they but lament ! The present age, coming to know their true case¹, has found the omniscient, and looked to him, 1973

‘ But yet has not obtained the final conquest ;—how will the world deride ! Even as it would laugh at one who, walking o’er a mountain full of treasure, yet ignorant thereof, hugs still the pain of poverty.’ 1974

So spake the Mallas, and with tearful words excuse themselves to Buddha, even as an only child pleads piteously before a loving father. 1975

Buddha then, with speech most excellent, exhibited and declared the highest principle (of truth), and thus addressed the Mallas : ‘ In truth, ’tis as you say ; 1976

‘ Seeking the way, you must exert yourselves and strive with diligence—it is not enough to have seen me ! Walk, as I have commanded you ; get rid of all the tangled net of sorrow ; 1977

¹ Men now living having learned their case, or condition, from the teaching of Buddha.

‘Walk in the way with steadfast aim; ’tis not from seeing me this comes,—even as a sick man depending on the healing power of medicine, 1978

‘Gets rid of all his ailments easily without beholding the physician. He who does not do what I command sees me in vain, this brings no profit; 1979

‘Whilst he who lives far off from where I am, and yet walks righteously, is ever near me! A man may dwell beside me, and yet, being disobedient, be far away from me. 1980

‘Keep your heart carefully—give not place to listlessness! earnestly practise every good work. Man born in this world is pressed by all the sorrows of the long career (night) [of suffering], 1981

‘Ceaselessly troubled—without a moment’s rest, as any lamp blown by the wind!’ The Mallas all, hearing Buddha’s loving instruction, 1982

Inwardly composed, restrained their tears, and, firmly self-possessed, returned. 1983

VARGA 26. MAHÂPARINIRVÂNA.

At this time there was a Brahmakârin whose name was Su-po-to-lo¹ (Subhadra); he was well known for his virtuous qualities (bhadra), leading a pure life according to the rules of morality, and protecting all living things. 1984

When young² he had adopted heretical views and become a recluse among unbelievers—this one, wishing to see the lord, spake to Ânanda thus: 1985

‘I hear that the system of Tathâgata is of a

¹ Called Subhadda in the Southern accounts.

² This may also be translated ‘of small endowments.’

singular character and very profound (difficult to fathom), and that he (has reached) the highest wisdom (anuttarâ(sam)bodhi) in the world, the first of all horse-tamers¹. 1986

‘(I hear moreover) that he is now about to die (reach Nirvâna), it will be difficult² indeed to meet with him again, and difficult to see those who have seen him with difficulty, even as it is to catch in a mirror the reflection of the moon. 1987

‘I now desire respectfully to see him the greatest and most virtuous guide (of men), because I seek to escape this mass of sorrow (accumulated sorrow) and reach the other shore of birth and death. 1988

‘The sun of Buddha now about to quench its rays, O! let me for a moment gaze upon him.’ The feelings of Ânanda now were much affected, thinking that this request was made with a view to controversy, 1989

Or that he (i.e. Subhadra) felt an inward joy because the lord was on the eve of death. He was not willing therefore to permit the interview with Buddha (the Buddha-sight). Buddha, knowing the man’s (that one’s) earnest desire and that he was a vessel fit for true religion (right doctrine), 1990

Therefore addressed Ânanda thus: ‘Permit that heretic to advance; I was born to save mankind³, make no hindrance therefore or excuse!’ 1991

¹ Compare ‘Purisa-damma-sârathi,’ as before. We observe, again, how the reference here is to taming of ‘horses,’ in the Southern accounts to the taming of the ‘steer,’ showing the associations of the people using the figure.

² ‘Sometimes and full seldom do Tathâgatas appear in the world,’ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 104.

³ Here again the construction is inverted and un-Chinese, but

Subhadra, hearing this, was overjoyed at heart, and his religious feelings (his feelings of joy in religion) were much enlarged, as with increased reverence he advanced to Buddha's presence. 1992

Then, as the occasion required¹, he spoke becoming words and with politeness made his salutation², his features pleasing and with hands conjoined (he said): 'Now I desire to ask somewhat from thee; 1993

'The world has many teachers of religion³ (those who know the law) as I am myself; but I hear that Buddha has attained a way which is the end of all, complete emancipation. 1994

'O that you would, on my account, briefly explain (your method), moisten my empty, thirsty soul (heart)! not with a view to controversy or from a desire to gain the mastery (but with sincerity I ask you so to do).' 1995

Then Buddha, for the Brahmaśārin's sake, in brief recounted the eight 'right ways' (noble paths)—on hearing which, his empty soul (meek heart) accepted it, as one deceived accepts direction in the right road. 1996

the sense appears plain, ngo wei to gin sing, 'I, to save men am born.' The idea of Buddha as a saviour of men seems to be a development of his character as 'teacher' or 'sage.' It expanded afterwards in Northern Buddhism into the idea of a universal saviour, and was afterwards merged in the character of Avalokitesvara, a being 'engaged by an eternal oath (covenant) to save all living things.' The presence of Western modes of thought cannot be doubted here.

¹ According to the occasion; or, as it was customary on such an occasion.

² Compare the Pāli *sarāṇiyam vitisāretvā*; 'wen sun,' however, in the Chinese, appears to correspond with the Pāli *abhivādeti*.

³ These teachers are named in the Pāli.

Perceiving now, he knew that what he had before perceived was not the final way (of salvation), but now he felt he had attained what he had not before attained, and so he gave up and forsook his books of heresy. 1997

Moreover, now he rejected (turned his back) on the gloomy hindrances of doubt (moha), reflecting how by his former practices, mixed up with anger, hate, and ignorance, he had long cherished no real (good) joy¹. 1998

For if (he argued) the ways of lust and hate and ignorance are able to produce a virtuous karman (good works), then 'hearing much' and 'persevering wisdom' (or, wisdom and perseverance (vîrya)) these, too, are born from lust, (which cannot be.) 1999

But if a man is able to cut down hate and ignorance, then also he puts off all consequences of works (karman), and these being finally destroyed, this is complete emancipation. 2000

Those thus freed from works are likewise freed from subtle questionings (investigation of subtle principles), (such as) what the world says 'that all things, everywhere, possess a self-nature².' 2001

But if this be the case and therefore lust, hate, and ignorance possess a self-implemented nature, then this nature must inhere in them; what then means the word 'deliverance?' 2002

For even if we rightly cause³ the overthrow

¹ I think 樂 is for 業, in which case the line would be, 'he had long cherished works (karman) not good' (善).

² This theory of a 'self-nature' (svabhâva) appears to have prevailed widely about the time of Asvaghosha, the Svabhâvika sect of Buddhists perhaps had their origin about this time.

³ That is, 'by the use of right means.'

(destruction) of hate and ignorance, yet if lust (love) remains, then there is a return of birth; even as water, cold in its nature, may by fire be heated, 2003

But when the fire goes out then it becomes cold again, because this is its constant nature; so (we may) ever know that the nature which lust has is permanent [or, 'endurance, we may know, is the nature of lust'], and neither hearing, wisdom, or perseverance can alter it. 2004

Neither capable of increase or diminution, how can there be deliverance? I held aforetime (thus he thought) that (those things capable of) birth and death resulted thus, from their own innate nature; 2005

But now I see that such a belief excludes deliverance; for what is (born) by nature must endure so, what end can such things have? 2006

Just as a burning lamp cannot but give its light; the way (doctrine) of Buddha is the only true one, that lust, as the root-cause, brings forth the things that live (the world); 2007

Destroy this lust (love) then there is Nirvâṇa (quiet extinction); the cause destroyed then the fruit is not produced. I formerly maintained that 'I' (self) was a distinct entity (body), not seeing that it has no maker. 2008

But now I hear the right doctrine preached by Buddha, there is no 'self' (personal self) in all the world, for all things are produced by cause, and therefore there is no creator (Īsvara). 2009

If then sorrow is produced by cause (or, if then cause producing things, there is sorrow), the cause may likewise be destroyed; for if the world is cause-

produced, then is the view correct, that by destruction of the cause, there is an end. 2010

The cause destroyed, the world brought to an end, there is no room for such a thought as permanence, and therefore all my former views (he said) are 'done away,' and so he deeply 'saw' the true doctrine taught by Buddha. 2011

Because of seeds well sown in former times, he was enabled thus to understand the law on hearing it; thus he reached the good and perfect state of quietness, the peaceful, never-ending place (of rest). 2012

His heart expanding to receive the truth, he gazed with earnest look on Buddha as he slept, nor could he bear to see Tathâgata depart and die (leave the world and attain Nirvâna); 2013

'Ere yet,' he said, 'Buddha shall reach the term (of life) I will myself first leave the world (become extinct);' and then with hands close joined, retiring from the holy form (face or features), he took his seat apart, and sat composed and firm¹. 2014

Then giving up his life (years), he reached Nirvâna, as when the rain puts out a little fire. Then Buddha spake to all his followers (Bhikshus): 'This my very last disciple 2015

'Has now attained Nirvâna, cherish him (his remains) properly.' Then Buddha the first night (watch) passed, the moon bright shining and all the stars clear in their lustre, 2016

The quiet grove without a sound, moved by his great compassionate heart, declared to his disciples

¹ Compare this account with the Pâli (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 110, and note).

this his bequeathed precepts¹ (his testamentary rules). 'After my Nirvāṇa, 2017

'Ye ought to reverence and obey the Pratimoksha, (receive it) as your master, a shining lamp in the dark night, 2018

'Or as a great jewel (treasured by) a poor man. The injunctions I have ever given, these you ought to obey and follow carefully, and treat in no way different from myself. 2019

'Keep pure your body, words, and conduct, put from you all concerns of daily life (business), lands, houses, cattle, storing wealth or hoarding grain. 2020

'All these should be avoided as we avoid a fiery pit; (so also) sowing the land, cutting down shrubs, healing of wounds or the practice of medicine, 2021

'Star-gazing and astrology, forecasting lucky or unfortunate events by signs (palm signs), prognosticating good or evil, all these are things forbidden. 2022

'Keeping the body temperate, eat at proper times; receive no mission as a go-between; compound no philteries; abhor dissimulation; 2023

'Follow right doctrine, and be kind to all that lives; receive in moderation what is given; receive but hoard not up; these are, in brief, my spoken precepts. 2024

'These form the groundwork of my rules, these also are the ground of full emancipation². Enabled

¹ These 'bequeathed precepts' form a separate tract in the Chinese Buddhist Canon; it is generally bound up with the 'Sūtra of 42 Sections.' I have translated it in my first Report on the Chinese Buddhist Books in the Library of the India Office. [This Sūtra in Chinese is called 'an epitome of the Vinaya.' Is it the 'substance of the Vinaya' referred to in the Bairāt Edict of Asoka?]

² Full emancipation seems here to be a synonym of 'Prati-

thus to live (relying on this law, able to live) this is rightly to receive all (other things). 2025

‘This is true wisdom which embraces all, this is the way (cause) to attain the end ; this code of rules, therefore, ye should hold and keep, and never let it slip or be destroyed. 2026

‘For when pure rules of conduct are observed (not broken), then there is true religion ; without these, virtue languishes ; found yourselves therefore well on these my precepts (moral rules) ; 2027

‘Grounded thus in rules of purity, the springs of feeling (animal feeling) will be well controlled, even as the well-instructed cowherd guides well his cattle (permits them neither to loiter nor hurry on). 2028

‘Ill-governed feelings (senses), like the horse, run wild through all the six domains of sense, bringing upon us in the present world unhappiness, and in the next, birth in an evil way. 2029

‘So, like the horse ill-broken, these land us in the ditch ; therefore the wise and prudent man will not allow his senses licence. 2030

‘For these senses (organs of sense) are, indeed, our greatest foes, causes of misery ; for men enamoured thus by sensuous things cause all their miseries to recur. 2031

‘Destructive as a poisonous snake, or like a savage tiger, or like a raging fire, the greatest evil in the world, he who is wise, is freed from fear of these. 2032

‘But what he fears is only this—a light and trivial heart, which drags a man to future misery (evil way

moksha.’ The rules of the Pratimoksha (250 rules) were probably later in their origin than the rules here given.

of birth)—just for a little sip of pleasure not looking at the yawning gulf (before us); 2033

‘Like the wild elephant freed from the iron curb (aṅkusa), or like the ape that has regained the forest trees, such is the light and trivial heart;—the wise man should restrain and hold it therefore. 2034

‘Letting the heart go loose without restraint, that man shall not attain Nirvâṇa; therefore we ought to hold the heart in check, and go apart from men and seek a quiet resting-place (hermit’s abode). 2035

‘Know when to eat and the right measure; and so with reference to the rules of clothing and of medicine; take care you do not by the food you take, encourage in yourselves a covetous or an angry mind. 2036

‘Eat your food to satisfy your hunger and (drink to satisfy) your thirst, as we repair an old or broken chariot, or like the butterfly that sips the flower destroying not its fragrance or its texture. 2037

‘The Bhikshu, in begging food, should beware of injuring the faithful mind of another¹; if a man opens his heart in charity, think not about his capabilities (i. e. to overtax him), 2038

‘For ’tis not well to calculate too closely the strength of the ox, lest by loading him (beyond his strength) you cause him injury. At morning, noon, and night, successively, store up good works. 2039

‘During the first and after watch at night be not overpowered by sleep, but in the middle watch, with heart composed, take sleep (and rest)—be thoughtful towards the dawn of day. 2040

¹ This seems to refer to the offence given by a Bhikshu in asking food, either seeking much or of different quality to that offered.

‘Sleep not the whole night through, making the body and the life relaxed and feeble; think! when the fire shall burn the body always, what length of sleep will then be possible? 2041

‘For when the hateful brood of sorrow rising through space, with all its attendant horrors, meeting the mind o’erwhelmed by sleep and death, shall seize its prey, who then shall waken it? 2042

‘The poisonous snake dwelling within a house can be enticed away by proper charms, so the black toad that dwells within his heart, the early waker disenchant and banishes. 2043

‘He who sleeps on heedlessly (without plan), this man has no modesty; but modesty is like a beauteous robe, or like the curb that guides the elephant. 2044

‘Modest behaviour keeps the heart composed, without it every virtuous root will die. Who has this modesty, the world applauds (calls him excellent); without it, he is but as any beast. 2045

‘If a man with a sharp sword should cut the (another’s) body bit by bit (limb by limb), let not an angry thought, or of resentment, rise, and let the mouth speak no ill word. 2046

‘Your evil thoughts and evil words but hurt yourself and not another; nothing so full of victory as patience, though your body suffer the pain of mutilation. 2047

‘For recollect that he who has this patience cannot be overcome, his strength being so firm; therefore give not way to anger or evil words towards men in power¹. 2048

¹ So I translate the symbol ‘kia.’

'Anger and hate destroy the true law; and they destroy dignity and beauty of body; as when one dies we lose our name for beauty, so the fire of anger itself burns up the heart. 2049

'Anger is foe to all religious merit, he who loves virtue let him not be passionate; the layman who is angry when oppressed by many sorrows is not wondered at, 2050

'But he who has "left his home"¹ indulging anger, this is indeed opposed to principle, as if in frozen water there were found the heat of fire. 2051

'If indolence (an indolent mind) arises in your heart, then with your own hand smooth down your head², shave off your hair, and clad in sombre (dyed or stained) garments, in your hand holding the begging-pot, go ask for food; 2052

'On every side the living perish, what room for indolence? the worldly man, relying on his substance or his family, indulging in indolence, is wrong; 2053

'How much more the religious man, whose purpose is to seek the way of rescue, who encourages within an indolent mind; this surely is impossible! 2054

'Crookedness and truth (straightness) are in their nature opposite and cannot dwell together more than frost and fire; for one who has become religious, and practises the way of straight behaviour, a false and crooked way of speech is not becoming. 2055

'False and flattering speech is like the magician's

¹ That is, the hermit, or professed disciple.

² Does this refer to smoothing the hair previous to shaving it off? But the sense in any case is obscure, for how could a person admit himself to the 'order'?

art; but he who ponders on religion cannot speak falsely (wildly). To "covet much," brings sorrow; desiring little, there is rest and peace. 2056

'To procure rest (peace of mind), there must be small desire—much more in case of those who seek deliverance (salvation). The niggard dreads the much-seeking man lest he should filch away his property (wealth and jewels), 2057

'But he who loves to give has also fear, lest he should not possess enough to give; therefore we ought to encourage small desire, that we may have to give to him who wants, without such fear. 2058

'From this desiring-little-mind we find the way of true deliverance; desiring true deliverance (seeking salvation) we ought to practise knowing-enough (contentment). 2059

'A contented mind is always joyful, but joy like this is but religion¹; the rich and poor alike, having contentment, enjoy perpetual rest. 2060

'The ill-contented man though he be born to heavenly joys, because he is not contented would ever have a mind burned up by the fire of sorrow. 2061

'The rich, without contentment, endures the pain of poverty; though poor, if yet he be contented, then he is rich indeed! 2062

'That ill-contented man, the bounds of the five desires extending further still, (becomes) insatiable in his requirements, (and so) through the long night (of life) gathers increasing sorrow. 2063

'Without cessation thus he cherishes his careful (anxious) plans, whilst he who lives contented, freed

¹ So the line plainly means fun hi tsih shi fã, 'joy, like this, is but religion.'

from anxious thoughts about relationships (family concerns), his heart is ever peaceful and at rest. 2064

‘And so because he rests and is at peace within, the gods and men revere and do him service. Therefore we ought to put away all cares about relationship (the encumbrance of close or distant relationships). 2065

‘For like a solitary desert tree in which the birds and monkeys gather, so is it when we are cumbered much with family associations; through the long night we gather many sorrows. 2066

‘Many dependents (relationships) are like the many bands (that bind us), or like the old elephant that struggles in the mud. By diligent perseverance a man may get much profit; 2067

‘Therefore night and day men ought with ceaseless effort to exert themselves; the tiny streams that trickle down the mountain slopes (valleys) by always flowing eat away the rock. 2068

‘If we use not earnest diligence in drilling wood in wood for fire, we shall not obtain the spark, so ought we to be diligent and persevere, as the skilful master drills the wood for fire. 2069

‘A “virtuous friend”¹ though he be gentle is not to be compared with right reflection (thought)—right thought kept well in the mind, no evil thing can ever enter there. 2070

‘Wherefore those who practise (a religious life) should always think about “the body” (their true condition—themselves); if thought upon oneself be

¹ This ‘virtuous friend’ is here, probably, to be taken in its literal sense. The ‘right reflection’ is *samyak smṛti*. And so the others that follow are the eight portions of the holy path.

absent, then all virtue (virtuous intentions or purposes) dies. 2071

‘For as the champion warrior relies for victory upon his armour’s strength, so “right thought” is like a strong cuirass able to withstand the six sense-robbers (the robber-objects of the six senses). 2072

‘Right faith¹ (samâdhi) enwraps² the enlightened heart, (so that a man) perceives the world throughout (is liable to) birth and death ; therefore the religious man should practise “samâdhi.” 2073

‘Having found peace (quietness and peace) in samâdhi, we put an end to all the mass of sorrows, wisdom then can enlighten us, and so we put away the rules by which we acquire (knowledge by the senses). 2074

‘By inward thought and right consideration following with gladness the directions of the “true law,” this is the way in which both lay (men of the world) and men who have left their homes (religious men) should walk. 2075

‘Across the sea of birth and death, “wisdom” is the handy bark ; “wisdom” is the shining lamp that lightens up the dark and gloomy (world). 2076

““Wisdom” is the grateful medicine for all the defiling ills [of life] (âsravas); “wisdom” is the axe wherewith to level all the tangled (prickly) forest trees of sorrow. 2077

““Wisdom” is the bridge that spans the rushing stream of ignorance and lust—therefore, in every

¹ Mr. Rhys Davids (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 145) is of opinion that samâdhi in Buddhism corresponds to ‘faith’ in Christianity. There is much to bear out this opinion.

² The *ἐνθωμα* (in a gnostic sense) of the awakened heart; the atmosphere in which the enlightened heart lives.

way, by thought and right attention (listening), a man should diligently inure himself to engender "wisdom." 2078

'Having acquired the threefold¹ wisdom, then, though blind, the eye of wisdom sees throughout; but without wisdom the mind is poor and insincere (false); such things cannot suit (agree with) the man who has left his home. 2079

'Wherefore let the enlightened man lay well to heart that false and fruitless (vain) things become him not, and let him strive with single mind for that pure (refined and excellent) joy which can be found alone in perfect rest and quietude (the place of rest and peace, i. e. Nirvāṇa). 2080

'Above all things be not careless, for carelessness is the chief foe of virtue; if a man avoid this fault he may be born where Sakra-rāga dwells. 2081

'He who gives way to carelessness of mind must have his lot where the Asuras dwell. Thus have I done my task, my fitting task, (in setting forth the way of) quietude, the proof (work) of love². 2082

'On your parts be diligent³ (earnest)! with virtuous purpose practise well these rules (works), in quiet solitude of desert hermitage nourish and cherish a still and peaceful heart. 2083

¹ Is this the wisdom of Buddha, dharma and saṅgha? or does it refer to the trividyās, the knowledge of impermanence, sorrow, and unreality? See Childers, Pāli Dict. sub vijja; also Mr. Rhys Davids' *Tevigga Sutta*, Introduction, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi.

² I have finished my task of love in setting forth to you the way of rest.

³ 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, "Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"' *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 114.

‘Exert yourselves to the utmost, give no place to remissness, for as in worldly matters when the considerate physician prescribes fit medicine for the disease he has detected, 2084

‘Should the sick man neglect to use it, this cannot be the physician’s fault, so I have told you (now) the truth, and set before you this the one and level road (the road of plain duty). 2085

‘Hearing my words and not with care obeying them, this is not the fault of him who speaks; if there be anything not clearly understood in the principles of the “four truths,” 2086

‘You now may ask me, freely; let not your inward thoughts be longer hid.’ The lord in mercy thus instructing them, the whole assembly remained silent. 2087

Then Anuruddha, observing that the great congregation continued silent and expressed no doubt, with closed hands thus spake to Buddha : 2088

‘The moon may be warm, the sun’s rays be cool, the air be still¹, the earth’s nature mobile; these four things, though yet unheard of in the world, (may happen); 2089

‘But this assembly never can have doubt about the principles of sorrow, accumulation, destruction, and the way (the four truths)—the incontrovertible truths, as declared by the lord. 2090

‘But because the lord is going to die, we all have sorrow (are deeply affected); and we cannot raise our thoughts to the high theme of the lord’s preaching. 2091

‘Perhaps some fresh disciple, whose feelings are

¹ In the sense of ‘fixed’ or ‘solid.’

yet not entirely freed (from other influences) [might doubt]; but we, who now have heard this tender, sorrowful discourse, have altogether freed ourselves from doubt. 2092

‘Passed the sea of birth and death, without desire, with nought to seek, we only know how much we love, and, grieving, ask, why Buddha dies so quickly?’ 2093

Buddha regarding Anuruddha, perceiving how his words were full of bitterness (sorrow-laden), again with loving heart, appeasing him, replied : 2094

‘In the beginning¹ things were fixed, in the end again they separate; different combinations cause other substances, for there is no uniform and constant principle (in nature). 2095

‘But when all mutual purposes be answered (what is for oneself and for another, be done), what then shall chaos and creation do! the gods and men alike that should be saved, shall all have been completely saved! 2096

‘Ye then! my followers, who know so well the perfect law, remember! the end must come (complete destruction of the universe must come); give not way again to sorrow! 2097

‘Use diligently the appointed means; aim to reach the home where separation cannot come; I have lit the lamp of wisdom, its rays alone can drive away the gloom that shrouds the world. 2098

‘The world is not for ever fixed! Ye should

¹ This is a very singular passage; it refers to the Buddhist theory that the world (universe) is continually renewed and destroyed, but here we have the novel addition that in ‘the end’ all this will cease, and there will be no chaos (‘void,’ hung) and no renovation (re-creation).

rejoice therefore! as when a friend, afflicted grievously, his sickness healed, escapes from pain. 2099

‘For I have put away this painful vessel (my painful body), I have stemmed the flowing sea (sea current) of birth and death, free for ever now, from pain (the mass of sorrow)! for this you should exult with joy! 2100

‘Now guard yourselves aright, let there be no remissness! that which exists will all return to nothingness! and now I die. 2101

‘From this time forth my words are done, this is my very last instruction.’ Then entering the Samâdhi of the first Dhyâna, he went successively through all the nine in a direct order; 2102

Then inversely he returned throughout and entered on the first, and then from the first he raised himself and entered on the fourth. 2103

Leaving the state of Samâdhi, his soul without a resting-place (a house to lodge in), forthwith he reached Nirvâna. And then, as Buddha died, the great earth quaked throughout. 2104

In space, on every hand, was fire like rain (it rained fire) [or, possibly, ‘there was rain and fire’], no fuel, self-consuming¹. And so from out the earth great flames arose on every side (the eight points of the earth), 2105

Thus up to the heavenly mansions flames burst forth; the crash of thunder shook the heavens and earth, rolling along the mountains and the valleys, 2106

Even as when the Devas and Asuras fight with sound of drums and mutual conflict. A wind tempestuous from the four bounds of earth arose—

¹ That is, the fire was self-originated, and was supported without fuel.

whilst from the crags and hills, dust and ashes fell like rain. 2107

The sun and moon withdrew their shining; the peaceful streams on every side were torrent-swollen; the sturdy forests shook like aspen leaves, whilst flowers and leaves untimely fell around, like scattered rain. 2108

The flying dragons, carried on pitchy clouds, wept down their tears¹ (five-headed tears); the four kings and their associates, moved by pity², forgot their works of charity. 2109

The pure Devas came to earth from heaven, halting mid-air they looked upon the changeful scene (or, the death scene), not sorrowing, not rejoicing. 2110

But yet they sighed to think of the world, heedless of its sacred teacher, hastening to destruction. The eightfold heavenly spirits³, on every side filled space, 2111

Cast down at heart and grieving, they scattered flowers as offerings. Only Mâra-râga rejoiced, and struck up sounds of music in his exultation. 2112

Whilst Gambudvîpa⁴, shorn of its glory, (seemed to grieve) as when the mountain tops fall down to earth, or like the great elephant robbed of its tusks, or like the ox-king spoiled of his horns; 2113

Or heaven without the sun and moon, or as the lily beaten by the hail; thus was the world bereaved when Buddha died! 2114

¹ This passage is obscure, it may mean the dragons wept tears from their five heads, but it is doubtful.

² Here again is an error in the text, the symbol 舍 being clearly a misprint.

³ That is, Nâgas, Kinnaras, and the rest.

⁴ That is, 'the world,' as Buddhists count it.

VARGA 27. PRAISING NIRVÂNA.

At this time there was a Devaputra, riding on (or in) his thousand¹ white-swan palace² in the midst of space, who beheld the Parinirvâna of Buddha. 2115

This one, for the universal benefit of the Deva assembly, sounded forth at large these verses (gâthas) on impermanence: 'Impermanency is the nature of all (things), quickly born, they quickly die. 2116

'With birth there comes the rush³ of sorrows, only in Nirvâna⁴ is there joy. The accumulated fuel heaped up by the power of karman⁵ (deeds), this the fire of wisdom alone can consume. 2117

'Though the fame (of our deeds⁶) reach up to heaven as smoke, yet in time the rains which descend will extinguish all, as the fire that rages at the kalpa's end is put out by the judgment⁷ (calamity) of water.' 2118

¹ The symbol for 'thousand' is probably an error for the preposition 'u' upon.

² The *hamsa* is the vehicle of Brahmâ. The white *hamsa* is probably the same.

³ The accumulation, or crowd of sorrows.

⁴ Ts'ie mih, quiet extinction, or the destruction ending in quietness.

⁵ The collection of the pile of fuel of the deeds (or beams) of conduct (*samskâras*).

⁶ Or, simply, 'though our fame;' or it may refer to the renown of Buddha.

⁷ Referring to the Buddhist account of the destruction and renovation of the universe; the last 'calamity' or 'judgment' was the destruction by water.

Again there was a Brahma-*Rîshi*-deva, like a most exalted *Rîshi* (a highest-principle *Rîshi*¹), dwelling in heaven, possessed of superior happiness, with no taint in his bliss (heavenly inheritance), 2119

Who thus sighed forth his praises of Tathâgata's Nirvâna, with his mind fixed in abstraction as he spoke: 'Looking through all the conditions of life (of the three worlds), from first to last nought is free from destruction. 2120

'But the incomparable seer dwelling in the world, thoroughly acquainted with the highest truth², whose wisdom grasps that which is beyond the (world's) ken³, he it is who can save the worldly-dwellers⁴. 2121

'He it is who can provide lasting escape (preservation) from the destructive power of impermanence. But, alas! through the wide world, all that lives is sunk in unbelief (heretical teaching).' 2122

At this time Anuruddha, 'not stopped' (ruddha)⁵ by the world, 'not stopped' from being delivered

¹ This may refer to one of the highest *Rîshis*, or Pragâpati *Rîshis*, belonging to the Vedic literature.

² Here is the same phrase, 'ti yih i,' the first, or highest, truth, or principle of truth (paramârtha).

³ Whose wisdom sees that which (*ké*) is above, or superior, (to man.)

⁴ The difficulty is to find a word in English corresponding to the Buddhist phrase 'all in the world;' it is not only 'mankind' (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 133) that are invited to trust in Buddha, but all things that have life. The Chinese phrase is 'kung sing,' all that lives.

⁵ Not 'liu to,' where 'liu to' is equivalent to 'ruddha' in the proper name Anuruddha. I take the word, therefore, in the sense of 'stopped'—it is used, of course, as a figure of speech; so also in the next phrase. Anuruddha is here taken as A-niruddha.

(delivered and not stopped), the stream of birth and death for ever 'stopped'¹ (niruddha), 2123

Sighed forth the praises of Tathâgata's Nirvâna :
'All living things completely blind and dark²! the mass of deeds (*samskâra*) all perishing (inconstant), even as the fleeting cloud-pile³! 2124

'Quickly arising and as quickly perishing! the wise man holds not to such a refuge, for the diamond mace of inconstancy can (even) overturn the mountain of the *Rîshi* hermit⁴ (muni). 2125

'How despicable and how weak the world! doomed to destruction, without strength! Impermanence, like the fierce lion, can even spoil the Nâga-elephant-great-*Rîshi*⁵. 2126

'Only the diamond curtain of Tathâgata can overwhelm⁶ inconstancy! How much more should those not yet delivered from desire (passion), fear and dread its power. 2127

'From the six seeds there grows one sprout⁷, one kind of water from the rain, the origin of the

¹ Ni-liu-to, equal to 'niruddha.'

² 宜 for 冥.

³ The Chinese 'feou' means a 'floating' pile or mass, whether of clouds or fanciful worlds. Hence its use in the later Buddhist development to mean a 'series of worlds' (as in the successive stages of the pagoda).

⁴ Or, the *Rîshi*-hermit-mountain, referring probably to Buddha.

⁵ Referring again to Buddha.

⁶ The literal translation would be, 'only makes impermanence, destruction.' There may be an error in the text, but this sense is sufficiently plain. The meaning of the word 'curtain,' or, perhaps, 'standard,' is not quite so evident in this connection, it is evidently used in opposition to the 'diamond mace,' in the preceding clause.

⁷ This and the following lines are obscure; the reference must be gathered from Sanskrit rather than Chinese. The line before us, rendered literally, is 'six seeds, one bud.'

four points¹ is far removed, five kinds of fruit from the two "koo²;" 2128

'The three periods (past, present, future) are but one in substance; the Muni-great-elephant plucks up the great tree of sorrow, and yet he (even he) cannot avoid the power of impermanence. 2129

'For like the crested³ (sikhin) bird delights (within) the pool (water) to seize the poisonous snake, but when from sudden drought he is left in the dry pool, he dies; 2130

'Or as the prancing steed advances fearlessly to battle, but when the fight has passed goes back subdued and quiet; or as the raging fire burns with the fuel, but when the fuel is done, expires; 2131

'So is it with Tathâgata, his task accomplished he returns⁴ to (find his refuge in) Nirvâna: just as the shining of the radiant moon sheds everywhere its light and drives away the gloom, 2132.

'All creatures grateful for its light, (then suddenly) it disappears concealed by Sumeru; such is the case with Tathâgata, the brightness of his wisdom lit up the gloomy darkness, 2133

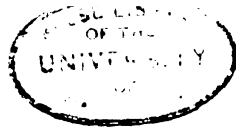
'And for the good of all that lives drove it away, when suddenly it disappears behind the mountain of Nirvâna. The splendour of his fame throughout the world diffused, 2134

¹ The four 'yin' may be the four points of the compass. But the text is without note or comment.

² The Chinese symbol 'koo' means a 'libation cup.'

³ The symbols 'shi-hi' correspond with Sanskrit sikhin; I have therefore taken it in the sense of 'crested.' There may be a bird, however, called Sikhin.

⁴ The expression 'he returns to Nirvâna' is unusual; I have therefore used the alternative meaning which the symbol 'kwei' sometimes has, 'finding refuge in.'



' Had banished all obscurity, but like the stream that ever flows, it rests not with us; the illustrious charioteer with his seven prancing steeds¹ flies through the host (and disappears); 2135

' The bright-rayed² Sûrya-deva, entering the Yen-tsz'³ cave, was, with the moon, surrounded with fivefold barriers; "all things that live," deprived of light, 2136

' Present their offerings to heaven; but from their sacrifice nought but the blacken'd smoke ascends⁴; thus is it with Tathâgata, his glory hidden, the world has lost its light. 2137

' Rare was the expectancy of grateful love⁵ that filled the heart of all that lives; that love, reached its full limit, then was left to perish! 2138

' The cords of sorrow all removed, we found the true and only way; but now he leaves the tangled mesh of life, and enters on the quiet place! 2139

' His spirit (or, by spiritual power) mounting through space, he leaves the sorrow-bearing vessel of his body! the gloom of doubt and the great

¹ This passage is a difficult one; if the construction is closely followed, the rendering would be this, 'The illustrious charioteer (with) his seven swift steeds, the army host quickly (or, the wings of the army host) following him about.' Possibly it must be connected with the lines which follow, and refers to the saptârva-vâhana of Sûrya.

² Kwong-kwong, well-rayed.

³ The Yen-tsz' cave is the fabulous hiding-place of the sun. The fable is a common one, particularly in Japanese mythology. I do not know whether it is found in Sanskrit literature.

⁴ The reference in this and the preceding lines is to the disappearance of the sun and moon, and the darkness of the world, compared to the Nirvâna of Tathâgata.

⁵ This is a free translation; I have taken 'tsiueh' as an intensive particle.

(heaped-up) darkness all dispelled, by the bright rays of wisdom! 2140

'The earthy soil of sorrow's dust his wisdom's water purifies! no more, no more, returns he here! for ever gone to the place of rest! 2141

'(The power of) birth and death destroyed, the world (all things) instructed in the highest doctrine! he bids the world rejoice in (knowledge of) his law, and gives to all the benefit of wisdom! 2142

'Giving complete rest to the world, the virtuous streams¹ flow forth! his fame known (spread) throughout the world, shines still with increased splendour! 2143

'How great his pity and his love to those who opposed his claims, neither rejoicing in their defeat nor exulting in his own success². 2144

'Illustriously controlling his feelings, all his senses completely enlightened, his heart impartially observing events, unpolluted by the six objects (or, fields) of sense! 2145

'Reaching to that unreachd before! obtaining that which man had not obtained! with the water which he provided filling every thirsty soul! 2146

'Bestowing that which never yet was given, and providing a reward not hoped for! his peaceful, well-marked person, perfectly knowing the thoughts³ (prayers) of all. 2147

¹ The streams of his virtuous qualities.

² This verse again is doubtful. The entire section (a hymn of praise in honour of the departed Buddha) is couched in obscure, figurative language.

³ His well-composed and illustrious person, knowing perfectly all the reflections of men. 'Nim' is sometimes used to signify 'prayers' or 'aspirations.'

‘Not greatly moved either by loving or disliking!
overcoming all enemies by the force (of his love)!
the welcome physician for all diseases, the one de-
stroyer of impermanency! 2148

‘All living things rejoicing in religion, fully satis-
fied¹! obtaining all they need (seek), their every
wish (vow) fulfilled! 2149

‘The great master of holy wisdom once gone
returns no more! even as the fire gone out for want
of fuel! 2150

‘(Declaring) the eight rules (noble truths?) with-
out taint²; overcoming the five³ (senses), difficult to
compose! with the three⁴ (powers of sight) seeing
the three (precious ones); removing the three (rob-
bers, i. e. lust, anger, ignorance); perfecting the three
(the three grades of a holy life). 2151

‘Concealing⁵ the one (himself) and obtaining the
one (saintship)—leaping over the seven (bodhyañ-
gas?) and (obtaining) the long sleep; the end of
all, the quiet, peaceful way; the highest prize of
sages and of saints! 2152

¹ Each one satisfied; the sense seems to be that through him, i. e. Buddha, all things obtained the completion of their religious desires.

² Or it may be by way of exclamation, ‘those eight rules which admit of no pollution!’ referring perhaps to the name ‘the noble rules.’

³ I suppose ‘the five’ are the five senses. The expression ‘difficult to compose’ might be also rendered ‘the difficult to compose group.’

⁴ Using (i) ‘the three,’ and yet seeing the ‘three.’ The next line is, ‘removing the three,’ and yet perfecting ‘the three.’

⁵ Or it may be ‘treasuring the one,’ where ‘the one’ may be the one duty of a religious life; but it is difficult to interpret these paradoxes.

‘Having himself severed the barriers of sorrow, now he is able to save his followers, and to provide the draught of immortality (sweet dew) for all who are parched with thirst! 2153

‘Armed with the heavy cuirass of patience, he has overcome all enemies! (now) by the subtle principles of his excellent law (able to) satisfy every heart. 2154

‘Planting a sacred seed (seed of holiness) in the hearts of those practising virtue (worldly virtue¹); impartially directing and not casting off those who are right or not right (in their views)! 2155

‘Turning the wheel of the superlative law! received with gladness through the world by those (the elect) who have in former conditions implanted in themselves a love for religion, these all saved by his preaching! 2156

‘Going forth² among men converting those not yet converted; those who had not seen (learned) the truth, causing them to see the truth! 2157

‘All those practising a false method (heretical) of religion, delivering to them deep principles (of his religion)! preaching the doctrines of birth and death and impermanency; (declaring that) without a master³ (teacher) there can be no happiness! 2158

‘Erecting the standard of his great renown, overcoming and destroying the armies of Mâra (all the Mâras)! advancing to the point of indifference to

¹ The sense seems to be, that in the case of those leading a virtuous life, i. e. a moral life, the seeds of holiness take root.

² All these verses might be introduced with some such exclamation as this, ‘See! how he went forth!’ &c.

³ Perhaps the word ‘ku’ might be rendered ‘a ruling principle,’ viz. of religion.

pleasure or pain, caring not for life, desiring only rest (Nirvâna)! 2159.

‘Causing those not yet converted to obtain conversion! those not yet saved to be saved! those not yet at rest to find rest! those not yet enlightened to be enlightened! 2160

‘(Thus) the Muni (taught) the way of rest for the direction of all living things! alas! that any transgressing the way of holiness should practise impure (not right) works. 2161

‘Even as at the end of the great kalpa, those holding the law who die (or, are dead¹), (when) the rolling sound of the mysterious thunder-cloud severs the forests, upon these there shall fall the rain of sweet dew (immortality). 2162

‘The little elephant breaks down the prickly forest, and by cherishing it we know that it can profit men²; but the cloud that removes the sorrow of the elephant old-age³, this none can bear³. 2163

‘He by destroying systems of religion (sights, i. e. modes of seeing, darsanas) has perfected his

¹ The literal translation of this passage is curious: ‘Even as at the end of the great kalpa, those holding the law, asleep; the mysterious cloud rolling forth its cracking (thunder), riving the forests, there descends as rain sweet dew.’ The end of the great kalpa is the consummation of all things: ‘the religious who sleep’ would mean the good who are dead; ‘the cracking thunder and riven forests’ would point to a general overthrow; ‘the rain of sweet dew’ seems to refer to the good who sleep, receiving immortality, or perfection of life.

² ‘The little elephant’ may mean ‘the young elephant’ in its literal sense; or it may refer to ‘the young disciple.’ ‘By cherishing it we know’ may also be rendered ‘knowledge-cherishing’ is able, &c.

³ ‘The cloud removing the elephant old and sorrowful;’ but what is ‘the cloud’ and who ‘the elephant?’

system, in saving the world and yet saving! he has destroyed the teaching of heresy, in order to reach his independent (self-sufficient) mode (way) [of doctrine]. 2164

‘And now he enters the great quiet (place)! no longer has the world a protector or saviour! the great army host of Māra-rāga, rousing their warrior (spirits), shaking the great earth, 2165

‘Desired to injure the honour’d Muni! but they could not move him, whom in a moment now the Māra “inconstancy” destroys. 2166

‘The heavenly occupants (Devas) everywhere assemble as a cloud! they fill the space of heaven, fearing the endless (mastery of) birth and death! their hearts are full of (give birth to) grief and dread! 2167

‘His Deva eyes clearly behold, without the limitations of near or distant, the fruits of works discerned throughout, as an image perceived in a mirror! 2168

‘His Deva ears perfect and discriminating throughout, hear all, though far away (not near), mounting through space he teaches all the Devas, surpassing his method (limit) of converting men! 2169

‘He divides his body still one in substance, crosses the water as if it were not weak (to bear)¹! remembers all his former births, through countless kalpas none forgotten! 2170

¹ This sentence may perhaps be rendered thus, ‘dividing his body yet one in substance, wading through water and yet not weak,’ but the allusion is obscure. [It refers, probably, to Buddha’s miraculous powers.]

‘His senses (roots) wandering through the fields of sense (limits)¹, all these distinctly remembered; knowing the wisdom learned in every (state of) mind, all this perfectly understood! 2171

‘By spiritual discernment and pure mysterious wisdom equally (impartially) surveying all (things)! every vestige of imperfection (leak) removed! thus he has accomplished all (he had to do). 2172

‘By wisdom rejecting other spheres of life, his wisdom now completely perfected, lo! he dies! let the world, hard and unyielding, still, behold-ing it, relent! 2173

‘All living things though blunt in sense, behold-ing him, receive the enlightenment of wisdom! their endless evil deeds long past, as they behold, are cancelled and completely cleansed! 2174

‘In a moment gone! who shall again exhibit qualities like his? no saviour now in all the world—our hope cut off, our very breath (life) is stopped and gone! 2175

‘Who now shall give us life again with the cool water (of his doctrine)? his own great work accomplished, his great compassion now has ceased to work for long (has long ceased or stopped)! 2176

‘The world ensnared in the toils of folly, who shall destroy the net? who shall, by his teaching, cause the stream of birth and death to turn again? 2177

‘Who shall declare the way of rest (to instruct)

¹ The meaning is, all his births, in which his senses or material body took every kind of shape; all these he knew. The figurative style of this ‘hymn’ may be gathered from this one instance, where instead of saying ‘all his previous births’ it is said ‘his senses wandering through the field (limits or boundaries) of sense.’

the heart of all that lives, deceived by ignorance? Who will point out the quiet place, or who make known the one true doctrine (system of doctrine)? 2178

‘All flesh suffering (receiving) great sorrow, who shall deliver, like a loving father? Like the horse changing his master loses all gracefulness, as he forgets his many words of guidance (so are we)! 2179

‘As a king without a kingdom, such is the world without a Buddha! as a disciple (a Śrāvaka, a “much hearer”) with no power of dialectic (distinguishing powers) left, or like a physician without wisdom, 2180

‘As men whose king has lost the marks of royalty (bright or glorious marks), so, Buddha dead, the world has lost its glory! the gentle horses left without a charioteer, the boat without a pilot left! 2181

‘The three divisions¹ of an army left without a general! the merchantmen without a guide! the suffering and diseased without a physician! a holy king (śakravartin) without his seven insignia (jewels, ratnâni)! 2182

‘The stars without the moon! the loving years (the planet Jupiter?) without the power of life!—such is the world now that Buddha, the great teacher, dies!’ 2183

Thus (spake) the Arhat², all done that should be done, all imperfections quite removed, knowing the meed of gratitude, he was grateful therefore (spake gratefully of his master); 2184

Thus thinking of his master’s love he spake!

¹ Infantry, cavalry, and chariots.

² That is, as it seems, Anuruddha.

setting forth the world's great sorrow; whilst those, not yet freed from the power of passion, wept with many tears, unable to control themselves. 2185

Yet even those who had put away all faults, sighed as they thought of the pain of birth and death. And now the Malla host¹ hearing that Buddha had attained Nirvâna, 2186

With cries confused, wept piteously, greatly moved, as when a flight of herons meet a hawk (kite). In a body now they reach the twin (Sâla) trees, and as they gaze upon Tathâgata dead (entered on his long sleep), 2187

Those features never again to awake to consciousness, they smote their breasts and sighed to heaven; as when a lion seizing on a calf, the whole herd rushes on with mingled sounds. 2188

In the midst there was one Malla, his mind enamoured of the righteous law, who gazed with steadfastness upon the holy² law-king, now entered on the mighty calm, 2189

And said: 'The world was everywhere asleep, when Buddha setting forth his law caused it to awake; but now he has entered on the mighty calm, and all is finished in an unending sleep. 2190

'For man's sake he had raised the standard of his law, and now, in a moment, it has fallen; the sun of Tathâgata's wisdom spreading abroad the lustre of its "great awakening"³, 2191

¹ The Mallas (wrestlers) are termed 'lih-sse,' strong-masters, in Chinese. They dwelt at Kusinagara and Pâvâ. The *Likkhavis* are also called lih-sse.

² The holy law-king, dharmarâga.

³ The 'great awakening' refers, of course, to Buddha as 'the awakened.'

‘Increasing ever more and more in glory, spreading abroad the thousand rays of highest knowledge, scattering and destroying all the gloom (of earth), why has the darkness great come back again? 2192

‘His unequalled wisdom lightening the three worlds, giving eyes that all the world might see, now suddenly (the world is) blind again, bewildered, ignorant of the way; 2193

‘In a moment fallen the bridge of truth (that spanned) the rolling stream of birth and death, the swelling flood of lust and rage and doubt, and all flesh overwhelmed therein, for ever lost.’ 2194

Thus all that Malla host wept piteously and lamented; whilst some concealed their grief nor spoke a word; others sank prostrate on the earth; 2195

Others stood silent, lost in meditation; others, with sorrowful heart, groaned deeply. Then on a gold and silver gem-decked couch¹, richly adorned with flowers and scents, 2196

They placed the body of Tathâgata; a jewelled canopy they raised above, and round it flags and streamers and embroidered banners; then using every kind of dance and music², 2197

The lords and ladies of the Mallas followed

¹ The ‘gem-decked couch’ or palanquin is probably represented in plate lxiv, fig. 1 (Tree and Serpent Worship, first edition). This is the procession of the couch through Kusinagara. The curly-haired men bearing it would indicate that the Mallas and *Likkhavis* of Vaisâlî were the same race.

² The use of ‘dance and music’ at funerals is an old and well-understood custom. Compare Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, pp. 122, 123.

along the road presenting offerings, whilst all the Devas scattered scents and flowers, and raised the sound of drums and music in the heavens. 2198

Thus men and Devas shared one common sorrow, their cries united as they grieved together. Entering the city, there the men and women, old and young, completed their religious offerings. 2199

Leaving the city, then, and passing through the Lung-tsiang gate¹, and crossing over the Hira-nyavati river, they repaired to where the former Buddhas having died, had Kaityas raised to them². 2200

There collecting ox-head sandal wood and every famous scented wood, they placed the whole above the Buddha's body, pouring various scented oils upon the pyre; 2201

Then placing fire beneath to kindle it, three times they walked around; but yet it burned not. At this time the great Kâsyapa had taken his abode at Râ-gagrîha³, 2202

And knowing Buddha was about to die was coming thence with all his followers; his pure mind, deeply moved, desired to see the body of the lord; 2203

And so, because of that his sincere wish, the fire went out and would not kindle. Then Kâsyapa and his followers coming, with piteous sighs looked on the sight 2204

¹ The Nâga or Nâga-Elephant gate.

² Had their Nirvâna-kaityas erected. The account in the text does not agree with the Southern account; but the popular Chinese record of the Nirvâna is the same as the Pâli.

³ He was between Pâvâ and Kusinagara, according to the common account.

And revered at the master's feet; and then, forthwith, the fire burst out. Quenched the fire of grief within; without, the fire has little power to burn. 2205

Or though it burn the outside skin and flesh, the diamond true-bone still remains. The scented oil consumed, the fire declines, the bones they place within a golden pitcher; 2206

For as the mystic world¹ (dharma-dhātu) is not destroyed, neither can these, the bones (of Buddha), perish; the consequence (fruit) of diamond² wisdom, difficult to move as Sumeru. 2207

The relics which the mighty golden-pinioned bird cannot remove or change, they place within the precious vase; to remain until the world shall pass away; 2208

And wonderful! the power of men (the world) can thus fulfil Nirvâna's laws, the illustrious name of one far spread, is sounded thus throughout the universe; 2209

And as the ages roll, the long Nirvâna, by these, the sacred relics (bones), sheds through the world its glorious light, and brightens up the abodes of life. 2210

He perished (quenched his splendour) in a moment! but these relics, placed within the vase, the imperishable signs of wisdom, can overturn the mount of sorrow; 2211

¹ The dharma-dhātu (fă kai) is the mystic or ideal world of the Northern Buddhists. Literally it is the 'limit (*ôpos*) of dharma;' dharma being the universal essence. This bears a striking resemblance to the gnostic (Valentinian) theory of limitation of the Divine essence.

² Diamond wisdom, indestructible wisdom.

The body of accumulated griefs¹ this imperishable mind (*ñi*) can cause to rest, and banish once for ever all the miseries of life. 2212

Thus the diamond substance (body) was dealt with at the place of burning. And now those valiant Mallas, unrivalled in the world for strength, 2213

Subduing all private animosities, sought escape from sorrow in the true refuge. Finding sweet comfort in united love, they resolved to banish every complaining thought. 2214

Beholding thus the death of Tathâgata, they controlled their grieving hearts, and with full strength of manly virtue dismissing every listless thought, they submitted to the course (laws) of nature. 2215

Oppressed by thoughts of grievous sorrow, they entered the city as a deserted wild, holding the relics thus they entered, whilst from every street were offered gifts. 2216

They placed the relics then upon a tower², for men and Devas to adore. 2217

VARGA 28. DIVISION OF THE SARÎRAS.

Thus those Mallas offered religious reverence to the relics, and used the most costly flowers and scents for their supreme act of worship. 2218

Then the kings of the seven countries³, having heard that Buddha was dead, sent messengers to

¹ That is, the body subject to accumulation of sorrow.

² 'In their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows,' Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 131.

³ The seven 'kings' were, the king of Magadha, the *Likkhavis* of Vaisâlî, the *Sâkyas* of Kapilavastu, the *Bulis* of Allakappa, the *Koliyas* of Râmagrâma, the *Brahman* of Vesâdipa, and the *Mallas* of Pāvā; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, pp. 131, 132.

the Mallas asking to share the sacred relics (of Buddha). 2219

Then the Mallas reverencing the body of Tathâgata, trusting to their martial renown, conceived a haughty mind: 2220

'They would rather part with life itself (they said), than with the relics of the Buddha;' so those messengers returned from the futile embassy. Then the seven kings, highly indignant, 2221

With an army, numerous as the rain clouds, advanced on Kusinagara; the people who went from the city filled with terror soon returned 2222

And told the Mallas all, that the soldiers and the cavalry of the neighbouring countries were coming, with elephants and chariots, to surround the Kusinagara city. 2223

The gardens, lying without the town, the fountains, lakes, flower and fruit trees were now destroyed by the advancing host, and all the pleasant resting-places lay in ruins. 2224

The Mallas, mounting on the city towers, beheld the great supports of life¹ destroyed; they then prepared their warlike engines to crush the foe without; 2225

Balistas² and catapults and 'flying torches'³ to

¹ The supports of life, as I take it, are the fields and fountains.

² It may be rendered 'bow catapults' and 'balista-stone-carriages,' or bows, catapults, balistas, and stone carriages (carrying machines?).

³ These flying torches and other instruments were used by the Northern nations from remote antiquity. There is no indication of them, however, in the plate (xxxviii) in Tree and Serpent Worship, which, I take it, represents this scene. Asvaghosha was familiar with Kanishka and his military appliances, and these doubtless included the instruments here referred to.

hurl against the advancing host. Then the seven kings entrenched themselves around the city, each army host filled with increasing courage; 2226

Their wings of battle shining in array as the sun's seven beams of glory shine; the heavy drums¹ rolling as the thunder, the warlike breath (rising) as the full cloud mist. 2227

The Mallas, greatly incensed, opening the gates command the fray to begin; the aged men and women whose hearts had trust in Buddha's law, 2228

With deep concern breathed forth their vow, 'Oh! may the victory be a bloodless one²!' Those who had friends used mutual exhortations not to encourage in themselves a desire for strife. 2229

And now the warriors, clad in armour, grasping their spears and brandishing their swords 'midst the confused noise and heavy drums¹ (advanced). But ere the contest had begun, 2230

There was a certain Brahman whose name was Droṇa (tuh-lau-na), celebrated for penetration, honour'd for modesty and lowliness, 2231

Whose loving heart took pleasure in religion. This one addressed those kings and said: 'Regarding the unequalled strength of yonder city, one man alone would be enough (for its defence); 2232

'How much less when with determined heart (they are united), can you subdue it! In the beginning³ mutual strife produced destruction, how now can it result in glory or renown? 2233

¹ Is 鍾 for 鐘? If so, it would be cymbals and drums.

² May they subdue those without loss or hurt to themselves.

³ Or, from the beginning.

'The clash of swords and bloody onset done, 'tis certain one must perish! and therefore whilst you aim to vanquish those, both sides will suffer in the fray. 2234

'Then there are many chances, too, of battle, 'tis hard to measure strength by appearances; the strong, indeed, may overcome the weak, the weak may also overcome the strong; 2235

'The powerful champion may despise the snake, but how will he escape a wounded body? there are men whose natures bland and soft, seem suited for the company of women or of children, 2236

'But when enlisted in the ranks, make perfect soldiers. As fire when it is fed with oil, though reckoned weak, is not extinguished easily; so when you say that they (your enemies) are weak, 2237

'Beware of leaning overmuch on strength of body; nought can compare with strength of right (religion). There was in ancient times a *Gina*¹ king, whose name was *Kârandhama* (*Avikshit*), 2238

'His graceful (upright) presence caused such love (in others) that he could overcome all animosity; but though he ruled the world and was high renowned, and rich and prosperous, 2239

'Yet in the end he went back² and all was lost! So when the ox has drunk enough, he too returns. Use then the principles of righteousness, use the expedients of good will and love. 2240

'Conquer your foe by force, you increase his

¹ A *Gina* king, or a conquering king. *Kârandhama* was a name of *Avikshit*.

² Whether it means he went back 'to death,' or he lost his possessions by warfare, is not plain from the text. The phrase 'all was lost,' may also be rendered, 'he gave up all.'

enmity; conquer by love, and you will reap no after-sorrow. The present strife is but a thirst for blood, this thing cannot be endured! 2241

‘If you desire to honour Buddha, follow the example of his patience and long-suffering¹!’ Thus this Brahman with confidence declared the truth; 2242

Imbued with highest principles of peace, he spake with boldness and unflinchingly. And now the kings addressed the Brahman thus: 2243

‘You have chosen a fitting time for giving increase to the seed of wisdom, the essence of true friendship is (leads to) the utterance of truth. The greatest force (of reason) lies in righteous judgment. 2244

‘But now in turn hear what we say: The rules of kings are framed to avoid the use of force when hatred has arisen from low desires (question of the five pleasures); 2245

‘Or else to avoid the sudden use of violence in trifling questions (where some trifling matter is at stake). But we for the sake of law (religion) are about to fight. What wonder is it! 2246

‘Swollen pride is a principle to be opposed, for it leads to the overthrow of society; no wonder then that Buddha preached against it, teaching men to practise lowliness and humility. 2247

‘Then why should we be forbidden to pay our reverence to his body-relics? In ancient days a

¹ ‘Hear, reverend sirs, one single word from me.
Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.’

Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 133.

But it is not plain how Drona could address the Mallas as ‘reverend sirs,’ unless indeed the brethren were going to fight, which is beyond probability.

lord of the great earth, Pih-shih-tsung¹ Nanda [or two lords, viz. Pih-shih-tsung and Nanda], 2248

'For the sake of a beautiful woman fought and destroyed each other; how much more now, for the sake of religious reverence to our master, freed from passion, gone to Nirvâna, 2249

'Without regard to self, or careful of our lives, should we contend and assert our rights! A former king Kaurava (or belonging to the Kauravas) fought with a Pândava (king), 2250

'And the more they increased in strength the more they struggled, all for some temporary gain; how much more for our not-coveting² master (should we contend), coveting to get his living (relics)? 2251

'The son of Râma, too, the *Rîshi* (or Râma-rishiputra), angry with king Dasaratha, destroyed his country, slew the people, because of the rage he felt; 2252

'How much less for our master, freed from anger, should we be niggard of our lives! Râma, for Sîta's sake, killed all the demon-spirits; 2253

'How much more for our lord, heaven³-received, should we not sacrifice our lives! The two demons A-lai (Alaka) and Po-ku were ever drawn into contention; 2254

'In the first place, because of their folly and ignorance, causing wide ruin among men; how

¹ The character 'tsung' in this name is uncertain, I have not therefore attempted to restore it.

² Not-covetous; here there is a double-entendre, contrasting the absence of covetousness in Buddha with the presence of it in the Pândavas and Kauravas.

³ 天攝受 heaven-taken-up-received.

much less for our all-wise master should we begrudge our lives! 2255

‘Wherefore if from these examples we find others ready to die for no real principle, how shall we for our teacher of gods (Devas) and men, revered by the universe, 2256

‘Spare our bodies or begrudge our lives, and not be earnest in desire to make our offerings! Now then, if you desire to stay the strife, go, and for us demand within the city 2257

‘That they open wide (distribute) the relics, and so cause our prayer to be fulfilled. But because your words are right ones, we hold our anger for a while; 2258

‘Even as the great, angry snake, by the power of charms is quieted.’ And now the Brahman¹, having received the king’s instruction, 2259

Entering the city, went to the Mallas, and saluting them, spoke these true words: ‘Without the city those who are kings among men² grasp with their hands their martial weapons, 2260

‘And with their bodies clad in weighty armour wait eagerly (to fight); glorious as the sun’s rays; bristling with rage as the roused lion. These united are, to overthrow this city. 2261

‘But whilst they wage this religious war, they fear lest they may act irreligiously, and so they have sent me here to say what they require. 2262

“We³ have come, not for the sake of territory,

¹ There is nothing like this in the Southern account.

² ‘Kings among men,’ *ἀνακτες ἀνδρῶν*.

³ This is the only way to take the translation, although the pronoun ‘ngo standing alone would signify ‘I’ have come; but

much less for money's sake, nor on account of any insolent feeling, nor yet from any thought of hatred; 2263

“But because we venerate the great *Rishi*, we have come on this account. You, noble sirs! know well our mind! Why should there be such sorrowful contention! 2264

“You honour what we honour, both alike, then we are brothers as concerns religion. We both with equal heart revere the bequeathed spiritual relics of the lord. 2265

“To be miserly in (hoarding) wealth, this is an unreasonable fault; how much more to grudge religion, of which there is so little knowledge in the world! 2266

“The exclusive and the selfishly-inclined, should practise laws of hospitality (civility)¹; but if ye have not rules of honour² such as these, then shut your gates and guard yourselves.” 2267

‘This is the tenor of the words, be they good or bad, spoken by them. But now for myself and my own feelings, let me add these true and sincere words. 2268

‘Let there be no contention either way; reason ought to minister for peace, the lord when dwelling in the world ever employed the force of patience. 2269

‘Not to obey his holy teaching, and yet to offer gifts to him, is contradiction. Men of the world

perhaps the singular implies that Drona used the words of the chief of the kings.

¹ Should practise ‘waiting for guest laws,’ civil conduct. I have given here the sense of the passage.

² Kshatriya rules, rules or laws of chivalry.

for some indulgence, some wealth or land, contend and fight, 2270

‘But those who believe the righteous law, should obediently conform their lives to it; to believe and yet to harbour enmity, this is to oppose “religious principle” to “conduct.” 2271

‘Buddha himself at rest, and full of love, desired to bestow the rest he enjoyed, on all. To adore with worship the great merciful, and yet to gender wide destruction, 2272

‘(How is this possible?) Divide the relics, then, that all may worship them alike; obeying thus the law, the fame thereof wide-spread, then righteous principles will be diffused; 2273

‘But if others walk not righteously, we ought by righteous dealing to appease them, in this way showing the advantage (pleasure) of religion, we cause religion everywhere to take deep hold and abide. 2274

‘Buddha has told us that of all charity “religious charity” is the highest; men easily bestow their wealth in charity, but hard is the charity that works for righteousness.’ 2275

The Mallas hearing the Brahman’s words with inward shame gazed at one another; and answered the Brahmacârin thus: ‘We thank you much for purposing to come to us, 2276

‘And for your friendly and religious counsel—speaking so well, and reasonably. Yours are words which a Brahman ought to use, in keeping with his holy character¹; 2277

‘Words full of reconciliation, pointing out the

¹ 功德 merit, or religious merit.

proper road; like one recovering a wandering horse brings him back by the path which he had lost. 2278

'We then ought to adopt the plan of reconciliation such as you have shown us; to hear the truth and not obey it brings afterwards regretful sorrow.' 2279

Then they opened out the master's relics and in eight parts equally divided them. Themselves paid reverence to one part, the other seven they handed to the Brahman; 2280

The seven kings having accepted these, rejoiced and placed them on their heads¹; and thus with them returned to their own country, and erected Dâgobas for worship over them. 2281

The Brahmacârin then besought the Mallas to bestow on him the relic-pitcher as his portion, and from the seven kings he requested a fragment of their relics, as an eighth share. 2282

Taking this, he returned and raised a *Kaitya*, which still is named 'the Golden Pitcher Dâgoba.' Then the men of Kusinagara collecting all the ashes of the burning, 2283

Raised over them a *Kaitya*, and called it 'the Ashes Dâgoba.' The eight Stûpas of the eight kings, 'the Golden Pitcher' and 'the Ashes Stûpa²,' 2284

Thus throughout *Gambudvîpa* there first were raised ten Dâgobas. Then all the lords and ladies

¹ Placing relics on the head was a token of reverence. Compare plate xxxviii (Tree and Serpent Worship).

² In reference to these *Kaityas* or towers, compare the account given in the Pâli (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 135), and also Fă-hien, cap. xxiii.

of the country holding gem-embroidered canopies, 2285

Paid their offerings at the various shrines, adorning them as any golden mountain¹. And so with music and with dancing through the day and night they made merry, and sang. 2286

And now the Arhats numbering five hundred, having for ever lost their master's presence, reflecting there was now no ground of certainty, returned to Gridhrakûṭa mount; 2287

Assembling in king Sakra's cavern², they collected there the Sûtra Piṭaka; all the assembly agreeing that the venerable Ānanda 2288

Should say (recite), for the sake of the congregation, the sermons of Tathâgata from first to last, 'Great and small, whatever you have heard from the mouth of the deceased Muni.' 2289

Then Ānanda in the great assembly ascending the lion throne, declared in order what the lord had preached, uttering the words 'Thus have I heard.' 2290

The whole assembly, bathed in tears, were deeply moved as he pronounced the words 'I heard;' and so he announced the law as to the time, as to the place, as to the person; 2291

As he spoke, so was it written down from first to last, the complete Sûtra Piṭaka³. By diligent

¹ Or, as the Golden Mountain, i. e. Sumeru.

² Indra silagṛiṭha.

³ Here we have a short account of the first Buddhist Council, called the Council of the 500. It forms no part of the Mahâ-pari-nibbâna-Sutta, although it is found in the Vinaya Piṭaka. Compare Oldenberg, Vinaya Piṭakam, Introduction.

attention in the use of means, practising (the way of) wisdom, (all these) (Arhats) obtained Nirvâna; 2292

Those now able so to do, or hereafter able, shall attain Nirvâna, in the same way. King Asoka¹ born in the world when strong, caused much sorrow; 2293

When feeble², then he banished sorrow; as the Asoka-flower tree, ruling over Gambudvîpa, his heart for ever put an end to sorrow, 2294

When brought to entire faith in the true law; therefore he was called 'the King who frees from sorrow.' A descendant of the Mayûra family, receiving from heaven a righteous disposition, 2295

He ruled equally over the world; he raised everywhere towers and shrines, his private name the 'violent Asoka,' now called the 'righteous Asoka.' 2296

Opening the Dâgobas raised by those seven kings to take the Sarîtras thence, he spread them everywhere, and raised in one day eighty-four thousand towers³; 2297

Only with regard to the eighth pagoda in Râmagrama, which the Nâga spirit protected⁴, the king was unable to obtain those relics; 2298

¹ This episode about Asoka is a curious one. It would seem from it that Asvaghosha knew only of one king of that name, called first 'the fierce,' afterwards 'the righteous.'

² There are one or two Avadânas to be met with in Chinese Buddhist literature, relating to Asoka's sickness, and how he then desired to redeem his character by making offerings to Buddha. But the accounts are too uncertain to be admitted as conclusive evidence in the question of his conversion.

³ This is a story everywhere received in Northern books. These eighty-four thousand towers are supposed to represent the number of sections, or perhaps letters, in the Piñakas.

⁴ See Fā-hien's account, cap. xxiii.

But though he obtained them not, knowing they were spiritually bequeathed relics of Buddha which the Nâga worshipped and adored, his faith was increased and his reverent disposition. 2299

Although the king was ruler of the world, yet was he able to obtain the first holy fruit¹; and thus induced the entire empire to honour and revere the shrines of Tathâgata. 2300

In the past and present, thus there has been deliverance for all. Tathâgata, when in the world; and now his relics—after his Nirvâṇa; 2301

Those who worship and revere these, gain equal merit; so also those who raise themselves by wisdom, and reverence the virtues of the Tathâgata, 2302

Cherishing religion, fostering a spirit of almsgiving, they gain great merit also. The noble and superlative law of Buddha ought to receive the adoration of the world. 2303

Gone to that undying place (Amṛita), those who believe (his law) shall follow him there; therefore let all the Devas and men, without exception, worship and adore 2304

The one great loving and compassionate, who mastered thoroughly the highest truth, in order to deliver all that lives. Who that hears of him, but yearns with love! 2305

The pains of birth, old age, disease, and death, the endless sorrows of the world, the countless miseries of 'hereafter,' dreaded by all the Devas, 2306

He has removed all these accumulated sorrows;

¹ That is, the first step in the Buddhist profession of sanctity (Srotâpanna).

say, who would not revere him? to escape the joys of after life, this is the world's chief joy! 2307

To add the pain of other births, this is the world's worst sorrow! Buddha, escaped from pain of birth, shall have no joy of the 'hereafter'!¹ 2308

And having shown the way to all the world, who would not reverence and adore him? To sing the praises of the lordly monk, and (declare) his acts from first to last, 2309

Without self-seeking or self-honour, without desire for personal renown, but following what the scriptures say, to benefit the world, (has been my aim.) 2310

¹ The joy of the 'hereafter,' is the joy, as men count it, of future sentient happiness. This, according to the text, it is the happiness of Buddha to have escaped.

NOTES.

- I. COMPARATIVE LIST OF 17 CHAPTERS OF THE SANSKRIT AND CHINESE COPIES OF THE BUDDHAKARITA.
- II. EXAMPLE OF THE STYLE OF THE EXPANDED SÛTRAS, AS TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE.
- III. THE SAME TITLE GIVEN TO DIFFERENT WORKS.

NOTE I.

LIST OF THE TITLES OF 17 CHAPTERS OF
THE SANSKRIT TEXT OF THE BUDDHAKARITA-KÂVYA,
BY ASVAGHOSHA.

॥ इति श्रीबुद्धचरिते महाकाव्ये

- 1 भगवत्प्रसूतिर्नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥
Birth of the Bhagavat.
- 2 अंतःपुरविहारो नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥
Life in the Palace.
- 3 संवेगोत्पत्तिर्नाम तृतीयः सर्गः ॥
Beginning of Inward Trouble.
- 4 स्त्रीविधातनो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः ॥
Separation from his Wife, &c.
- 5 अभिनिष्क्रमणो नाम पंचमः सर्गः ॥
Departure.
- 6 छंदकतिवर्तनं नाम षष्ठः सर्गः ॥
Return of Khandaka.
- 7 तपोवनप्रवेशो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः ॥
Entering the Forest of Penance.
- 8 अंतःपुरविलापो नामाष्टमः सर्गः ॥
Lamentation in the Palace.
- 9 कुमारान्वेषणो नाम नवमः सर्गः ॥
Search after the Crown Prince.
- 10 अश्वघोषकृते श्रेण्यभिगमनो नाम दशमः सर्गः ॥
The arrival of Sreni.

NOTE I.

CHINESE TRANSLATION BY DHARMARAKSHA.

佛所行讚經

Lit. 'Buddha's practice-praise-sûtra.'

- 1 生品第一
Birth.
- 2 處宮品第二
Living in the Palace.
- 3 厭患品第三
Disgust at Sorrow.
- 4 離欲品第四
Gives up a Life of Pleasure.
- 5 出城品第五
Leaves the City.
- 6 車匿還品第六
Return of *Khandaka*.
- 7 入苦行林品第七
Enters the Forest of Penance.
- 8 合宮憂悲品第八
The general Grief of the Palace.
- 9 推求太子品第九
Mission despatched to search for the Royal Prince.
- 10 餅沙王詣太子品第十
Bimbisâra Râga goes to visit the Royal Prince.

- 11 अश्वघोषकृते कामविगर्हणो नामैकादशः सर्गः ॥
Renouncing Pleasure.
- 12 अश्वघोषकृते ऽराडदर्शनो नाम द्वादशः सर्गः ॥
Interview with Arâḍa.
- 13 अश्वघोषकृते मारविजयो नाम त्रयोदशः सर्गः ॥
Conquest of Mâra.
- 14 अश्वघोषकृते ऽभिसंबोधनसंस्तवो नाम चतुर्दशः सर्गः ॥
Praise of Enlightenment.
- 15 अश्वघोषकृते धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनाध्येषणं नाम पंचदशः सर्गः ॥
Request to turn the Wheel of the Law.
- 16 अश्वघोषकृते धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनं नाम षोडशः सर्गः ॥
Turning the Wheel of the Law.
- 17 अश्वघोषकृते लुंबिनीयाजादिकं (याचिका?) नाम सप्त-
दशः सर्गः ॥
Going to Lumbinî, &c.

-
- 11 答餅沙王品第十一
The Prince's Reply to Bimbisāra.
- 12 見阿羅藍鬱頭藍品第十二
Interview with Arāḍa and Udrarāma.
- 13 破魔品第十三
Defeats Māra.
- 14 阿惟三菩提品第十四
Abhisambodhi.
- 15 轉法輪品第十五
Turns the Wheel of the Law.
- 16 餅沙王諸弟子品第十六
Bimbisāra Rāga becomes a Disciple.
- 17 大弟子出家品第十七
The Great Disciple quits his Home.

NOTE II.

EXAMPLE OF THE STYLE OF THE EXPANDED SŪTRAS,
AS TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE.

PHŪ YAU KING.

KIOUEN II, § 1.

On the thirty-two miraculous signs which appeared
on the eve of the Birth of Bodhisattva.

Buddha addressed all the Bhikshus and said: Ten months having been fulfilled, Bodhisattva being on the point of birth, at this time there were manifested thirty-two miraculous signs. The first was this: (1) In the after-garden all the trees spontaneously bore fruit. (2) The solid earth produced blue lotus flowers as large as a chariot-wheel. (3) All the decayed trees of the earth produced flowers and leaves. (4) The heavenly spirits drawing the chariots adorned with curtains of seven gems, arrived at the spot. (5) In the middle of the earth (or, in the earth) 20,000 treasures of precious substances appeared of themselves. (6) On every side, far and near, was perceived the agreeable fragrance of celebrated perfumes (ming hiang 名香). (7) From the snowy mountains there came forth 500 white lions, and arranging themselves in front by the gates of the city, stood there without doing harm to any one. (8) Five hundred white elephants, arranging themselves in front of the palace, stood there. (9) The Devas caused a soft and perfumed rain to fall on every hand (the four quarters, i.e. through the world). (10) There appeared in the palace of the king spontaneously a water fountain possessed of the hundred qualities of taste, fit to satisfy the wants of all who were athirst. (11) The Nāga women appearing in the air with half their body visible, remained thus. (12) Ten thousand Devīs, holding in their hands

peacock-feather fans, remained thus above the palace-walls. (13) All the Devīs, holding in their hands 10,000 golden pitchers full of sweet-dew (nectar), remained fixed in space. (14) Ten thousand Devīs, holding in their hands 10,000 vases full of scented water, proceeded and stopped in the air [中 I suppose to be omitted]. (15) Ten thousand Devīs, holding in their hands standards and parasols, stood at attention. (16) All the Devīs arranging themselves in order stood still, whilst every kind of responsive music sounded spontaneously through space. (17) The four great river-drains (the four rivers flowing from the Anavatapta Lake?) remaining at rest, ceased to flow. (18) The sun and moon (the palaces of the sun and moon Devas) ceased to move. (19) The constellation Pushya descending, waited in the rear of all the other stars (or, star-concourse). (20) A net-like precious canopy entirely covered the palace of the king. (21) The divine pearl of the bright moon hanging over the palace hall, shed abroad a brilliant effulgence. (22) The lamps and fires of the palace were (by the superior light without) no longer visible. (23) Baskets and articles of dress appeared placed on their stands. (24) Articles of jewelry and treasures of every kind of precious stone appeared of themselves. (25) The five kinds of poisonous insects suddenly disappeared, whilst the fortunate bird (or bird of good omen) soaring aloft poured forth pleasant songs. (26) The pains inflicted in the different hells were allayed. (27) The earth through a great movement became perfectly level and smooth. (28) The four great highways and the narrower streets appeared perfectly smooth and ornamented with flowers. (29) All valleys and cavernous places were raised and became even. (30) The cruel designs of those who fished in the waters or hunted on the land gave way in a moment to a loving and merciful heart. (31) All the diseases to which children newly born, such as blindness, deafness, &c., are liable, were averted. (32) The tree-Devas, with half their bodies visible, appeared to all beholders, their heads reverently inclined. Such were the thirty-two miraculous signs which appeared on every side of the (palace) enclosures, sufficient to cause wonder and admiration (in

those who beheld them), as indications of the approaching period. At this time the queen being about to give birth (to Bodhisattva), he, i.e. Bodhisattva, by exciting the thought in her mind by his own spiritual energy, caused her to arise at the first watch of the night, and having robed herself to go with her attendants to the place where the king was—(when she addressed him as follows):—‘Listen to my words! for a long time have I thought of entering the garden for the purpose of religious meditation—supposing in every case, O Mahârâga! the idea is not displeasing or troublesome to you; in which case I would at once resort thither to reflect silently on the words of the sacred books.’ The king thereupon answered, ‘Willingly do I consent, saintly lady, that you should go forth to contemplate the flowers of the trees now in full bloom—for at this season, around the palace and its lovely dwellings, are countless kinds of trees, whose fruit and fragrant blossoms cannot but afford unmixed delight (to all beholders).’ The queen, hearing these words, was filled with joy. Then the king commanded the precious chariot known as the ‘cloud-mother’ to be prepared and decorated; followed by a retinue of servants, and surrounded by attendant¹ women, thus the queen went forth to behold the trees in the Lumbinî² garden. The conductors of the inferior chariots were all similar in appearance and colour, distinguished for their splendour as they rode, dazzling the eyes of men. Two hundred white elephants followed and preceded the cortège, all decorated with gems and pearls. The elephants were furnished with six tusks. The king of the elephants, in the midst, was covered with a golden network, to which bells were attached that sounded melodiously³ as the wind blew them one against the other; in other respects also they were fully caparisoned and armed. At this time there was concord and goodwill in the world, an absence of a contentious spirit. Thus surrounded, the queen wandered

¹ The expression is ‘tsae’ 女衆

² The Chinese is ‘Lin-ping’ for ‘Lumbinî’; in the glossary the sound ‘ping’ is given as equal to p(ing)-(m)i, i.e. ‘pi.’

³ The sounds produced by gems striking one another. See glossary.

forth and reposed beneath the trees of the Lumbini garden. Then Sakra-deva and Brahma-rāga and the four heavenly kings descending (flying) from their respective abodes, and scattering flowers, hastily proceeded to the palace to ascertain the state of the case, and entering the different apartments, caused the servants and attendants to receive instructions (i. e. put the thought into their minds) to sweep and prepare the way for the approach of the king on the queen's departure. This being done and reported, the king was filled with joy, and entering the palace of the female attendants, he spoke thus: 'You who desire to give me satisfaction, and to impart joy, will do as I request; let there be no differences among you, but let each one be ready to sit quietly and reflect (on what I say). Decorate yourselves in your most dazzling attire; and anoint yourselves (or, your garments) with the choicest perfumes, pure and sweet; let your bodies be covered with countless ornaments and gems whose sound is delightful to the ear and joy-giving to the beholder, prepare for yourselves every kind of musical instrument, cymbals and pipes and lutes and drums, of every sort, which may accord in producing sweet music, so that the Devis themselves hearing it may have joy. Thus provided, attend the queen as she mounts the lovely chariot; let male and female attendants alike, and the elephants composing the cortège, be decorated in one way, and let no ill sound or discordant note be heard to discompose the mind of the queen.' And now the elephants and horses and the military attendants of every kind, decorated as aforesaid, stood by the gate, and as the queen passed through on her departure there was heard the sound as it were of a great ocean, and the shouts of those who desired her ten thousand years, whilst the ornaments which decorated the chariot, as it moved along, gave forth propitious music. The lion throne, like that of the gods, was composed of (the wood of) the four precious (gem) trees, covered with (carved?) leaves and flowers of every possible description so as to perfect it. And now the ducks and geese and the peacocks raised their piteous notes in unison, whilst banners and flags decorated with the seven precious substances were placed as a canopy over the chariot.

Then the Devas who dwell in space, surrounding the chariot as it advanced, likewise sang together in melodious strains. As soon as the queen sat down upon the lion throne the great universe (chilicocosm) was six times (or in six manners) shaken, and all the Devas scattered flowers (as they cried): 'The holy one to-day is about to be born even here beneath a tree of the Lumbini (garden), it is he who is a god among gods.' The four heavenly kings conduct the chariot, the divine Sakra purifies and prepares the way, whilst Brahma Devarāga leads on before, attended by a hundred thousand Devas, who ever turn towards the chariot and adore (the queen) with heads inclined.

And now the king, the father, seeing all this, was filled with joy in his heart, and reflecting with himself he exclaimed: 'This (child) must be in truth the king of gods and men, whom all the Devas, the four heavenly kings, Sakra and Brahma, attending, agree to honour; he must indeed be one who shall attain to the condition of Buddha; for never yet in the three worlds has one received such adoration, whether Deva or Nāga or divine Sakra or Brahma, and yet escaped with life (unsplit head). Such a one then receiving these honours must of necessity in the end prove himself a holy person (divine).' Thus the queen (advanced), escorted by 84,000 chariots drawn by horses, the same number drawn by elephants, and by the same number of chariot drivers, fully adorned, and surrounded by soldiers, spearmen and halbard bearers of approved courage and strength on the right hand and on the left, and by others in front and rear, whilst before and behind was a surrounding concourse of 60,000 attendant women accompanied by 40,000 nobles all of the family of king Suddhodana, whilst others, the attendants of 64,000 kings, took part in the cortège that surrounded the mother of Bodhisattva. Moreover, there were 84,000 female attendants of the Devas, the Nāgas, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Asuras, all sumptuously decorated with jewels and ornaments, provided with drums and musical instruments, producing harmonious sounds although differing in character, whilst with their voices they sang of the perfections (virtues) of Bodhisattva's mother. Thus

surrounded and attended they approach the Lumbini grove, the road prepared carefully and the ground perfumed with scented water and covered with divine flowers, whilst the trees themselves budded forth and blossomed and the scented oil of choicest sandal-wood was produced on every side. This, indeed, was by the express interference of the gods. And now the queen having arrived, descended¹ from her precious chariot, and accompanied by Devas and Devis she proceeded onwards through the garden, whilst the trees in honour of her presence shed abroad their brilliant hues and their fragrant scent. The queen now observed one tree of conspicuous beauty, made perfect by every kind of pearl and precious ornament. The stalks and twigs, the branches and leaves of this tree were all in truth full of fragrance, whilst its lovely verdure spread around on every side drooped to the ground, pliant and pure as silky grass. Like a vestment of some heavenly being it covered the earth—even as had been the case from old time with respect to the laws (relating to the birth) of all the Buddhas. And now all the Devas and men, at once, strike their drums, and from innumerable instruments the followers of the queen join in the strain, as she goes forward and arrives beneath the tree. By the influence of Bodhi-sattva the spirit inhabiting the tree bending down a branch of its own accord rendered assistance to the queen. All the Devas who inhabit space bending down their heads did obeisance, the sun and moon shed abroad a pure unsullied light, whilst the Devas and their female attendants, filled with admiration, gathered round to render meritorious service (to the queen as she stood) beneath the tree. Meantime the tree Deva was filled with joy in considering the reason of the presence of all this vast multitude, and reasoned thus: ‘Now may we all well endure to bear these bodies of ours, whilst we employ them in rendering service and obedience, for from the lowest hell² to the highest heavens of the Trāyastriṃśas all sorrow must cease, all darkness disappear, whilst now the holy one is about to be

¹ I have substituted 下 for 上 in the text.

² I have been obliged here to substitute 閻 for 擇.

born. So it is the trees are covered with flowers and foliage, whilst innumerable Devas gathered around do homage, and the great earth is shaken in six ways. The sun and moon shed abroad a pure and serene light, and music from innumerable instruments is heard around; yea, moreover, all impure desire is put away, and all the Devas are filled with joy; for to-day the holy one is to show his pity for all creatures, and therefore Brahma and Sakra and all the gods rejoice and worship; this is the honourable one among men, whose merits surpass the sun and moon. It is he, now dwelling in the womb, who shines forth like gold with a brightness eclipsing the light of heaven; all the Devas, Brahma, Sakra and the rest, and all the denizens of the countless worlds of space, putting away evil ways and thoughts, are now at peace, without remnant of sorrow or grief; and therefore the Devas, countless in number, offer the sacrifice of scattered flowers and music, and by their indomitable might cause the very ground to produce of itself flowers composed of the seven precious substances.' And now as Bodhisattva was born from the right side of his mother, suddenly there appeared a precious lotus flower on which he stood, and then taking seven steps he declared in words of the Fan language (or, with the voice of Brahma;—Brahmaghosha) the character of impermanency in accordance with his (subsequent) teaching (and added): 'I am now about to save and deliver all those in heaven and earth (above the heaven and below the heaven), as the lord of Devas and men to deliver (detach) them from the misery of (repeated) birth and death, as the highest in the universe (the three worlds) to cause all creatures to arrive at the condition of non-individuality (wu-wei) and thus obtain enduring rest.' Then Sakra-rāga and Brahma caused every kind of scented water to descend suddenly for the purpose of washing (the person of) Bodhisattva, whilst the nine dragons who dwelt in space above, caused other scented streams to descend for the purification of the holy master. The washing being finished (he stood) perfectly pure in body and soul (heart), raised far above the position which for the present he occupied as wayfarer, born of a noble parentage, like a perfect and true gem

uniting in itself every rare quality and excellency: about to turn the wheel of the law, or as a wheel king (*Kakravartin*) (if he continue in the world (the three worlds)) to bring all the quarters (the ten regions) under one overshadowing government. And there arose in the heart of *Suddhodana-rāga* a rapturous exultation. At this time there were born children of 5000 attendants (blue-clad), who were presented to the king to become his personal guards (*lih-sse*, the words used generally for *vriggi*); 800 young nurses also were delivered of sons; 100,000 elephants likewise produced their young; (as many) white mares produced their foals, their colour white as snow, their coats glossy and smooth; (as many) yellow sheep produced their lambs. At the same time there appeared two myriads of curtained precious chariots¹ for the holy one's use, (whilst those who brought them), bending their heads, desired to know whither he would go; and beyond all this the *Devas* caused innumerable apparitional forms to present themselves, to offer various services, and caused a glorious radiance to fill the place: 5000 *Apsarases*, their persons breathing fragrance, each holding a jar of scented unguents, came to the place where stood the mother of *Bodhisattva*, 5000 others came to escort her to the city; having flowers and heavenly garments, whilst many youths and others came with jewels and ornaments for her person. *Bodhisattva* arriving at the condition 'free from fear' must complete the way of *Buddha*². Then *Buddha* addressed the *Bhikshus*: 'At the time of *Bodhisattva*'s birth, his mother was perfectly at ease, no disagreeable malady or accompanying inconvenience disturbed her; but she was in the condition which most became her. At the same time, both in front and behind her, were 5000 female attendants providing divine incense and holding scented oil as an offering to the mother of *Bodhisattva*, whilst without intermission they paid her lowest reverence: there were, moreover, 5000 female attendants who offered her divine medicaments, 5000 others who presented her with

¹ Before the word for 'precious,' the text has an expression *kia-u-lu*, which is said to mean curtain.

² This clause comes in without any apparent connection with the context.

jewels and necklets (or, precious necklaces), 5000 others who offered her divine robes for her person, 5000 others who offered her (or, attended her with) divine music, all these paid to her constant and reverent attention.'

And now it came to pass that there were five *Rîshis* with supernatural powers passing over this country through the air who suddenly appeared in the presence of *Suddhodana-râga*¹. Buddha, moreover, addressed the *Bhikshus* and said : ' At the time of *Bodhisattva*'s birth, during seven days from morning till evening, there was continual music, whilst all the assembly offered a hundred different sorts of food beneath the *Lumbini* tree, presenting to the mother of *Bodhisattva* the fruits of merit resulting from the exercise of the *paramîtâs* of charity, morality, patience, and perseverance. At this time 32,000 *Brahmakârins* from day to day, without intermission, offered their gifts without stint, whatever (the mother of *Bodhisattva*) desired ; *Sakra-deva* and *Brahma*, assuming the appearance of young *Brahmans* (students), having taken conspicuous places amongst the assembled *Brahmakârins*, repeated these *Gâthâs* :

"Having put an end to all evil ways of birth (in himself)
 He has now sent universal peace among men ;
 All creatures enjoying concord and rest
 Are free from sorrow everywhere.
 As the brightness of the sun scatters darkness,
 So the glory of all the *Devas* withers,
 His glorious merit scatters all their brightness,
 And causes it to decay and disappear.
 (We do) not (now) consider the time when he shall have exhausted
 karman (i. e. be born as a Buddha),
 Nor shall we hear again of such a time,
 For now the glory of Buddha has appeared,
 And he has become the great saint of the world ;
 No more for him of labour or the ills of sense (dust),
 His loving heart compassionates all living creatures,
 And so innumerable *Devas* of the *Brahma* heaven (or, innumerable
 Brahma devas)
 Have come to offer him boundless sacrifice.
 And therefore also the trees covered with flowers
 Rest in quiet upon the peaceful (or level) earth,
 (In proof that) all the world will come to him for refuge (salvation),
 And that all will fully rely on him.

¹ These parenthetical clauses appear to have crept into the text, and remained there without any immediate connection.

Just as in this lower world
 The lotus springs from the midst of the mire,
 Thus is Prabhāpāla¹ now born in the world,
 About to nourish and govern all that lives.
 For like as a pliant delicate robe
 Is redolent with heavenly perfume,
 So if there be a man diseased or sick
 He will for his sake become 'the chief physician.'
 And as by his presence he has caused an absence of all lustful desire,
 And peace and goodwill dwell in the world of form,
 (And as) with hands clasped (all these) render him worship,
 He is surely worthy to be called the 'protector of all,'
 And as the Devas, and their followers,
 All with compliant hearts
 Mix freely with men in their common worship,
 He will be in truth the 'great master of all.'
 And as the pure unsullied water (rain)
 Is universally diffused and causes luxuriant vegetation,
 So by the right apprehension (*samyakdrishī*) of the truth of this one's
 doctrine,
 There shall ever be both rest and quiet."

Buddha, moreover, addressed the Bhikshus and said :
 'Seven days after the birth of Bodhisattva his mother died.'
 On this the thought occurred to the Bhikshus, it must have
 been on account of some fault on the part of Bodhisattva
 that such an event occurred ; on which Buddha resumed :
 Let not such a thought present itself ; and why ? Because
 her destiny was even so, that the birth of Bodhisattva should
 be the term of her life ; and hence at her birth, when she
 came down for the purpose of bearing Bodhisattva in her
 womb, all the Devas attended her and provided her with
 heavenly clothing and food. And it has ever been thus.
 The mothers of all the Buddhas have always died seven
 days after their birth ; and so because at the time of
 Bodhisattva's birth the bodily functions of his mother were
 all in perfect condition, she was born as the result of her pre-
 vious merit in the *Trāyastriṃsas* heaven. And before this,
 Bodhisattva not yet born, she had gone up thither, on which
 occasion all the Devas attending her offered her a palace
 to dwell in, and awaiting her in the great preaching hall
 they offered the queen 5000 pitchers containing the rarest
 scented waters ; 5000 Apsarases presented her with thrones

¹ In Chinese 'hu-ming:' this was the name of Bodhisattva whilst resident in the Tusita heaven.

to sit on; 5000 others, holding caps of state in their hands, sprinkled before her on the ground perfumed water; 50,000 Brahma devas, holding golden pitchers, saluted her with expressions that she might live 10,000 years; 20,000 Nāgas with necklaced bodies, 20,000 white elephants with pearl-covered bodies, 20,000 chariots with flags and jewelled canopies surrounded her, and behind these 40,000 armed attendants, heroes of marked courage, and Bodhisattva himself in the rear. Moreover, on this occasion there were countless thousand Devas, who caused to appear in space in a moment yellow golden parapets, along which they offered worship to the mother of Bodhisattva. On that night Bodhisattva was conceived in the womb, on which occasion 20,000 damsels attendants on Māra, proceeding from the great and superbly-adorned palace of the Kāmaloka heavens, and holding in their hands precious silken tissues, came to the place to wait on the mother of Bodhisattva; and so likewise 20,000 men (male Devas?) with highly decorated bodies, to do honour to the occasion. On that night between every two attendant women was one Apsaras¹; the attendant women beholding the beauty of her face felt the risings of desire. And now by the power of the divine merit of Bodhisattva in the midst of this great city of Kapilavastu, 500 nobles, all of the Sākya race, each laid the foundation of a palace for residence, 500 in all, so that when he entered the gates of the city, they addressed him as they paid him reverence and said, 'Oh! would that Sarvārthasiddha would condescend to enter this divine abode (place²), this perfectly pure abode. Oh! thou whose eye beholds all things (samantaśakshus), thou hast come down into this world (yeou = bhava), (condescend to enter) this great palace called "Hu-tsing-fa" (defend-pure-flower), a fitting residence for Bodhisattva.'

Then the great Brahmākārin and the principle princes of

¹ I take this from the French translation of the *Lalita Vistara*; the Chinese expression is 舞女.

² Ku-tien-kü; the French translation from the Tibetan renders this 'God above gods,' and so in the next phrase, tsing-tsing-kü, 'perfectly pure abode or place,' the Tibetan refers this also to Bodhisattva, and translates it, 'Oh! thou pure being.' I do not see how to bring the Chinese text into harmony with the Tibetan in this passage.

the Sākya tribe addressing *Suddhodana* said, 'It would be perhaps convenient if the prince would condescend to agree to enter these abodes and remain in them (use them).' *Bodhisattva* therefore entered the 500 abodes. (Moreover they said, 'Who is there¹) of conspicuous merit, and of complacent disposition, who can protect and order (*Bodhisattva*) aright?' Then 500 *Khandakas*², each one said, 'We can nourish and cherish the prince.' But others replied, 'It is a difficult task to train aright and lead into obedience one possessed of such saintlike wisdom as the prince, especially such as are in the prime of their beauty and youth, for when he begins to grow up who then will be able to attend on him and direct him aright?' Then they all agreed that *Mahāpragāpatī* alone was able to nourish (the child), and with loving heart to protect him from the heats and damps of his abode, and to feed him with child's food (pap) by which he might grow to maturity. *Mahāpragāpatī*, the prince's maternal aunt, pure and faultless, she, they said, is the one to protect and cherish, and ever be near the person of the prince. Then *Suddhodana-rāga* and the Sākya princes, being all agreed on this point, went together to the abode of *Mahāpragāpatī* and expressed their wishes on the point: 'The prince's mother being dead, we beg you, his maternal aunt, to take charge of him and bring him up, that he may grow up (to manhood).' So *Mahāpragāpatī* undertook the office.

The king now called an assembly of the Sākyas, wishing to find out, by enquiring of them, whether the prince was to be the lord of the kingdom, or if he was to become a recluse; desiring to solve this doubt (he called them together). Then the Sākyas all replied and said, 'We have heard that in the snowy mountains there is a *Rishi*, a *Brahmakārin*, called *Asita* (A-i-to), of advanced age, and possessed of much wisdom, and thoroughly understanding all qualities and substances³ (i. e. the nature of all things).'

¹ I have been obliged to supply this, the text being evidently corrupt.

² *Ku-nih*. This is the transcription for *Khandaka*, the coachman of *Bodhisattva*. It is possible it may here represent 'a personal attendant' only, whether male or female. In the *Lalitā Vistara* we read *Sākyabadhū*, the wives of the Sākyas.

³ I take *siang* here in its usual (Buddhist) sense as equal to 'lakṣaṇa,' and *fā* as equal to 'dharma' in the sense of 'substance.'

The king on hearing this was filled with joy, and caused a white elephant to be sumptuously equipped for the purpose of bringing to the place this learned man¹. Then all the Devas and Nāgas and spirits assembled in countless numbers and in various shapes accompanied the cortège as it left the city. Then Asita, seeing the transformed appearances of the Devas, knew that Suddhodana-rāga had a holy son, whose spiritual (divine) glory outshone that of all the Devas and men, and so his heart was rejoiced, and he desired to go to behold him. On this the world-honoured one (i.e. Buddha) again, for the sake of the assembly, repeated these Gāthās:

'The Brahman Rishi Asita
Beholding the Devas flying thro' space,
Their forms beautiful and of golden colour,
Seeing them, was filled with joy.
Devas, Asuras, and Garuḍas (golden-wings)
Chanting² their praises in honour of Buddha,
Hearing these verses, how great his joy.
Then looking by his divine sight thro' the world,
And considering the various examples of men of renown,
Whose excellences were as the mountain tops,
Or like the well-set and glossy flowers of the tree,
Wherever dwelt the lord of the three wrlds,
There the wide-spreading earth would be level as the palm of the hand,
There would be heavenly and unmixed joy,
There would be abundance as the treasures of the sea king.
Regarding thus the declarations ("reason," or "way") of the law,
That one should come who would destroy evil and put an end to
sorrow,
Whilst he saw the Devas flying thro' space,
And listened to their melodious songs (sounds),
Regarding these fortunate and rare occurrences,
Asita looked through the world,
And narrowly scanning (the territory of) Kapila (and the family of)
Suddhodana-rāga³,
He saw that a child had there been born with fortunate signs.

¹ Taou gin, this is another instance of the use of this expression not for a Buddhist, but for a religious man generally.

² Kun-to, which I can only restore to *Kāṇḍas*, in the sense of a verse or singing a verse.

³ The sentence is elliptical and difficult; literally rendered it would be 'scanning Ka-i-pih-wang,' where I take Ka-i to be a form for Kapi(la) (just as the expression Kiu-i, so commonly met with as the name of Bodhisattva's wife, may be restored to Gopī) and pih-wang (the white king) to be a contracted form of Suddhodana-rāga.

Seeing this, rejoicing he set out,
 And (arriving) stood at the king's palace gate;
 He beheld there an innumerable concourse of people,
 When spying out a servant (grey-clothes), he asked and said:
 "All hail! where dwells the king?
 I desire to have an audience with the lord of the kingdom;"
 The servant seeing the *Rishi* venerable for age,
 With joy elated, entered the palace and delivered the message.
 The king then ordered him to cause the *Rishi* to appear before him,
 And spreading a seat he went forthwith to meet him.
 Asita, hearing (the message), was glad at heart,
 And filled with a yearning desire¹,
 He asked where dwelt the lord, the holy one,
 For he was failing now in years and had but few to live.
 The king, commanding him to be seated,
 Asked him wherefore he had come²?
 Because (he said) of the many signs he had seen, he had come,
 Hearing of the excellency (superiority) of the son he had,
 The thirty-two signs on his body,
 He wished to behold him and inspect the fortunate indications,
 Therefore (he said again) have I come.
 "Welcome! (said the king) I rejoice (to see you) [or, I rejoice (to hear it)].
 Now for a moment the child sleeps in peaceful rest,
 But wait for a little while until he wakes,
 And you shall see him beautiful as the moon at 'full.'"

On this the mind of Asita being much perplexed, he replied to the king in the following Gāthās and said :

'From endless Kalpas
 With perseverance³ accumulating meritorious conduct,
 From time long past inspired with wisdom,
 How is it possible that such a one can again take his rest in sleep?
 Thro' ages past exercising the virtue of charity,
 Feeling deep compassion for the poor,
 Grudging nothing which he possessed,
 How can such a one again seek rest in sleep?
 Reverencing the rules of pure conduct (*śīla*),
 Observing the moral law without transgression,
 Desiring to relieve and save all that lives,
 How can such a one still find rest in sleep?
 Always practising patience and equanimity,
 His mind harbouring no resentment,
 Controlling his heart (firm) like the solid earth,
 How can such a one still repose in sleep?
 Persevering steadily, as the moon from its first appearance,

¹ Literally, 'in his heart harbouring-hungry-void.'

² Why himself invited, or condescended to come.

³ *Virya*.

His eye ever looking onward without a moment's hesitation,
 Regarding the example of the Buddhas of the ten regions (the universe),
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 With equal mind¹ ever lost in contemplation (dhyāna),
 Without at any time disturbance or confusion,
 The mind fixed as a great mountain,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Possessed of wisdom (prāṇā) without limit,
 With divine penetration like the sun's brightness,
 Able to open out and explain every subject of enquiry,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Always cherishing the fourfold qualities²,
 Practising love and pity, joy and equanimity
 Ceaselessly and without neglect as Brahma³ himself,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Reverently practising the four gracious acts⁴—
 Benevolence, charity, humanity, and love—
 Doing all for the good of men and that they again may profit others,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Reverently performing the thirty-seven divisions⁵,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Always exercising the cross-method of indirect means (upāya),
 Taking advantage of the occasion to open out and convert (explain and
 so convert),
 Aiming in every turn to save the whole creation,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 His heart always at perfect rest,
 His mind fixed with no approach to indifference,
 Entering thus on the deep and impenetrable samādhi,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Seeing clearly the beginning and ending (of the history) of that and
 this (i. e. of all),
 Beholding as though present all the Buddhas,
 Explaining that they (i. e. the Buddhas) are essentially without be-
 ginning,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Ever practising (or using) the three gates of salvation,
 (Viz.) (the gate of) perfect void, without qualities, incessant effort
 (prayer or vow),
 (Teaching) that the ideas of real existence (bhava),
 And the absence of such existence, are without solid foundation,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Great in love, of unfailing compassion,

¹ Yih-sin generally corresponds to the Sanskrit samyak; it denotes the condition enjoyed during samādhi.

² Viz. the four qualities of heart named in the next line.

³ Fan.

⁴ Yan-hing, these four are named in the line following.

⁵ The thirty-seven perfections necessary to the attainment of Bodhi. I have not thought it necessary to name these in the text.

As a boat of the law (vessel of religion) passing through the three worlds,
 To save and deliver the living and the dead,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 His religious merit (virtue) vast as space,
 Himself born in this lower world for the sake of all creatures,
 Under a vow to deliver these by means of the three vehicles¹,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Able to pass thro' the vastness of space,
 Knowing the hidden depths of the wide sea,
 Able to count the number of every tree and shrub,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Let the king hear my words,
 The virtues (excellences) of his son are without compare,
 His wisdom infinite (beyond the number of the dust),
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Descending as a god into his mother's womb,
 So as to save countless beings,
 Not omitting even the least in his intention,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?'

And now Bodhisattva having awoke from his sleep and arisen, Mahāpragāpati, enfolding him in a white and silk-like robe, came with him to the place where the king was. The king then offered to the Rishi (man of reason) a purse of gold and one of silver (yellow gold, white silver), which he declined to receive. Then unfolding the robe in which he was wrapped, (Asita) proceeded to observe the distinctive marks on the person of the prince. Of these he perceived thirty-two, viz. his entire body of a golden colour, on the summit of his head a fleshy excrescence, his hair of a purplish dark colour²; between the eyebrows a white soft hairy circle, from the top of his head a bright light like that of the sun, the iris of the eye of a deep blue, moving the eyes up and down with ease, forty teeth in the mouth, the teeth white and even and square, the jaw-bones wide and long, the tongue long and full, his breast and shoulder broad and square like a lion's, his fingers long, his heels full and round, the fingers and toes connected by a thin filament, the wheel with a thousand spokes under the feet, that which ought to be hidden³ concealed,

¹ That is, the three degrees of Śrāvaka, Pratyeka Buddha, and Bodhisattva.

² This colour seems to correspond with the Greek *κῆνος*; compare *κῆνο-χάινος* as applied to Poseidon.

³ Concealed, as in the horse; but the whole of this part of the text is involved. This refers to the thirteenth lakṣaṇa, Koshopagatavastiguhyatā.

his leg (calf of leg) like the stag's¹, the hair of the head curling to the right, every hair with a distinct opening, the hair or the skin soft and pliant, free from perspiration², on his breast the figure . Asita beholding these signs was overcome with emotion, the tears fell from his eyes, and he was unable to speak. On this, the king and Mahâpragâ-patî were moved at heart, and with reverence (closed hands) addressed him thus: 'Is there then something unlucky? oh! tell us then its purport.' With closed hands, and raised in reverence, he replied: 'Fortunate and without the least ill omen. Let me venture to felicitate the king on the birth of this divine being (spiritual man). Undoubtedly it was on this account that the heavens and earth were greatly shaken on the evening of yesterday; and now as I understand the meaning of these signs, I will tell the king. The child possesses the thirty-two marks of a great man; if he remains in the world (i.e. a secular man) he will be a holy wheel-king (*kakravartin*) to whom the seven precious things will of themselves arrive, and his thousand sons will rule the world in righteousness; but if he leaves the world (i.e. becomes a recluse) he will of himself become a Buddha (perfectly enlightened), and be the saviour of all living things. And now because I am old, I shall assuredly not in after days behold the Buddha, nor hear his sacred instructions (*sûtras*), and therefore I give way to grief.' Then the king, perfectly understanding his ability in interpreting signs, caused a palace to be erected with three halls fit for the three seasons—each in a different place—one for the cool season, and this he called the Autumn Hall; one for the warm season, and this was the Cool Hall; one for the winter season, and this was the Warm Hall: and then he selected 500 dancing women of rare beauty, neither too stout nor too thin, neither too tall nor too short, neither too fair nor too dark, skilful in all feminine arts and blandishments, all of them provided with pearl and other famous

¹ There is a phrase here used 鈎鎖 hook-lock, which may possibly refer to the hooked form of the leg of the stag, though this would hardly be a sign of beauty in a human being. [It is explained in the glossary as denoting the bones well knit together.]

² Dust-water.

jewelled necklaces for their persons. A hundred men, each in turn, guarded the place by night. Before the several palaces were every kind of sweet fruit trees, and between the trees tanks of water, in which were every kind of aquatic flower, whilst an innumerable number (or a large number)¹ of birds with shining plumage and of different species (sounded their joyful notes on every side). The king hoped thus to amuse and please the prince, so as to prevent the rising of any desire to awaken reason (to become Buddha). The palace windows were all well secured, and the gates on opening and shutting could be heard at a distance of forty lis.

And now Buddha addressed the Bhikshus: 'When Bodhisattva was born, the great-spirit illustrious Deva (i.e. Mahesvara) addressed all the pure-abode (Devas) [i.e. the *Suddhāvāsakāyikas*] (and said), "Bodhisattva Mahāsattva (ta-sse) through countless ages having heaped up merit and acquired (tied as in a string) virtuous conduct, by his purity which has been to him a sacred enclosure², by his charity which has been everywhere celebrated, by his moral conduct (*sīla*) purifying himself throughout, diligently practising right conduct, his great love and pity leading him willingly to undertake the protection of all creatures and to lay a foundation of great rest (peace) in the world, Bodhisattva thus persevering with unflagging determination to fulfil the great vow he made in ages gone by before the Buddha then living (i.e. *Dīpaṅkara*) to plant the root of all virtues in himself, to be distinguished by possessing the glorious and holy substance of a hundred (sources) of merit, by which to cause peace and agreement amongst all creatures, and to cause them to rise above perverse thoughts (disagreements), and by perfect purity and rejection of all that is vile, in this way to lay the foundation

¹ 千百, which is a phrase often used for 'a great number;' see Notices on Chinese Grammar [part i, by Philo-Sinensis, Batavia, 1842], p. 70; and compare Fā-hien, p. 161 (English edition), where M. Stanislas Julien has suggested another reading.

² *Taou-kang*, reason enclosure; this is the usual phrase for the Bodhi mandala, or enclosure round the Bodhi tree; it is difficult to translate in the text.

in himself for arriving at perfect wisdom, and (unfurl) the infinitely high standard of religion for the rescue of those who profess only natural powers (for their salvation), of himself to subdue (the evil powers that govern) the great universe, to become the leader and guide of gods and men, to perform fully that great sacrifice which directs men in the way from ignorance, and leads them to accumulate the excellent qualities of wisdom, to cut off the very source of repeated birth and death, to put in motion and make manifest the great vehicle—this one has just been born on the lower earth, and dwells in the king's palace—; oh then ! let all living things—putting aside all private feelings (or intentions), those who have arrived at wisdom and those not yet arrived—go straightway and adore with bowed heads, let them admire his merit and virtue, let them offer their sacrifice and bestow their gifts; and as for the rest, those Devas who are not subject to religion, but are puffed up in their own estimation, not knowing that the chief true one is manifested to point out the great way, whose destiny is of infinite worth, surpassing that of Bodhisattvas unknown in number,—let all these too come and adore, let them behold this land of the king of the country of Srāvastī¹, let² them acquire merit by declaring the wisdom and majesty of Sarvārthasiddha, who has been born there, let them examine his true wisdom, and thus attain to the highest method of salvation;” and then they chanted thus :

“The merits (virtues) of Siddhārtha³ are as the sea (for extent),
 And so declares Mahesvara with propriety,
 Through ages too numerous to mention,
 Preparing to be accepted as the honourable among men.
 And now the countless host of the Devas of the pure abodes,
 With glorious bodies resplendent as gems,
 Are come with dignity and decorum in a body,

¹ Tsang-yeh, increase and augment. Used for Srāvastī. Perhaps it should be Kapilavastu.

² In the original it is ‘let them &c. of born-time.’ I take born-time to be a form of Bodhisattva's name, ‘Sarvārthasiddha,’ because when this name was given him, the king said, ‘At the time of his birth all was prosperous.’ But it is obscure.

³ Sing-shi.

To offer to the most honourable one, in person, their respectful worship.
 These Devas, secure from the sufferings of the long night ¹,
 Fixed (or safe) in the pure gate ² of all virtue,
 Glorious with (or like) precious jewels,
 Beautiful in appearance as the full moon,
 Shining with radiance, but not equal to the holy one,
 In reputation not to be compared with him,
 They dare not pass over the royal precinct,
 (Denizens of) the three worlds are unable to take so great responsibility,
 Though from their persons issued such pure effulgence,
 Though their words were harmonious (sweet) beyond rivalry,
 Though richly (deeply) endowed with moral excellence
 Beyond all other Devas,
 Yet they could but offer to him their incomparable perfumes,
 (They could but) reverence and adore
 The Prince, unequalled for dignity,
 And sacrifice to him as a god among gods.
 Asita now informed (sent to) Suddhodana
 (This message), 'The sign-interpreter desires to be admitted to see
 The incomparably-beautiful divine holy one.'
 The king, hearing the message, rejoiced exceedingly;
 The gate-keeper respectfully announces, 'the king (desires you) to enter.'
 The (sage), honoured by men, hearing this,
 His hand holding a flower, was glad,
 And like a divine person entered the holy abode.
 And now the king beholding him enter,
 Immediately rose with hands clasped together,
 And arranged for him a gilded jewelled couch,
 With the request that his excellency would sit on this (prepared) couch;
 Immediately sitting, he examined carefully the four (quarters).
 The king then desired to know wherefore he had come.
 The child just born, his body replete with excellent tokens,
 His conduct true, this one I am come to see;
 Provided with marks and signs (indicating) his holy intelligence,
 Not knowing any cause to return quickly,
 Therefore do I wait here on the chair,
 Expecting to be permitted to behold the glorious marks and signs.
 And ³ now this attendant company (of Devas) arriving,
 Quietly and joyfully they took their places above the Royal Prince,
 And with reverence they behold him;
 Lost in wonder, they reported to those without his unequalled (beauty)
 And now, at length, (when) the exceedingly excellent lord and master,
 Resplendent as gold, awaking, holy and graceful,
 Raised himself, and showed his countenance,

¹ Kang-ye, viz. the long night of pain.

² The expression 'gate,' e.g. 'gate of the law,' means generally a 'mode' or 'method' (of salvation); hence the Devas are here said to be safe in the 'pure mode' or 'method,' i.e. to be Suddhāvāsikas.

³ Here the arrival of the Devas is again referred to.

They bowed their heads to hide their eclipsed glory.
 The old man (Asita), beholding him, rejoiced,
 His incalculable (top unseen) excellences and endowments,
 The white hair, unknown¹ among the Devas,
 (A sign) that he would reach the condition of a Buddha and conquer
 all the hosts of Māra,—
 (Seeing these) he sighed in astonishment at the very perfect (true) excellences (virtues, adornments),
 Which were a sign that he would bring down and destroy the enticements of the senses,
 And that the renowned (precious) Lion had come into the world,
 Who would destroy (curse) the pollutions of birth and death.
 Throughout the three worlds the fire of the three impurities (rages),
 From the act of thought springs up the pollution of the poisons,
 The rain of the law falling on the chiliocosm,
 As the water of life (amrita), destroys the fire of the senses;
 Armed with the cuirass of love, beholding
 (These sorrows) the workings (aroma) of pity (arises),
 And with his pliant, sweet voice of Brahma,
 He instructs fully the three thousand worlds;
 His mouth resounds the news of the great law as a drum;
 It is he who is able to destroy the teaching (sūtras) of the heretical schools,
 And the complications (bands) of all evil practices,
 His teaching, not being heard without avail,
 Shall mightily prevail for the reformation of the age,
 Like the shadow of a mighty tree,
 His powerful teaching shall overshadow the world;
 His wisdom able to survey the condition of all men,
 His knowledge by its brightness able to scatter all darkness,
 The only illustrious benefactor of Devas,
 The only source of purity and truth,
 Able to empty (the way of) wickedness and profit the way of heaven,
 The faultless treasure found amongst men.
 Then the assembled Devas, showering down flowers,
 Worshipped and turned round him to the right,
 After which, felicitating Buddha and the land of his birth,
 Ascending into the air, they returned to heaven.”

END OF KIOUEN II.

¹ 跣 a character of uncertain signification.

NOTE III.

THE SAME TITLE GIVEN TO DIFFERENT WORKS.

The Chinese translators in making new translations of foreign texts, often give as their reason for doing so that the former translation or translators could not be understood or relied on. But in explanation of this we must remember that the originals themselves in the hands of successive translators, though bearing the same name, were not always copies of the same works. For instance, in the case of the work *Fo-pan-ni-pan-king*, that is, the *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, translated into Chinese by *Pih-fā-tsu*, between 290 and 306 A.D. We cannot doubt that the text used by this translator was another form of the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta* embodied in the Southern Canon¹.

But how widely another work bearing the same title, viz. *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, and translated into Chinese by *Dharmaraksha*, the same priest who turned the *Buddha-karita* into that language, differs from the simple *Sūtra* just named, the following brief extract will show. We will select the incident of *Kunda's* offering, which is thus expanded in the last work :

MAHĀPARINIRVĀṆA SŪTRA,

TRANSLATED BY DHARMARAKSHA.

KIOUEN II, § I.

'At this time, in the midst of the congregation, there was a certain *Upāsaka* (lay-disciple) of the city of *Kusinagara*, the son of a blacksmith, whose name was *Kunda* ; this man, with his whole family, fifteen persons in all, had devoted himself to a religious life. At this juncture then it was that *Kunda*, rising from his seat, addressed Buddha

¹ See some remarks on this point in the eleventh volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*, p. xxxvi.

in the orthodox way and said : " Oh that the world-honoured (Tathâgata) and the members of this great assembly would receive our poor offering, the very last to be presented, for the sake of bringing the benefit thereof to innumerable creatures ! World-honoured one ! from this time we are without a master, without a friend, with no means of advance, no helper, no refuge. Oh that Tathâgata would of his great compassion deign to receive this offering of ours before he enters Nirvâṇa. World-honoured ! it is as though a Kshatriya, or a Brahman, or a Vaisya, or Sûdra were to be reduced by poverty so far as to be compelled to go to another land, and there by industry prepare a piece of ground for cultivation. He procures a serviceable ox for the plough, and carefully roots up all the noxious weeds, and removes all stones and broken vessels from the ground, and then only awaits the grateful rain from heaven to crown his endeavours—so it is with me, the ox yoked to the plough is this body of mine, the cleared land (is the work of) supreme wisdom, the impediments and weeds removed are all the sources of sorrow which I have put away, and now we only await the rain of the sweet dew of the law ! Look upon us, we are poor and perishing from want, without a friend, no help, no refuge ; oh that Tathâgata would pity us even as he had compassion on his son Rahula ! "

' Then Tathâgata replied : " Well said ! well said ! Kunda. For your sake I will relieve the poverty of the world, and cause the rain of the insurpassable law to descend upon the field, and bring forth abundant fruit. Whatever your request, it shall be granted and I receive your offering. For as I accepted the gift of the shepherd girls before arriving at supreme wisdom, so now will I accept your corresponding gift before entering Nirvâṇa, and thus enable you to accomplish fully the Pâramitâ of charity." Kunda replied : " Let not Tathâgata say that the merit of these two gifts is the same, for surely when the shepherd girls offered their food, the world-honoured one had not entirely got rid of all the sources of sorrow, or completed every growth of the seeds of wisdom ; nor was he able at that time to cause others to complete the Pâramitâ of charity by accepting their gifts ; but this last offering is like a God in the midst of gods.

The first offering was made for the support of the body of Tathâgata still suffering from human wants: this last offering is made to Tathâgata possessing an eternal, sorrowless, and unchangeable (*vagra*) body, the body of the law; everlasting, boundless. In these (and other) respects, then, it seems to me the two offerings differ in character and in merit." Tathâgata answered: "Illustrious youth! for ages innumerable (countless *asaṅkhyeyas* of *kalpas*) Tathâgata has possessed no such body as that you named, as suffering from human wants or necessities—nor is there such an after-body as that you describe as eternal, illimitable, indestructible. To those who as yet have no knowledge of the nature of Buddha, to these the body of Tathâgata seems capable of suffering, liable to want (but to others it is not so). At the time when Bodhisattva received the offering of food and drink at the hands of the shepherd girls, he entered into the *Samâdhi* known as *vagra*, and beheld the nature of Buddha, and so obtained the highest and most complete enlightenment (and thus was supposed to have eaten the food); so now as he receives your offering he enters the same condition; in this (and other respects) the offerings differ not in character. But principally for this reason, that as he then began to declare his law and preach it for the good of men, but did not completely exhaust the twelve portions of it, so now, having received your offering, he will preach the law in its entire form (i. e. including the *Vaipulya*, or last section) for the good of the assembly. But still, as in the former case, he ate not, so neither does he now eat."

'At this time the congregation having heard that the world-honoured would preach the law in its fulness after receiving the offering of *Kunda*, rejoiced with exceeding joy, and opened their mouths with one accord in these words of praise: "Well done! well done! exceedingly fortunate *Kunda*! Thy name is now established (in meaning), well art thou called *Kunda*, for thou hast established a most excellent method of deliverance, and, therefore, thou art well named. Now shall your name be much honoured among men. Well done, *Kunda*! it is indeed seldom that a Buddha appears in the world, and to be born when he is

born is exceedingly difficult ; to believe in him and listen to his law is difficult ; but how much more so to have the privilege of offering to him the last gift before he enters Nirvāṇa. Glory to Kunda ! Glory to Kunda ! Like the autumn moon on the 15th day of the month, your merit is full, and as all men look up to the cloudless moon with admiration and reverence, so do we reverence thee. Glory to Kunda ! Now then Buddha has received from you his very last offering ! thus have you completed the Pāramitā of charity ! Glory to Kunda !" &c. Then the assembly uttered these verses :

"Although born in the rôle of men,
 Already hast thou overleapt the six heavens,
 And therefore this united congregation
 With supreme reverence make this request (of thee) ;
 The most adorable amongst men
 Is now about to enter Nirvāṇa !
 You then, we pray, to pity us,
 And respectfully entreat Buddha (on our behalf)
 For a longer period to remain in the world,
 To bring profit and advantage to countless assemblies ;
 And to declare fully the treasures of wisdom,
 The sweet dew of the most exalted law.
 If you consent not to make this request,
 Our destiny will be yet incomplete ;
 We therefore, on this account, and with this view,
 Respectfully entreat thee as our leader."

' At this time Kunda, overjoyed as a man whose father or mother, after having been conveyed to the tomb, suddenly re-appears alive, again prostrated himself before Buddha and repeated the following verses :

"Oh ! fortunate one that I am—to have gained such distinction,
 To have been born thus happily as a man !
 To have cast away covetousness and folly,
 To have got rid for ever of the three evil ways of life,—
 Oh ! fortunate one that I am, to have gained this !
 To have found such a treasure of gold and gems,
 To have met with such a distinguished teacher,
 To have rescued myself from birth as a beast ¹.
 The appearance of Buddha in the world is like that of the Udumbara flower ;
 It is difficult to have faith in him when born,

¹ That is, in any inferior position in the animal creation.

And having met with him, to sow the seeds of virtue,
 Whereby for ever to escape the sorrows of hell (Pretas),
 And to destroy and put to rout
 The combined power of all the Asuras (this also is difficult).
 Truly to attain this when Buddha is born
 Is as difficult as to cast a mustard seed on the point of a spear.
 But now having completed (the Pāramitā) of charity,
 It is my happy privilege to deliver both Devas and men from life and death.

The law of Buddha is an uncontaminated law,
 Like the pure flower on the surface of the water,
 Able to deliver to the utmost (those highest in existence),
 Able to rescue eternally from the waters of birth and death.
 It is difficult when born to be born as a man,
 To meet with Buddha in the world is difficult,
 Even as it is hard for a blind turtle
 To find the hole in a piece of wood floating on the great ocean.
 And now on the ground of this offering of food,
 I aspire to attain the highest recompense,
 Deliverance from the whole concourse of sorrows,
 To destroy them and be held by them no more.
 I desire not as my aim in this
 To be born as a man or a Deva,
 Like others who look only for this recompense:
 And when obtained find no real delight.
 But now Tathāgata, by receiving my offering,
 Has inspired me with true and lasting joy,
 Even as the Hiraṇya (golden?) flower
 Placed on (or in a setting of) scented sandal-wood,—
 So my body, like that flower,
 Is now filled with joy in consequence of Tathāgata;
 Like that sandal-wood (setting), having received my gift,
 Such is the delight that now fills my soul.
 And my present reward is equally great,
 Beyond any other in point of excellence,
 For Sakra, and Brahma, and all the gods
 Here present, adore and reverence (bring their offerings to) me.
 But alas! all the world
 Is filled with unutterable sorrow,
 In the knowledge that the world-honoured Buddha
 Is about to enter Nirvāṇa.
 And the cry is heard on every hand,
 'The world is left without a ruler.'
 But it is not well thus to leave mankind,
 They should rather be looked on as an only son,
 And Tathāgata dwelling in their midst
 Should completely expound the supreme law—
 That law, grand as the precious Sumeru,
 Planted firmly in the midst of the great sea.
 The wisdom of Buddha is able completely to dissipate
 The dark gloom of our ignorance,

Even as when in the midst of space
 A rising cloud is suddenly dispersed.
 Tathâgata is able to destroy for ever
 The entire concourse of sorrows,
 Even as the sun, when he bursts forth,
 Disperses with his brightness the blackness of the cloud.
 So it is that now the entire world
 Laments and weeps with affliction
 On account of the torrents of suffering
 Which fall heavily upon all in their passage thro' birth and death.
 On this account, therefore, the world-honoured
 Ought to strengthen and increase the faith of men,
 That they may escape these sorrows,
 And to remain a longer while in the world."

'Then Buddha replied to *Kunda*: "Even so! even so! it is as you say—the birth of a Buddha in the world is rare as the appearance of the *Udumbara* flower, and to be able to believe in him is also a matter of extreme difficulty; but infinitely more difficult is it to be selected as the one to present a last offering to him before he enters *Nirvâna*. What room, then, O *Kunda*, is there for sorrowful thoughts? your heart should rather dance for joy! for you are the one thus selected to offer the last offering, and so complete your work of charity. Make not, then, such a request that Buddha should remain longer in the world, for you should now be able to realise (*kuan*) even the highest truth [the province or domain (*keng kiai*) of all the Buddhas], the impermanency of all things, that all systems of religion (or, elements of being)—(*hing*) both as to their nature and attributes—are also impermanent. And then for the sake of *Kunda* he repeated these *Gâthâs*:

"All things in the present world
 Being produced, must return to destruction;
 Although the term of life were immeasurably long,
 Yet it must in the end come to a close.
 Prosperity gives place to adversity,
 Plenty is succeeded by want,
 Youth before long yields to decay,
 The ruddy colour of health is paled by disease,
 Life, also, is followed by death,
 There is no such thing as permanency.
 The most absolute monarchs,
 Whose might none can dispute,
 These also come to naught and change,
 The years of their life are just the same,

Involved in the wheel of transmigration.
 The rolling stream of life goes on,
 And there is no continuing place for any.
 There is no real joy to be found in the world,
 For the mark set upon all these things
 Is that they are all empty and unreal,
 Liable to destruction and change,
 Ever accompanied by sorrow,
 Tinctured with fears and regrets,
 And the bitterness of old age, disease, and death,
 Even as an insect born in filth.
 What wise man would desire
 To continue in the midst of such things as these (or find his joy therein)?
 So the sorrows to which the body is joined,
 Are even like this impure substance.
 Surrounded, as it were, with these, man lives
 Without any reasonable hope of escape.
 And so even the bodies of the Devas
 Are likewise perishable and impure;
 All things liable to desire are unreal,
 And, therefore, I have cast off this cloak of covetousness.
 I have discarded the very thought of desire,
 And so I have arrived at the only truth,
 And passed beyond the boundary of Being.
 To-day I shall reach Nirvâna—
 To-day I shall cross to that shore;
 I have for ever got rid of sorrow,
 And therefore it is to-day
 I shall be (or am) ravished with unutterable joy.
 In this way and by these means it is
 I have arrived at the one reality:
 For ever free from the bonds of grief,
 To-day I shall reach Nirvâna.
 No more disease, old age, or death,
 The days of my life interminable, inexhaustible.
 Now shall I enter Nirvâna!
 Just as a great fire which is extinguished.
 Kunda! you ought not therefore
 To think of measuring the truth of Tathâgata,
 You should rather contemplate his true nature.
 As the great Mount Sumera,
 So am I resting on Nirvâna,
 Receiving and keeping in me the only joy.
 This is the law of all the Buddhas.
 Weep, then, and lament no more!"

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 Yen-tsz' cave, fabulous hiding-place of the sun, 133.
 Yuh-yen, daughter of Māra rāga, 147.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 228, verse 1598, for 'reigns' read 'reins.'

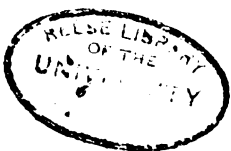
In the spelling of Chinese words, the Canton form has sometimes been used inadvertently, as in 'Fo-sho' for 'Fo-so.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.		III Class.								
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𑀘	𐭅	𐭅	𐤊	𐤊	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𑀭	𐭆	𐭆	𐤋	𐤋	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𑀓	𐭇	𐭇	𐤌	𐤌	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𑀕	𐭈	𐭈	𐤍	𐤍	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	𑀖	𑀖	𐭉	𐭉	𐤎	𐤎	.	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	𑀗	𑀗	𐭊	𐭊	𐤏	𐤏	.	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𑀙	𐭋	𐭋	𐤐	𐤐	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	𑀚	𑀚	𐭌	𐭌	𐤑	𐤑	.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	𑀛	𑀛	𐭍	𐭍	𐤒	𐤒	.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	𑀜	𑀜	𐭎	𐭎	𐤓	𐤓	.	
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	𑀝	𑀝	𐭏	𐭏	𐤔	𐤔	.	
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	𑀞	𑀞	𐭐	𐭐	𐤕	𐤕	.	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	𑀟	𑀟	𐭑	𐭑	𐤖	𐤖	k	
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	𑀠	𑀠	𐭒	𐭒	𐤗	𐤗	kh	
15 Media	.	g	.	𑀡	𑀡	𐭓	𐭓	𐤘	𐤘	.	
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	𑀢	𑀢	𐭔	𐭔	𐤙	𐤙	.	
17 " Nasalis	.	ṅ	.	𑀣	𑀣	𐭕	𐭕	𐤚	𐤚	.	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬚 ^{init.} 𐬚𐬚𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬑𐬛	𐬑𐬛	𐬑𐬛	𐬑𐬛	ש	z
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬔𐬛	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ					ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬎𐬛	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	ס	s
34 " asper 2		s								
35 " lenis	z								ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)						ז	z

VOWELS	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlev.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	o									ə
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ɛ									...
3 " labialis	ɔ									...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	ā
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ						...
9 " longa	ū			ऊ						...
10 Lingualis brevis	ɾi			ऋ						...
11 " longa	ɾī			ॠ						...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	و	ו	u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	و	ו	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	ه	ה	e
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	ه	ה	é
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		ऐ	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	ه	ה	ai
17 " " " " " "	ei (éi)			ई	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	ه	ה	ei, éi
18 " " " " " "	oi (ou)			औ	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	و	ו	oi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	و	ו	o
20 " longa	ô (au)	(o)		औ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	و	ו	ô
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		औ	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	و	ו	au
22 " " " " " "	eu (éu)			ऐ	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	ه	ה	eu
23 " " " " " "	ou (ou)			औ	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	و	ו	ou
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ						...
25 Palatalis fracta	i			इ						...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			उ						...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ऊ						...



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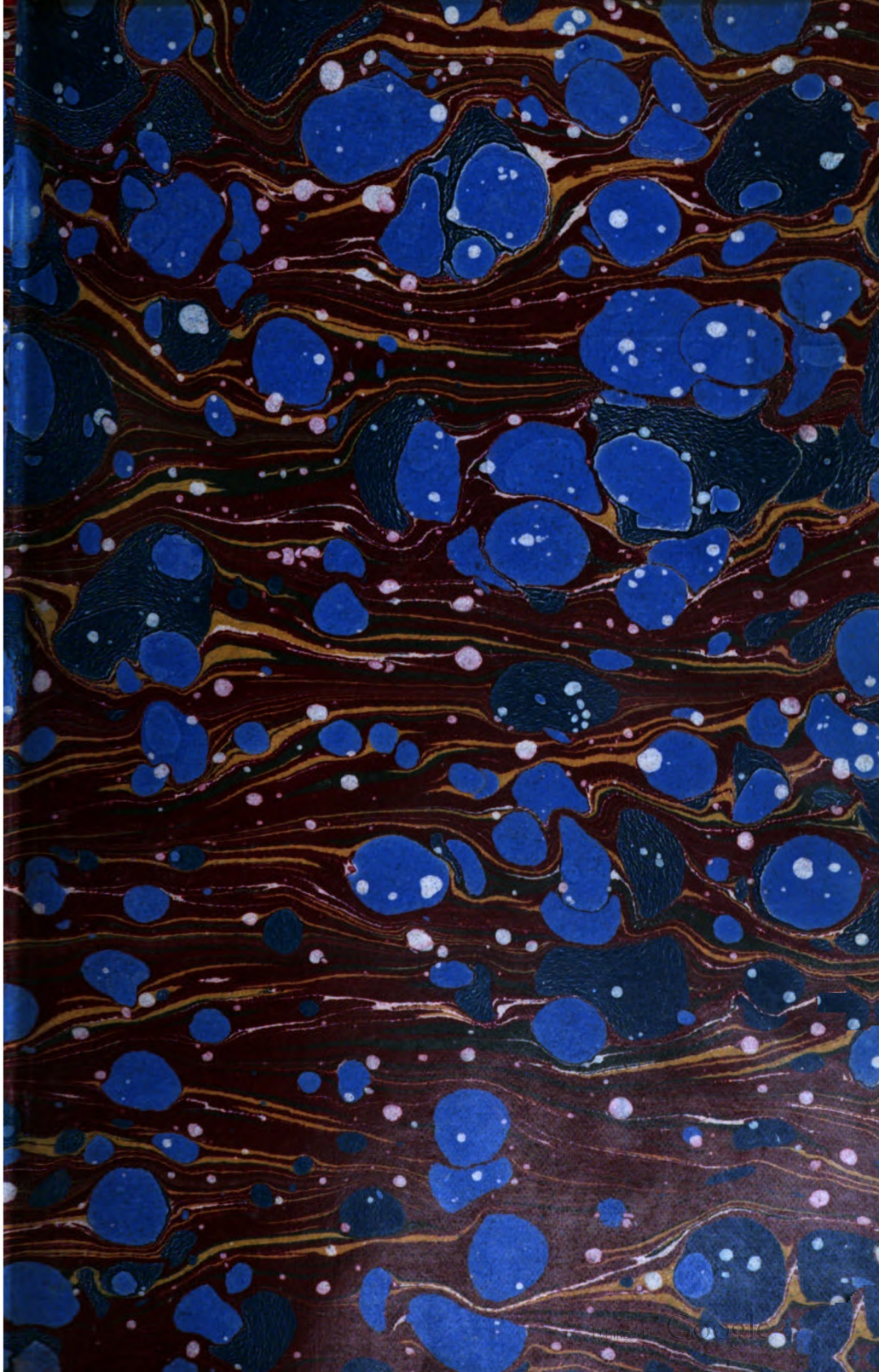
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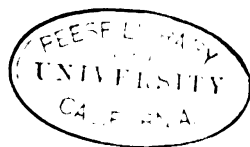
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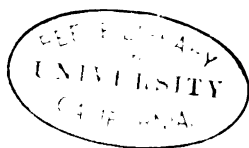
TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XX



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1885

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30187

1.

VINAYA TEXTS

TRANSLATED FROM THE PĀLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

AND

HERMANN OLDENBERG

PART III

THE KULLAVAGGA, IV—XII



Orford

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KULLAVAGGA.

FOURTH KHANDHAKA.

THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AMONG THE FRATERNITY.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was dwelling at Sāvatti, in the Ārāma of Anāthapindika. And at that time the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to carry out the formal Acts—the *Tagganiya*, and the *Nissaya*, and the *Pabbāganiya*, and the *Patissāraṇiya*, and the *Ukkhepaniya*—against Bhikkhus who were not present.

Then those Bhikkhus who were modest were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus [act thus]?' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus carry out the (aforesaid)¹ formal Acts against Bhikkhus who are not present?'

'It is true, Lord!'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'This is improper (&c., as in I, 1, 2, down to the end).'

And when he had thus rebuked them, and had

¹ The words above are repeated.

delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ' The formal Acts, O Bhikkhus, the Tagganiya-, the Nissaya-, the Pabbāganiya-, the Patissāraṇiya-, and the Ukkhepaniya-kammās, ought not to be carried out against Bhikkhus who are not present. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

2.

1. The single Bhikkhu who speaks not in accordance with the right, the many who speak not in accordance with the right, the Saṃgha which speaks not in accordance with the right. The single Bhikkhu who speaks in accordance with the right, the many who speak in accordance with the right, the Saṃgha which speaks in accordance with the right¹.

Now (it may happen that) the one Bhikkhu who speaks not in accordance with the right may point out (the right course) to a single Bhikkhu who speaks in accordance with the right, or gives him to understand what it is², or urges him to see or consider the matter in that light³, or teaches him, or

¹ This short enumeration of the different categories occurring in the subsequent paragraphs is quite in the style of the Abhidhamma texts, in which such lists are accustomed to be called *mâtikâ*; compare the expression *mâtikâ-dharo* as applied to a learned Bhikkhu in the stock phrase at Mahāvagga X, 2, 1; Kullavagga I, 11; IV, 14, 25, &c.

² The Samanta Pâsâdikâ here says: *nigghâpetîti yathâ so tam attham nigghâyeti oloketi evam karoti*.

³ *Pekkhethi anupekkhetîti yathâ so tam attham pekkhati k' eva punappunañ ka pekkhati evam karoti*. (Samanta Pâsâdikâ.)

instructs him, saying, 'This is the Dhamma, this the Vinaya, this the teaching of the Master. Accept this, and approve this.' If the dispute should be thus settled, it is settled contrary to the Dhamma, and with a mere counterfeit of the Vinaya rule of procedure (that cases of dispute must be settled before a duly constituted meeting of the *Samgha*, and in the presence of the accused person)¹.

[And in like manner, if he instruct the many, or the *Samgha*, who speak according to the right;—or if the many or the *Samgha* who speak not according to the right instruct the one, or the many, or the *Samgha* who speak according to the right;—then the dispute is settled contrary to the Dhamma (&c., as before).]

End of the nine cases in which the wrong
side decides.

3.

[This chapter is the contrary of the last; the cases put being those in which the three last members of

¹ *Sammukhâ-vinaya-paṭirûpakena*. The rule of procedure, called *Sammukhâ-vinaya*, hereafter rendered 'Proceeding in Presence,' is one of the seven modes of settling disputes already referred to in the closing chapter of the *Pāṭimokkha* ('Vinaya Texts,' vol. i, p. 68), and is more fully described below in *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 16, and following sections.

It will be seen below, from §§ IV, 14, 27–30, that it is involved in, or rather is supposed to accompany, each of the other Proceedings mentioned in this chapter.

the *mâtikâ* in the first paragraph of chapter 2 instruct, &c., the three first members.]

End of the nine cases in which the right
side decides.

4¹.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying at Râgagaha, in the Kalandaka Nivâpa, in the Bamboo Grove.

Now at that time the venerable Dabba the Mallian, who had realised Arahatsip when he was seven years old, had entered into possession of every (spiritual gift) which can be acquired by a disciple; there was nothing left that he ought still to do, nothing left that he ought to gather up of the fruit of his past labour². And when the venerable Dabba the Mallian had retired into solitude, and was sunk in thought, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: 'Arahatsip had I

¹ The whole of the following story of Dabba down to the end of section 9 (except the last sentence) recurs in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* as the Introductory Story to the Eighth *Samghâdisesa*. The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* has therefore no commentary upon it here, and the few extracts that we give from it are taken from the notes of that work on the corresponding passage in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*. The stupidity of Udâyi, who once supplanted Dabba the Mallian in the performance of his duty as *bhattuddesaka*, forms the burthen of the Introductory Story to the *Gâtaka* on 'the Measure of Rice' (No. 5 in the *Gâtaka* book; 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 172 and following).

² On this phrase compare *Mahâvagga* V, 1, 21, and the verses at V, 1, 27.

acquired when I was seven years old. I have gained everything that a learner can reach to. There is nothing further left for me to do, nothing to gather up of the fruit of that which I have done. What service is it possible for me to render to the *Samgha*?' And it occurred to the venerable Dabba the Mallian: 'It would be a good thing for me to regulate the lodging-places for the *Samgha*, and to apportion the rations of food.'

2. And when, at eventide, the venerable Dabba the Mallian had arisen from his meditations, he went to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side; and when he was so seated the venerable Dabba the Mallian spake thus to the Blessed One:

'When I had retired, Lord, into solitude and was sunk in thought, the following consideration presented itself to my mind (&c., as before, down to) It would be a good thing for me to regulate the lodging-places for the *Samgha*, and to apportion the rations of food. I desire, Lord, [so to do].'

'Very good, Dabba. Do you then regulate the lodging-places for the *Samgha*, and apportion the rations of food!'

'It is well, Lord,' said the venerable Dabba the Mallian, accepting the word of the Blessed One.

3. And the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

'Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, appoint Dabba the Mallian as the regulator of lodging-places, and as the apportioner of rations. And thus, O Bhikkhus, should the appointment be made.

‘First Dabba should be asked (whether he is willing to undertake the office). When he has been asked, some able and discreet Bhikkhu should lay the resolution before the *Samgha*, saying,

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me.

“If it be convenient to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* appoint Dabba the Mallian as regulator of lodging-places, and as apportioner of rations.

“This is the resolution (*ñatti*).

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me.

“The *Samgha* appoints the venerable Dabba the Mallian as regulator of lodging-places, and as apportioner of rations. Whosoever of the venerable ones agrees that Dabba should be so appointed, let him remain silent; whosoever does not agree, let him speak. The venerable Dabba is appointed by the *Samgha* as regulator of the lodging-places, and as apportioner of rations. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”’

4. And the venerable Dabba the Mallian, being so chosen, appointed one lodging-place in the same place for the Bhikkhus who belonged to the same division. For those Bhikkhus who were repeaters of the Suttantas he appointed a lodging-place together, thinking, ‘They will be able to chant over the Suttantas to one another.’ For those Bhikkhus who were in charge of the Vinaya he appointed a lodging-place together, thinking, ‘They will be able to discuss the Vinaya one with another.’ For those Bhikkhus who were preachers of the Dhamma he appointed a lodging-place together, thinking, ‘They will be able to talk over the Dhamma one with another.’ For those Bhikkhus who were given to

meditation ¹ he appointed one lodging-place together, thinking, 'They will not disturb one another.' For those Bhikkhus who were wise in worldly lore, and abounding in bodily vigour ², he appointed one lodging-place together, thinking, 'These venerable ones, too, will thus remain settled according to their pleasure.' And for such Bhikkhus as came in late, for them he caught fire ³, and by the light of the flame thereof he pointed out to them a lodging-place.

So much so ⁴ that Bhikkhus of set purpose would come in late, thinking, 'We shall thus behold the power of the Iddhi of the venerable Dabba the Mallian.' And they went up to the venerable Dabba the Mallian, and said: 'Appoint us, O venerable Dabba, a lodging-place.'

And to them the venerable Dabba the Mallian would speak thus: 'Where do the venerable ones desire to rest? Where shall I appoint it?'

And they of set purpose would designate some place afar, saying, 'May the venerable Dabba appoint us a lodging-place on the Vulture's Peak; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place at the Robber's Cliff; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place at the Black Rock on the Isigili Passa; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging on the Vebhâra Passa; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the Sattapanni Cave; may the

¹ *Ghâyino* possibly used with the technical connotation of being addicted to the practice of the Four *Ghâna* meditations; but compare *Mahāvagga* I, 1, 3, 5, 7.

² See the comment as quoted by H. O.

³ Compare the use of *tegodhâtum samâpaggitvâ* at *Mahāvagga* I, 15, 4.

⁴ Compare *api ssu* at *Kullavagga* I, 9, 1.

venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the mountain cave of the Snake's Pool in Sîta's Wood; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the Gomata Grotto; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the cave of the Tinduka Tree; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place at the Tapoda Ghât; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the Tapoda Ârâma; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in Gtvaka's Mango Grove; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the deer-park at Maddakukki.

And the venerable Dabba the Mallian would burst into flame, and walk on in front of them with his finger burning, and they by the light thereof would follow close upon the venerable Dabba the Mallian. And the venerable Dabba the Mallian would appoint them a lodging-place, saying, 'This is the couch, and this the stool, and this the mat, and this the pillow, and this the privy place, and this the drinking-water¹, and this the water for washing, and this the staff², and this the form of (the result of) the consultation of the Samgha³, that at such and such a time are you to enter thereon, and at such and such a time are you to depart therefrom⁴.' And when the

¹ That *paribhoganiyam* does not mean drinking-water, as Childers renders it, is clear from VIII, 1, 2, where it is implied that it is to be used for washing feet. Our translation of *Mahāvagga* II, 20, 5 should be corrected accordingly.

² Compare below, VIII, 6, 3.

³ *Katika-saṃhānam*. Compare *Gâtaka* I, 81, and *Mahāvagga* VIII, 32, and *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 2.

⁴ That this is the correct rendering of this otherwise doubtful

venerable Dabba the Mallian had thus appointed unto them their lodging-place, he would return back again to the Bamboo Grove.

5. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka¹ had been but recently received into the *Samgha*, and were wanting in merit, and such among the lodging-places appertaining to the *Samgha* as were inferior fell to their lot, and the inferior rations².

Now at that time the people of Râgagaha were desirous of presenting to the Thera Bhikkhus a wishing-gift³, to wit, ghee and oil and dainty bits⁴; while to the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka they used to give an ordinary gift according to their ability, to wit, scraps of food and sour gruel with it⁵.

passage is clear from the closing words of VIII, 1, 2, where most of these phrases recur. In the text, for the last word *nikkhi-pitabbam* read *nikkhamitabbam*, as pointed out in the note at p. 363 of the edition of the text.

¹ These were two of the six leaders of the notorious *Khabbaggiya Bhikkhus*.

² Compare the 22nd *Nissaggiya*.

³ *Abhisamkhârikam*; that is, a gift by the giving of which the donor expressly wished that a particular result (as, for instance, that the donor should be re-born as a king or queen, or should enter the paths, or have opportunity to hear a Buddha preach) should be brought about by the normal effect of that good act in a future birth. There are not a few instances of such wishes, and of their fulfilment, recorded in various parts of the sacred literature.

⁴ *Uttaribhaṅgam*. See the passages quoted in the note on *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 3. These three things are also mentioned together at VIII, 4, 4.

⁵ These expressions recur at *Gâtaka* I, 228. The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says merely *kaṇḍâgakan ti sakuntaka-bhattam*. *Bilaṅga-dutiyan ti kaṇḍika-dutiyaṃ*.

When they had returned from their receipt of alms, and had eaten their meal, they asked the Thera Bhikkhus, 'What did you get, Sirs, at the place of alms; what did you get?'

Some of the Theras answered, 'We had ghee, Sirs; we had oil; we had dainty bits.'

The Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka replied: 'We got nothing at all, Sirs; just an ordinary gift such as they could manage, scraps of food, and sour gruel with it.'

6. Now at that time a certain householder, possessed of good food¹, used to give a perpetual alms to the *Samgha*, a meal for four Bhikkhus. He with his wife and children used to stand at the place of alms and serve; and offer to some Bhikkhus boiled rice, and to some congey, and to some oil, and to some dainty bits.

Now at that time the meal for the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka had been fixed for the morrow at the house of this prosperous householder. And the prosperous householder went to the *Ârâma* for some business or other, and went up to the place where the venerable Dabba the Mallian was. And when he had come there, he saluted the venerable Dabba the Mallian, and took his seat on one side. And him so seated did the venerable Dabba instruct, and arouse, and gladden, and incite with religious discourse.

And when the prosperous householder had thus been instructed, and aroused, and gladdened, and incited by the venerable Dabba the Mallian with

¹ The *Samanta Pāsādikā* says simply *kalyāṇam bhattam assā ti kalyāṇa-bhattiko*.

religious discourse, he said to the venerable Dabba the Mallian: 'For whom, Sir, has the meal been appointed to-morrow at our house?'

'The meal has been appointed, my friend, at your house to-morrow for those Bhikkhus who are followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka.'

Then the prosperous householder was ill-pleased, thinking, 'How can bad Bhikkhus enjoy themselves at our house?' And going home he gave command to the slave-girl: 'For those who come to-morrow for the meal, spread out the mats in the entrance hall¹, and serve them with scraps of food, and with sour gruel with it!'

'Even so, Sir!' said the slave-girl, accepting the word of the householder.

7. Then the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka spake one to another: 'Yesterday a meal has been appointed for us at the house of the prosperous householder. To-morrow he, with his wife and children, will attend upon us at the place of alms, and serve us. And he will offer to some of us boiled rice, and to some congey, and to some oil, and to some dainty bits.' And through joy thereat they slept uneasily that night.

Then the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka, having robed themselves in the early morning, went duly bowled and robed to the dwelling-place of the prosperous householder. And that slave-girl saw the Bhikkhus who were followers

¹ *Koṭṭhake*, which means the battlemented gateway which formed the entrance to an important house; and in which there was a room. See *Gâtaka* I, 227.

of Mettiya and Bhummagaka approaching from afar; and spreading out the mats in the entrance hall, she said to them, 'Be seated, Sirs.'

And the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka thought: 'For a certainty the meal cannot yet be ready, since we are told to take our seats in the entrance.'

Then the slave-girl coming up with scraps of food, and sour gruel with it, said to them, 'Eat, Sirs!'

'We, sister, are of those for whom perpetual meals are provided.'

'I know, Sirs, that you are so. But only yesterday I received command from the householder that for them who should come to-morrow for the meal I was to spread out the mats in the entrance hall, and serve them with scraps of food, and some gruel with it. Eat, Sirs!'

Then the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka thought: 'It was yesterday that the householder, the prosperous one, came to the Ârâma to visit Dabba the Mallian. For a certainty the householder must have been set against us by Dabba the Mallian.' And through sorrow thereat they ate uneasily. And the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka, when they had finished their meal, returned from the receipt of alms, went to the Ârâma, and laid aside their bowls and their robes, and sat down outside the porch of the Ârâma, squatting against their waist cloths¹,

¹ *Samghâsi-pallatthikâya*. There is a misprint in the text ('ttikâya). On this curious expression, see below, V, 28, 2.

silent, and ashamed, with fallen hearts¹, and sunken faces, moody, and bewildered².

8. Now the Bhikkhuni Mettiyā came up to the place where the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka were: and when she had come there she said to them: 'My salutation to you, Sirs³!'

When she had so said the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka did not speak to her. So a second time she said to them: 'My salutation to you, Sirs!' and they did not speak. And a third time she said to them: 'My salutation to you, Sirs!' Still the third time the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka did not speak. And she said: 'Wherein have I offended you, Sirs? Wherefore do you not speak to me?'

'Are you then so indifferent⁴, sister, when we are tormented by Dabba the Mallian?'

'But what can I do, Sirs?'

¹ Pattakkhandhā, which the Samanta Pāsādikā explains by patitakkhandhā. Khandhā here seems to mean 'faculties.' Compare the use of Dhammā in a similar connection at Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta II, 32 = Mahāvagga V, 13, 9; and see Buddhaghosa's commentary on that passage, quoted by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 36.

² Appaṭibhāṇā. Paṭibhāṇaṃ is the rapid suggestion of an idea in a case of doubt or difficulty, an illumination; so that paṭibhāṇako, the man of ready wit, may be compared with upāyākusalo, the man fertile in resource. 'Absent-minded' would be an incorrect rendering; they had no idea what to think or do, and the appearance of the nun on the scene (in the next paragraph) supplied the want. Till then they hesitated, drifted.

³ The following narrative, down to § 9, is repeated almost word for word in V, 20, only that the person there persuaded to bring the false accusation is different.

⁴ Aggahupekkhati. Compare Gātaka I, 147.

‘If you like, sister, you could this very day make the Blessed One expel the venerable Dabba the Mallian.’

‘But what shall I do, Sirs? What is it that it is in my power to do?’

‘Come now, sister; do you go to the place where the Blessed One is, and when you have come there say as follows: “This, Lord, is neither fit nor proper that the very quarter of the heavens which should be safe, secure, and free from danger, that from that very quarter should come danger, calamity, and distress—that where one might expect a calm, one should meet a gale. Methinks the very water has taken fire. I have been defiled, Lord, by Dabba the Mallian!”’

‘Very well, Sirs!’ said the Bhikkhuni Mettiyā, accepting the word of the followers of Mettiyā and Bhummagāka. And she went to the Blessed One [and spake even as she had been directed].

9. Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Saṃgha, and asked the venerable Dabba the Mallian:

‘Are you conscious¹, Dabba, of having done such a thing as this Bhikkhuni says?’

‘Even as my Lord, the Blessed One, knows me.’ [And a second and a third time the Blessed One asked the same question, and received the same reply.]

¹ Literally, ‘Do you recollect?’ But it is quite clear from the technical words at the close of this section that the verb *sarati* had already acquired the secondary meaning ‘to be conscious of.’ The whole story is peculiarly valuable as illustrating the growth of the connotation of the verb and its allied meanings, and indirectly the origin and growth of the idea of ‘conscience’ which has played so great a part in theological and ethical speculation.

Then said the Blessed One: 'The Dabbas, O Dabba, do not thus repudiate¹. If you have done it, say so. If you have not done it, say you have not.'

'Since I was born, Lord, I cannot call to mind² that I have practised sexual intercourse even in a dream, much less when I was awake!'

And the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Expel then, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhuni Mettiyâ, and examine those Bhikkhus about it.' And so saying he rose from his seat and entered into the Vihâra.

Then those Bhikkhus expelled the Bhikkhuni Mettiyâ. But the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka said to those Bhikkhus: 'Do not, Sirs, expel the Bhikkhuni Mettiyâ. She has not committed any offence. She has been set on by us with angry and bitter intentions of causing his fall.'

'What then, Sirs? is it you who are thus harassing the venerable Dabba the Mallian with a groundless charge and breach of morality?'

'That is true, Sirs.'

Then those Bhikkhus who were moderate were indignant and annoyed and complained, saying, 'How can these Bhikkhus the followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka harass the venerable Dabba the Mallian with a groundless charge of breach of

¹ That is, 'Men of character and standing such as yours, O Dabba, are not in the habit of repudiating a charge in so indirect a manner by adverting merely to their standing and known character.'

² Here the word used is *abhiġânâmi*.

morality?' And they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is this true, O Bhikkhus?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then he rebuked them, and when he had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

'Let then the *Samgha* grant to Dabba the Mallian, whose conscience in respect of this matter is quite clear, the Proceeding for the consciously innocent¹.

10. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is it to be granted.

'Let that Dabba the Mallian go before the *Samgha*, and having arranged his robe over one shoulder, let him bow down at the feet of the senior Bhikkhus, and crouching down², let him stretch

¹ Dabbassa sati-vepulla-ppattassa sati-vinayam detu. The explanation of the compound sati-vepulla-ppatto given by Childers, though it rests on so good an authority as that of *Vigesiṃha* Mudaliar, cannot be right. He makes it mean 'a man of great intellectual development.' But sati must here refer to the fact that Dabba has been formally called upon to remember (*sârito*) whether he did or did not commit the offence. And though the exact sense of the compound is subject to some doubt, the general sense of the clause must be very much as we have conjecturally rendered it. On this formal appeal to the conscience, or memory (*sati*), of a Bhikkhu charged with an offence, or supposed to have offended, see *Kullavagga* I, 2, and 5 at the end; and X, 20.

² *Ukku/ikam nisīditvâ*. This verb does not mean 'to sit on the hams,' as rendered by Childers. The exact posture, unknown in Europe, is to crouch down on the feet (keeping both toes and heels on the ground) in such a way that the hams do not touch the ground, but come within an inch or two of it. Europeans find it very difficult to retain this posture for any length of time, but the natives of India find it easy, and it is regarded in the *Piṭakas* as a posture of humility.

forth his hands with the palms joined together, and let him say, "These Bhikkhus, Sirs, the followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka, are harassing me by a groundless charge of breach of morality. But I, Sirs, in respect thereof have a clear conscience, and I ask the *Samgha* for the acquittal to be accorded to those who are conscious of innocence." Then some able and discreet Bhikkhu is thus to lay the resolution (*ñatti*) before the *Samgha*. "Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus, Sirs, the followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka, are harassing the venerable Dabba the Mallian with a groundless charge of a breach of morality, and the venerable Dabba the Mallian has in respect thereof a conscience that is clear, and asks the *Samgha* for the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence. If the time is convenient to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* accord to the venerable Dabba the Mallian the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence. This is the resolution. Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) asks the *Samgha* for the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence. The *Samgha* accords to the venerable Dabba the Mallian the acquittal of those who are consciously innocent. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the grant to Dabba the Mallian of the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. And a second time I say the same thing. And a third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) let him speak. The acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence has been

granted by the *Samgha* to Dabba the Mallian. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand¹.”

11. ‘There are five things which make a grant of acquittal to those who are conscious of innocence to be according to law. The Bhikkhu must be innocent and without offence, others must have censured him, he must ask the *Samgha* for acquittal as being conscious of innocence, the *Samgha* must grant it, the *Samgha* must be duly held and duly constituted. These, O Bhikkhus, are the five things which make a grant of the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence to be according to law.’

5².

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhu Gagga was insane and out of his mind; and by him, when so insane and out of his mind, many things unworthy of a *samāna* had been committed, as well in speech as in act³. The Bhikkhus warned the Bhikkhu Gagga of a fault so committed by him when insane and out of his mind, saying, ‘Does the venerable one call to

¹ This section is repeated below, chap. 14, § 27, with the necessary alterations for a general rule instead of a particular case.

² The particular decision given in this chapter for the particular case is elaborated in chap. 14, § 28 below into a general rule for every similar case.

³ Buddhaghosa explains this word as follows: ‘*Bhâsitaparikantan ti vâkâya bhâsitam kâyena parikkantam parikkametvâ katan ti attho.*’ The similar word *Parikantam*, which occurs in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* IV, 1, 2, in the sense of lacerated, is from the root *krînt*.

mind that he has committed such and such an offence?’

He replied, ‘I, my friends, was insane and out of my mind. (No doubt) many things unworthy of a *samāna*, as well in speech as in act, may have been committed by me when so insane and out of my mind. But I do not recollect it. It was done by me by reason of my insanity.’

But though they received that answer from him¹, they warned him still, saying, ‘Does the venerable one call to mind that he has committed such and such an offence?’

‘Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, “How can those Bhikkhus warn the Bhikkhu Gagga . . . saying . . . such and such an offence?” And when he replies, “I, my friends, was insane . . . by reason of my insanity”—how can those Bhikkhus still warn him, saying . . . of such and such an offence?’

And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that those Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) such and such an offence?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

Then he rebuked them, and when he had delivered a religious discourse he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘Let then the *Samgha* grant to Gagga the

¹ *Nam* in the text is correct. It is identical with the *nam* so frequently found in Jain Prakrit; on which see Weber in his *Bhagavatī* ‘Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie,’ 1865, pp. 422 and foll.

Bhikkhu who is now sane the dispensation for those who are no longer insane.

2. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be granted.

'Let that Bhikkhu Gagga [here follow the words of the formal request, of the resolution, and of the grant by decision of the *Samgha*, exactly in the same way as in the last case, chapter 4, § 10].'

6.

1. 'There are three cases, O Bhikkhus, in which grants of dispensation for those who are no longer insane are not valid : and three cases in which such grants are valid.

'What are the three cases in which grants of dispensation for those who are no longer insane are not valid ?

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu have committed an offence : and in respect thereof either the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu, warn him, saying, "Does the venerable one call to mind that he has been guilty of such and such an offence?" And he, notwithstanding that he does remember it, says, "I do not remember, Sirs, that I have been guilty of such and such an offence." Then if the *Samgha* grant him the dispensation of those who are no longer insane, that grant is not valid.

'Again, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) And he, notwithstanding that he does remember it, says, "I remember it, Sirs, but as if in a dream." Then if the *Samgha* grant him

the dispensation of those who are no longer insane, that grant is not valid.

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu have committed an offence, and in respect thereof either the Saṃgha, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu, warn him, saying, “Does the venerable one call to mind that he has been guilty of such and such an offence?” And he, though he is not insane, acts in the (deceptive) way of an insane person¹, saying, “I act so, and you act so likewise. It beseems me, and it likewise beseems you.” Then if the Saṃgha grant him the dispensation of those who are no longer insane, that grant is not valid.

‘These are the three cases, O Bhikkhus, in which a grant of the dispensation for those who are no longer insane is not valid.

2. ‘What are the three cases in which grants of dispensation for those who are no longer insane are valid ?

‘In the first place, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu be insane and out of his mind ; and by him, when so insane and out of his mind, many things unworthy of a samāna have been committed, as well in speech as in act. And either the Saṃgha, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu, warns him in respect thereof, saying, “Does the venerable one call to mind that he has committed such and such an offence?” And he really not remembering it, answers, “I do not remember, Sirs, that I have been guilty of such and such an offence.” Then if the Saṃgha grants him the dispensation for those who are no longer insane, that grant is valid.

¹ Ummattakālayaṃ karoti, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing. The word recurs in the following section.

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu be insane and out of his mind (&c., as before, down to) And he, not really remembering it, answers, “I remember it, Sirs, but as if in a dream.” Then if the *Samgha* grants him the dispensation for those who are no longer insane, that grant is valid.

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu be insane and out of his mind (&c., as before, down to) “Does the venerable one call to mind that he has been guilty of such and such an offence?” And he, being still insane, acts in the way of an insane person, saying, “I act so, and you act so likewise. It beseems me, and it likewise beseems you.” Then if the *Samgha* (afterwards) grant him the dispensation for those who are no longer insane, that grant is valid.

‘These are the three cases, O Bhikkhus, in which the grant of the dispensation for those who are no longer insane is valid.’

7.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus carried out official acts against Bhikkhus who had not confessed themselves guilty—the *Tagganiya-kamma*, or the *Nissaya-kamma*, or the *Pabbāganiya-kamma*, or the *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma*, or the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma*.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (&c., as before).’ And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus do so?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

Then he rebuked them, and when he had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘No official act, O Bhikkhus,—whether the *Tagganiya-kamma*, or the *Nissaya-kamma*, or the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*, or the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma*, or the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma*,—is to be carried out against Bhikkhus who have not confessed themselves guilty¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

8.

1. ‘Now, O Bhikkhus, an official act carried out against a Bhikkhu who has confessed himself guilty is invalid as follows, and is valid as follows. And how does such an official act become invalid? In case a Bhikkhu have committed a *Pârâgika* offence, and in respect thereof either the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu warns him, saying, “The venerable one has been guilty of a *Pârâgika*.” And he replies thus, “I have not, Sirs, been guilty of a *Pârâgika*. I have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa*.” And in respect thereof the *Samgha* deals with him for a *Samghâdisesa*. Then that official act is invalid.’

¹ The mode in which such a confession ought to be made is set out in full in IV, 14, 30-34.

[And so also if on being warned of any one of the seven offences¹ he confesses himself to be guilty of any one of the offences different from the one charged, then the official act is invalid.]

2. 'And when, O Bhikkhus, is such an official act valid? In case a Bhikkhu have committed a Pârâgika offence, and in respect thereof the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu warns him, saying, "The venerable one has been guilty of a Pârâgika." And he replies, "Yea, Sirs, I have been guilty of a Pârâgika." And in respect thereof the *Samgha* deals with him for a Pârâgika. Then that official act is valid².'

[And so for each of the other offences mentioned in § 1, the whole of § 2 is repeated.]

9³.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus in chapter (*Samgha*) assembled, since they became violent, quarrelsome, and disputatious, and kept on wounding one another with sharp words⁴, were unable

¹ The same, namely, as those in the list given at Mahāvagga IV, 16, 12, &c.

² In other words, if a Bhikkhu confesses an offence different from that with which he has been charged, the confession cannot be used against him even as regards a decision with respect to the offence confessed.

³ On this chapter, see further below, IV, 14, 16.

⁴ *Aññamaññam mukhaisattfhi vitudantâ viharanti*. Literally, 'with mouth-javelins.' Vitudati, and not vitûdati as Childers gives, is the right spelling. So Fausböll reads at *Gâtaka* II, 185, 186.

to settle the disputed question (that was brought before them).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority. A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as taker of the voting tickets—one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear², one who knows what (votes) have been taken and what have not been taken.

' And thus shall he be appointed.

' First the Bhikkhu is to be requested (whether he will undertake the office). Then some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

' "Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* appoint a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the voting tickets.

' " This is the motion (*ñatti*).

' " Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The *Samgha* appoints a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the tickets. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the Bhikkhu of such and such a name being appointed as taker of the

¹ From here to the end of the chapter recurs in IV, 14, 24.

² These are the qualifications always ascribed to one who rightly fills any judicial office, and are called the four *Agatis*. They are the especial attributes of a good king sitting as judge, and are mentioned elsewhere (*Samghâdisesa* XIII; *Mahāvagga* VIII, 5, 2; VIII, 6, 1; and below, VI, 11, 2) of other officials of the order with duties similar to those in the text.

tickets, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Bhikkhu of such and such a name is appointed by the *Samgha* as taker of the voting tickets. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'"

10¹.

1. 'There are ten cases, O Bhikkhus, in which the taking of votes is invalid; and ten in which the taking of votes is valid.

'Which are the ten in which the taking of votes is invalid? When the matter in dispute is trivial²—when the case has not run its course (that is, when the necessary preliminaries of submission to arbitration have not been carried out³)—when regarding the matter in dispute the Bhikkhus have not formally remembered, or been formally called upon to remember, the offence⁴—when the taker of votes⁵ knows that those whose opinions are not in accordance with the law will be in the majority,

¹ On this chapter, see further below, IV, 14, 24-26.

² *Oramattakam*. Compare the English law maxim, *De minimis non curat lex*.

³ *Buddhaghosa* says, *Na ka gatigatan ti dve tayo âvâse na gatam, tattha tatth' eva vâ dvitikkhattum avinikkhitam*. See on these proceedings above.

⁴ *Buddhaghosa* says, *Na ka sarita-sâritan ti dvitikkhattum tehi bhikkhûhi sayam saritam va aññehi sâritam vâ na hoti*.

⁵ *Gânâtî ti salâkam gâhento gânâti*. (S. P.)

or probably¹ may be in the majority—when he knows that the voting will result in a schism in the *Samgha*—when he is in doubt whether the voting will result in a schism in the *Samgha*—when the votes are irregularly given²—when all do not vote equally³—and when they do not vote in accordance with the view (which they really hold). These are the ten cases in which the voting is invalid⁴.

2. 'And which are the ten cases in which the voting is valid?'

[The ten cases are precisely the reverse of the other ten.]

11.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhu Uvāḥa⁵, being examined in the midst of the *Samgha* with an offence, when he had denied then confessed it, when he had confessed it then denied it, made

¹ App eva nāma. That this phrase does not merely mean 'perhaps' is clear from its use in § 2.

² Adhammena gaṇhantī ti adhammavādinō evaṃ mayam bahū bhavissāma ti dve dve salākāyo gaṇhanti. (S. P.)

³ On vaggā, here = vi + agga, compare our note on the 21st Pāṭiṭṭiya, and Kullavagga I, 2, 1. Buddhaghosa here says, Vaggā gaṇhantī ti dve dhammavādinō ekaṃ dhammavādisalākāṃ gaṇhanti evaṃ dhammavādinō na bahū bhavissantī ti maññamānā.

⁴ With this chapter the 26th section of chapter 14 should be compared, where very curious means are inculcated for avoiding some of the votes here stated to be invalid.

⁵ In the Burmese MSS. the name of this monk is written Upavāla.

counter-charges¹, and spoke lies which he knew to be such².

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the Bhikkhu Uvâ/a do so?' And they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say that the Bhikkhu [&c., as before].'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then he rebuked him, and when he had delivered a religious discourse he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* carry out the *Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma* (the Proceeding in the case of the obstinately wrong)³.'

2. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is it to be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhu Uvâ/a must have been warned ; when he had been warned, he must have been called upon to remember (whether he has, or has not, consciously committed the offence) ; when he had been called upon to remember, he must have been caused (by being put on his trial with respect to the offence) to bring upon himself a new

¹ *Aññena aññam paṭikarati*. We follow Wijesimha Mudaliyar's interpretation of this phrase as given by Childers (s. v. *tassa-pâpiyyasikâ*).

² Chapter 14, section 29 below, is in fact an elaboration of this paragraph, giving instances of the kind of prevarication here intended to be referred to.

³ The exact meaning of the phrase is somewhat doubtful, owing to the ambiguity of the *tassa*. It should probably be analysed 'the proceeding against one who is more sinful (*pâpiyo*) than that (*tassa*) ;' that is, who adds sin to sin. Childers gives a long note on the Proceeding drawn by Wijesimha Mudaliyar from this chapter, but does not analyse the word.

offence (namely, of obstinacy or prevarication); when he has brought upon himself this new offence, some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This Bhikkhu *Uvāḷa*, being examined in the midst of the *Samgha* with an offence, when he has denied it then confesses it, when he has confessed it then denies it, makes counter-charges, and speaks lies which he knows to be such. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* carry out the *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma* against the Bhikkhu *Uvāḷa*.

“This is the motion.

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This Bhikkhu *Uvāḷa* (&c., as before). The *Samgha* carries out the *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma* against *Uvāḷa* the Bhikkhu. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma* being carried out against *Uvāḷa* the Bhikkhu, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing. This Bhikkhu *Uvāḷa* (&c., as before, down to) let him speak. A third time I say the same thing (&c., as before, down to) let him speak.

“The *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma* has been carried out by the *Samgha* against *Uvāḷa* the Bhikkhu. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand¹.”

¹ This *Kammavâḥā* is precisely the same as is laid down in *Kullavagga* I, 1, 4, &c. in the case of all the other penal *Kamma*s.

12.

1. 'There are five things, O Bhikkhus, which are necessary to the valid carrying out of the Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma. To wit—he is impure, he is shameless—a censure has been set on foot against him¹—the Samgha carries out the Kamma—it carries it out lawfully, and in a full quorum.

2. 'There are three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma is characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has not been carried out in a full assembly of properly qualified persons, according to law and justice, and in the presence of the litigant parties—when it has been carried out without the accused person having been heard—when it has been carried out without the accused person having confessed himself guilty.

'These are the three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma is characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled.

'There are three things by which (and as in last paragraph) it is in accordance with the Dhamma, and in accordance with the Vinaya, and easy to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been [&c., the rest of this paragraph is the reverse of the last]².'

¹ Compare the use of anuvâdo in *Kullavagga* I, 5.

² These paragraphs exactly correspond to paragraphs at *Kullavagga* I, 2. It is probably merely owing to this repetition that it is here also prescribed that the accused person must confess

3. [This paragraph exactly corresponds to *Kullavagga* I, 4, paragraph 1, as to the three cases in which the *Samgha*, if it likes, may carry out the *Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma* against a *Bhikkhu*.]

4. [In this paragraph the 'right conduct' for a *Bhikkhu* who has been subjected to this *Kamma* is laid down precisely as in I, 5 for a *Bhikkhu* subjected to the *Tagganiya-kamma*.]

Then the *Samgha* carried out the *Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma* against *Uvâla* the *Bhikkhu*.

13¹.

1. Now at that time, while the *Bhikkhus* were continuing in quarrels, strifes, and disputes, they had been guilty of many things unworthy of a *Samaṇa*, as well in word as in deed, and it occurred to the *Bhikkhus*, 'Whilst we were continuing, &c. . . . we have been guilty, &c. . . . as well in word as in deed. If we now deal one with another for those offences, it may happen that that proceeding may result in harshness, in ill-feeling, in divisions. How now should we manage?'

And they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, whilst the *Bhikkhus* are continuing, &c. . . . they are guilty, &c. . . . as well in word as in deed. And it occurs to them, "Whilst we were continuing, &c. . . . we have been guilty, &c. . . . If we now deal, &c. . . . How now shall

himself guilty, as it must be evident from the Introductory Story, that he will not do so.

¹ The whole of this chapter recurs below, IV, 14, 33.

we manage?" I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle a matter of this kind by *Tinavattthâraka* (the Covering over as with grass)¹.

2. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is it to be settled. All are to meet together in one spot. When they have met together some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

"Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. While we were continuing, &c. . . . we have been guilty, &c. . . . as well in word as in deed. And it occurred to us (&c., down to) If we now deal one with another, &c. . . . it may result in harshness, in ill-feeling, in divisions. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* settle this matter by the Covering over as with grass—except only as regards serious offences², and as regards those things in which the laity have been concerned."

'Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu among those Bhikkhus who belong to the one party is to bring the matter before his own party, saying,

"May the venerable ones hear me. While we were continuing, &c. . . . we have been guilty, &c. . . . as well in word as in deed. And it occurred to us, &c. . . . (down to) in divisions. If the time seems meet to you, venerable Sirs, I would confess in the midst of the *Samgha*, both on your behalf, venerable Sirs, and on my own behalf, both such offence as is yours, venerable Sirs, and such offence

¹ Buddhaghosa's commentary on this expression will be found in the notes to H. O.'s edition of the text, pp. 313, 314.

² Buddhaghosa (H. O. loc. cit.) explains this as meaning either *Pârâgika* or *Samghâdisesa* offences. So also he explains *Duṭṭhullâ âpatti* at Mahāvagga X, 5, 4.

as is mine own, to the end that it may be covered over as with grass, except only as regards serious offences, and as regards those things in which the laity have been concerned."

'And some discreet and able Bhikkhu among the Bhikkhus belonging to the other party is to bring the matter before his own party, saying, "May the venerable ones hear me [&c., as before in the last paragraph, down to the end]."

'Then the discreet and able Bhikkhu among the Bhikkhus belonging to the one party is to bring the matter before the *Samgha*, saying, "May the venerable *Samgha* hear me. While we (&c., as before, down to) in divisions. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, I would confess¹ in the midst of the *Samgha*, both on behalf of these venerable ones and on my own behalf, both such offence as is theirs and such offence as is mine own, to the end that it may be covered over as with grass, except only as regards serious offences, and as regards those things in which the laity have been concerned. This is the motion (*ñatti*). May the venerable *Samgha* hear me. While we (&c., as before, down to) in divisions. I confess (&c., as before, down to) in which the laity have been concerned. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the confession of these our offences, to the end that they may so be covered over as with grass, except as before mentioned, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. These our offences are confessed in the midst of the *Samgha*, to the end that they may be covered over as with grass, except

¹ *Deseyyam*. Compare IV, 14, 33, at the end.

as before mentioned. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand."

'And the discreet and able Bhikkhu among the Bhikkhus belonging to the other party is to bring the matter before the *Samgha*, saying, "Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me (&c., as before in the last paragraph, down to the end)."

'Then thus, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus are absolved of those offences, except as regards serious offences, and as regards those things in which the laity have been concerned, and except also as regards those who express their disapproval of the proceedings, or who are not present at them¹.'

14.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhus had disputes with Bhikkhus, and Bhikkhunts with Bhikkhus. And the Bhikkhu *Khanna*², forcing his way (into the apartments) of the Bhikkhunts³, took the part of the Bhikkhunts and disputed with the Bhikkhus.

¹ On these phrases Buddhaghosa has the following note :
Di//hâvikamman ti ye pana na me tam khamatî ti aññamaññâ di//hâvikammam karonti tehi vâ saddhim âpattim âpaggitvâ pi, tattha anâgatâ âgantvâ vâ khandam datvâ parivenâdisu nisinnâ, te âpattihi na vu//hahanti. This is more an exegesis on the rule than an explanation of the words *Di//hâvikammam /hapetvâ*, the exact meaning of which remains doubtful. The literal rendering would be 'except as regards the manifestation of opinion.'

² It was with reference to this conduct of *Khanna* that the Buddha is stated in the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* VI, 4 to have imposed a penalty upon him. He is also mentioned above, I, 25-31, and below, XI, 1, 12-14.

³ Compare the 16th and 43rd *Pâtittiyas*. Buddhaghosa says here, *Bhikkhunînam anupakhaggâ ti bhikkhunînam anto-pavisitvâ*.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were indignant, &c. . . . told the Blessed One, &c. . . . he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

2. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, the following four kinds of legal questions that require formal settlement by the *Samgha* ; (that is to say), legal questions arising out of disputes, legal questions arising out of censure, legal questions arising out of offences, legal questions arising out of business ¹.

'Among these, what is a legal question arising out of dispute ? This, O Bhikkhus, is when Bhikkhus dispute, saying, "This is Dhamma," or "This is not Dhamma," or "This is Vinaya," or "This is not Vinaya," or "This is taught and spoken by the Tathâgata," or "This is not taught nor spoken by the Tathâgata," or "This has been practised by the Tathâgata," or "This has not been practised by the Tathâgata," or "This has been ordained by the Tathâgata," or "This has not been ordained by the Tathâgata," or "This is an offence," or "This is not an offence," or "This is a slight offence," or "This is a grievous offence," or "This is an offence which can be done away," or "This is an offence which cannot be done away ²," or "This is a most grave offence," or "This is not a most grave

¹ The various ways of settling these four kinds of legal questions are recapitulated in §§ 27-34 of this chapter.

² *Sâvasesâ-anavasesâ-âpatti*. The *Parivâra* IX, 1, 10 says, *Yâ sâ âpatti anavasesâ sâ âpatti na katamena adhikarâna na katamamhi /hâne na katamena samathena sammati*. It is practically equivalent therefore to *Pârâgikâ*. Those offences which can be done away, but only by the *Samgha*, are called accordingly in the Buddhist Sanskrit *Samghâvâresha*, which corresponds to the Pâli *Samghâdisesa*. The translation and note at *Mahâvagga* X, 2, 4 should be altered accordingly.

offence." Whatsoever quarrel, strife, controversy, difference of opinion, contradiction, opposition, cantankerousness¹, or contention there may be on such a matter, this is called a legal question arising out of dispute.

'And among these, which is a legal question arising out of censure? This, O Bhikkhus, is when Bhikkhus charge a Bhikkhu with a fault of morality, or of conduct, or of opinion, or of means of livelihood. Whatsoever charge, censure, incrimination², admonition², candid opinion³, making of excuses⁴ for a person, or making fun of him, there may be, that is called a legal question arising out of censure.

'And among these, what is a legal question arising out of offence? The five groups of offences⁵ are subjects of legal questions of offences, and the seven groups of offences⁶ are subjects of legal questions of offence. This is what is called a legal question arising out of offence.

'And among these, what is a legal question of business? Whatsoever is to the *Samgha* a matter which ought to be done, an obligation, a matter for which leave ought to be formally asked, the pro-

¹ *Vipaṭṭatāya vohāro ti kitta-dukkhatthāya vohāro pharusa-vaṭṭanan ti attho* (S. P.).

² *Anullapanā anubhaṇanā ti ubhayam anuvadana-vevaṭṭana-mattam eva* (S. P.).

³ *Anusampavaṇkatā ti punappunam kāya-kittam vāṭṭhi tatth' eva sampavaṇkatā anuvadanabhāvo ti attho* (S. P.).

⁴ *Abbhussahanatā ti kasmā evam na upavadissāmi upavadissāmi yevā ti ussāham katvā anuvadanā* (S. P.).

⁵ That is to say, *Pārāgika*, *Samghādisesa*, *Pāṭittiya*, *Pāṭidesaniya*, and *Dukkata*, as below, in IV, 14, 14; IX, 3, 3.

⁶ That is to say, the five mentioned in the last note, and besides them, *Thullaṭṭaya* and *Dubbhāsita*.

posal of a resolution¹, the proceeding by *ñattidutiya-kamma*², or by *ñatti-katuttha-kamma*², that is called a legal question of business.

3. 'What is that which gives rise to a legal question of dispute? There are six causes of dispute that give rise to legal questions of dispute. And there are three causes of wrong-doing that give rise to legal questions of dispute, and three causes of right-doing that give rise to legal questions of dispute. And which are these six?

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, there is the Bhikkhu who is angry, and who bears enmity in his heart. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is such an angry man bearing enmity in his heart, he remains without reverence for, and without delight in the Teacher, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha*, and does not fulfil all the duties of a disciple. And whatsoever Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, remains without reverence for, and without delight in the Teacher, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha*, and does not fulfil all the duties of a disciple, he causes disputes to arise in the *Samgha*, and such a dispute becomes a cause

¹ *Apalokana-kamman ti-âdi pana tass' eva pabheda-vañanam. Tattha apalokana-kammam nâma sîma//hakam samgham so-dhetvâ khandârahânam khandam âharitvâ samaggassa anumatiyâ tikkhattum sâvetvâ kâtabba-kammam* (S. P.).

² See our note at Mahâvagga I, 28, 3. The Samanta Pâsâdikâ here says, *ñattidutiya-kammam pana apaloketvâ kattabbam pi atthi akattabbam pi atthi. Tattha sîmasammuti sîmasamûhananâ kathinadânam kathinubbhâro kû'avatthudesanâ vihâravatthudesanâ 'ti imâni kha kammâni garukâni apaloketvâ kâtum na va//ati, ñattidutiya-kammavâkam sâvetvâ 'va kâtabbâni, avasesâ terasa sammutiyo senâsanagâhakamataka (? patta) kîvaradânâti (°di° ?)-sammutiyo kâ 'ti evarûpâni lahukakammâni apaloketvâ pi kâtum va//anti.*

of woe, and of want, and of disaster to the great multitudes, of woe and of want to gods and men. If you, therefore, O Bhikkhus, perceive such a one, a root of disputes both internal and external, do you exert yourselves, O Bhikkhus, to put away from you so evil a person, the root of those disputes. If you perceive, O Bhikkhus, no such person, take pains lest any such evil root of disputes should thereafter arise among you. Thus will so evil a root of disputes be put away from you, and thus will no such evil person, the root of disputes, arise hereafter among you.

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, there is the Bhikkhu, who is a hypocrite¹, and who hides his faults; who is envious and jealous; who is crafty and treacherous; who has sinful desires and false beliefs; who is tarnished by love of worldly gain, devoted to getting and taking, for whom to renounce a thing is hard. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is thus a hypocrite, who hides his faults, he remains [&c., as before, the whole of the last paragraph down to the end being repeated in each of the cases here enumerated].

4. ‘And which are the three causes of wrong-doing which give rise to legal questions of dispute?’

‘Herein, O Bhikkhus, men of greedy mind are given to dispute, men of evil mind are given to dispute, men of foolish mind are given to dispute, saying, “This is Dhamma,” or “This is not Dhamma” [&c., as before, in § 2, down to] or “This is not a

¹ Palâsî; no doubt connected with the primary meaning of the word ‘leaf,’ as is also its use in the sense of ‘covering, lining,’ in eka-palâsikâ upâhanâ at Mahāvagga V, 1, 29. The expression forms the subject of Puggala II, 2. See also Gâtaka III, 259.

most grave offence." These are the three causes of wrong-doing which give rise to legal questions of dispute.

'And which are the three causes of right-doing which give rise to legal questions of dispute ?

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, men not of greedy mind [&c., as in the last paragraph, inserting the word "not"].

5. 'And what is that, O Bhikkhus, which gives rise to legal questions of censure? There are six causes of censure that give rise to legal questions of censure. And there are three causes of wrong-doing that give rise to legal questions of censure. And there are three causes of right-doing that give rise to legal questions of censure. And the body gives rise to legal questions of censure, and speech gives rise to legal questions of censure.'

[The six are word for word the same as in the last section, reading 'censure' for 'dispute.']

'And which are the three causes of wrong-doing that give rise to legal questions of censure ?

'Herein, O Bhikkhus, men of greedy mind are given to censure, men of evil mind are given to censure, men of foolish mind are given to censure, accusing others of breaches of morality, or of behaviour, or of error in doctrine, or of adopting a wrong means of livelihood. These are the three causes of wrong-doing that give rise to legal questions of censure.'

[There follow the three causes of right-doing, reading 'men not of greedy mind,' &c., as before, end of § 4.]

'And how does the body give rise to legal questions of censure? In case a man be ill-favoured,

or ugly, or a dwarf¹, or diseased, or blind of one eye, or lame, or humpbacked, or crippled, people find fault with him on that account. This is how the body gives rise to legal questions of censure.

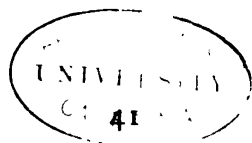
‘And how does speech give rise to legal questions of censure? In case a man have a bad voice, or be indistinct, or harsh in speech², then people find fault with him on that account. This is how speech gives rise to legal questions of censure.

6. ‘And what is it that gives rise to legal questions of offence? There are six origins of offence that give rise to legal questions of offence. There is an offence that originates in deed, but not in word nor in thought. There is an offence that originates in word, but not in deed nor in thought. There is an offence that originates in deed and in word, but not in thought. There is an offence that originates in deed and in thought, but not in word. There is an offence that originates in word and in thought, but not in deed. There is an offence that originates in deed and in word and in thought. These are the six (&c.)

7. ‘And what is that which gives rise to legal questions of business? There is one thing that gives rise to legal questions of business, that is to say, the *Samgha*.

¹ Buddhaghosa has no explanation of these terms here, but on *Anguttara Nikāya* III, 2, 3, where the whole list recurs, he says (as Dr. Morris is good enough to inform us) that *oko/imako* is equal to *lakun/ako*; and the same explanation is given by the commentary on *Puggala* IV, 19. Compare the use in English of ‘a mere dot of a man,’ in a similar sense.

² These three epithets of the voice are no doubt intended to be the opposites of the three in *Mahāvagga* V, 13, 9.



8. 'Legal questions of dispute. Right. Wrong. Undetermined'.¹

'A legal question arising out of dispute may be right, and it may be wrong, and it may be undetermined. Of these, which is the legal question arising out of dispute which is right ?

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu of right mind discuss, saying, "This is the Dhamma," or "This is not the Dhamma" (&c., as before, in § 2, down to) or "This is not a most grave offence." Whatsoever quarrel, strife, contention, difference of opinion, contradiction, opposition, cantankerousness, or contention there may be in such a discussion is called a legal question arising out of dispute that is right.'

[And so when the Bhikkhus have a wrong mind, or an undetermined mind, the legal question arising out of such dispute is respectively a legal question arising out of dispute that is wrong or undetermined.]

9. 'Legal questions of censure. Right. Wrong. Undetermined.'

[It may be either of the three, according as the Bhikkhus censuring (as in § 5) have a right, wrong, or an undetermined mind. The form of the paragraph corresponds to § 8 throughout.]

10. 'Legal questions of offence. Right. Wrong. Undetermined.'

'There may be a legal question whether an offence is wrong, and there may be a legal question

¹ We have already pointed out (above, IV, 1, 2) that this mode of the commencement of a discussion by setting out a list of the points to be discussed and compared is found also in some of the Abhidhamma books. There it was only the objects themselves, here we have all the predicates which it is proposed to apply (as in § 8), or to declare inapplicable to the object (as in § 10), which are set out, but the principle is the same.

whether an offence is undetermined. There is no legal question whether an offence be right.

‘Of these, which is a legal question whether an offence be wrong? Whatsoever transgression be committed knowingly, consciously, and deliberately, this is called a legal question whether an offence be wrong.

‘And of these, which is a legal question whether an offence be undetermined? Whatsoever transgression be committed not knowingly, not consciously, not deliberately, this is called a legal question whether an offence be undetermined.

11. ‘Legal questions of business. Right. Wrong. Undetermined.’

[It may be all three, according as the Bhikkhus performing the business specified, as in § 2, are right-minded, wrong-minded, or of undetermined mind. The form of the paragraph as in § 8 throughout.]

12. ‘Disputes, legal questions arising out of disputes. Dispute which is no legal question. Legal question which is no dispute. Matter which is both legal question and dispute.

‘There may be a dispute which is a legal question of dispute. There may be a dispute which is no legal question. There may be such a legal question which is no dispute. There may be such a legal question and also a dispute.

‘Of these, which is the dispute which is a legal question of dispute requiring formal settlement? In case Bhikkhus discuss, saying, “This is Dhamma” [&c., as before, in § 2], or “This is not a most grave offence.” Whatsoever quarrel, strife [&c., as in § 2] there may be on such a matter is a dispute which is a legal question of dispute requiring formal settlement.

‘And of these, which is a dispute which is not a legal question requiring formal settlement? When a mother disputes with her son, or a son with his mother, or a father with his son, or a son with his father, or a brother with a brother, or a brother with a sister, or a sister with a brother, or a friend with a friend. Such a dispute is not a legal question requiring formal settlement by the *Samgha*.

‘And of these, which is a legal question that is not a dispute? A legal question of censure, or a legal question of offence, or a legal question of business. This is a legal question which is not a dispute.

‘And of these, which is a legal question requiring formal settlement which is also a dispute? A legal question of dispute that requires formal settlement by the *Samgha* is both such a legal question and also a dispute.’

13. [The same distinction drawn between censure, and a legal question of censure requiring formal settlement.]

14. ‘Offence. Legal question arising out of an offence. Offence which is not subject of a legal question. Legal question and no offence. Legal question and offence too.

‘There may be an offence which is subject of a legal question of offence. There may be an offence and no legal question. There may be legal question and no offence. There may be legal question and offence too.

‘Of these, which is the offence which may be subject of a legal question? The five groups of offences are subjects of legal questions of offence; the seven groups of offences are subjects of legal questions of offence. These are offences which may be subject of a legal question.

‘And of these, which is an offence (Âpatti) which is not subject of a legal question? Conversion, higher attainment (sot-âpatti, sam-âpatti), these are âpattis which are not subjects of a legal question¹. These are âpattis not subjects of a legal question.

‘And of these, what is the legal question where there is no offence? A legal question of official duty, a legal question of censure, a legal question of dispute. These are legal questions where there may be no offence.

‘And of these, which is the case in which there is both a legal question and an offence too? A legal question regarding an offence is a case in which there is both a legal question and an offence too.

15. ‘Official duty which is subject of a legal question of business. Duty and no legal question. Legal question and no duty. Legal question and duty too.

‘There may be [each of these four].

‘Of these, which is official duty which is subject of a legal question? Whatsoever is to the Samgha a thing which ought to be done, an obligation, a matter for which leave ought to be formally asked, the proposal of a resolution, the proceeding by ñatti-dutiya-kamma, or by ñatti-*katuttha*-kamma, that is official duty which may be the subject of a legal question of business.

¹ This is merely a play upon words. Âpatti is literally ‘attainment to.’ Standing alone it is always used with the connotation of ‘attainment to guilt, sin, offence,’ so that its etymological meaning is always lost sight of. Sotâpatti is the ‘attainment to,’ the ‘entering upon’ the stream, that is, the course of the Excellent Way. The Samâpattis, literally, ‘complete, or higher, attainments,’ are eight successive states of ecstatic insight or meditation practised by Arahats and other men of advanced spiritual culture. The question stated is in fact a riddle, like so many of the questions stated in the Parivâra and the Puggala-paññatti.

‘And of these, which is the official duty which is not subject of legal question? The duties of an *âkariya*, of an *upagghâya*, of a fellow pupil under the same *upagghâya* or *âkariya*, that is business, but not subject of a legal question of business.

‘And of these, which is a legal question but not official duty? A legal question arising out of dispute, a legal question arising out of censure, a legal question arising out of offence. This is a legal question of business, but not official duty.

‘And of these, which is both legal question and official duty too? A legal question arising out of official business is both legal question of business and official duty too¹.

16. ‘But by what kind of settlements is a legal question arising out of dispute brought to settlement? By two kinds of settlement, by the Proceeding in presence², and by the Proceeding by majority of the *Samgha*³.

‘If one should ask, “Can it be that a legal question arising out of dispute without recourse having been had to the one mode of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding by majority of the *Samgha*—can it be that it may be settled by the other mode of settlement, to wit, by the Proceeding in presence?” He should be told “Yes, it can.” (If he should say), “How may that be?” the answer should be as follows: “In

¹ Here again the whole section depends upon a play upon the various meanings of the word *kikkam*. In the technical phrase *kikkâdhikaranam*, the word means solely the business or the agenda at the formal meetings of the *Samgha* (compare above, § 7). In the problems or riddles of this section its more common meaning of ‘duty’ is brought into play.

² *Sammukhâ-vinayena*. See above, chapter 2.

³ *Yebhuyyasikena*. See above, chapter 9.

the case when the Bhikkhus dispute, saying, 'This is the Dhamma,' or 'This is not the Dhamma' (&c., as before, in § 2, down to), or 'This is not a most grave offence.'" If, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus, are able to settle their own dispute, that is called, O Bhikkhus, the settlement of the dispute.

'¹ And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in presence.

'And what must there be in such a Proceeding in presence? There must be the presence of the *Samgha*, the presence of the Dhamma, the presence of the Vinaya, and the presence of the particular person.

'And therein, what is the presence of the *Samgha*? As many Bhikkhus as are capable of taking part in the proceeding², they must be present. The formal consent must be produced of those who are in a fit state to convey their consent³. Those who are present must have lodged no objection (against any one of them taking part in the proceeding)⁴. This is the "presence" in such a matter of the *Samgha*.

'And of these, what is the presence of the Dhamma, and the presence of the Vinaya? The Dhamma, and the Vinaya, and the teaching of the Master by the aid of which that legal question is settled. That is the "presence" in such a matter of the Dhamma, and of the Vinaya.

'And of these, what is the presence of the par-

¹ The following five paragraphs recur in IV, 14, §§ 24, 27, and four of them in IV, 14, 21, 30.

² *Kammappattā*. See *Parivāra* XIX, 1, 7, et seq.

³ See above, *Mahāvagga* II, 23.

⁴ Or rather, perhaps, 'against the proceedings which are being carried out.'

ticular person? He who disputes, and he with whom he disputes—both friends and foes—must be present. That is the “presence” in such a matter of the particular person.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening of the question is a Pāḷittiya¹. If one who has conveyed his consent complain of the decision, such complaint is a Pāḷittiya².

17. ‘If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are not able to settle the legal question within their own residence (Āvâsa), those Bhikkhus should go, O Bhikkhus, to some residence in which there are a larger number of Bhikkhus. Then if those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, should succeed, whilst on their way to that residence, in settling the legal question, that, O Bhikkhus, is called a settlement of it. And how has it been settled? (&c., as in the last paragraph of the previous section, down to the end.)

18. ‘If those Bhikkhus are not able, O Bhikkhus, to settle the legal question whilst they are on their way to that residence, then those Bhikkhus, on their arrival at that residence, are to address the Bhikkhus at that residence thus: “Such and such a legal question, Sirs, has arisen thus, and has been carried on thus amongst us. It would be well if you, Sirs, would settle that legal question for us according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, to the end that that legal question may be thoroughly settled.” If the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence

¹ This is the 63rd Pāḷittiya.

² This is the 79th Pāḷittiya. The whole paragraph is repeated several times below in this chapter.

are the senior, and the incoming Bhikkhus are junior, then the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence are, O Bhikkhus, to address the incoming Bhikkhus thus : " Pray, Sirs, rest a moment apart until we take counsel together ! " If, on the other hand, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence are junior, and the incoming Bhikkhus are senior, then the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence are, O Bhikkhus, to address the incoming Bhikkhus thus : " Then remain here, Sirs, a moment until we take counsel together. " Then if, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence should, on consideration, think thus : " We shall not be able to settle this legal question according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, " then that dispute is not to be entrusted to them. If, on the other hand, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence should, on consideration, think thus : " We shall be able to settle this legal question in accordance with the Dhamma, and in accordance with the Vinaya, and in accordance with the teaching of the Master, " then, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence are to address the incoming Bhikkhus thus : " If you, Sirs, let us know about this legal question, how it arose, and how it was carried on, and if you agree that in the manner in which we may settle the legal question according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, in that manner it shall be settled, then we will thus accept the legal question at your hands. But if not (&c., the whole being repeated), then we will not accept it. " When they have thus, O Bhikkhus, brought

it about that the proper way of putting the legal question (the point at issue) has been settled, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence should undertake that legal question. And then the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence should be addressed, O Bhikkhus, by the incoming Bhikkhus thus: "We inform you, Sirs, how this legal question arose and how it was carried on. If you, Sirs, are able in such and such a time¹ to settle this legal question according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, then will we entrust this legal question to you. But if you, Sirs, should not be able to do so, then will we ourselves retain the custody of the case." Thus, O Bhikkhus, is that legal question to be entrusted by the incoming Bhikkhus to the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence, causing them duly to accept it. If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are able to settle the case, that, O Bhikkhus, is called a settlement of the legal question. And how has it been settled? (&c., as in last paragraph of § 16, down to the end.)

19. 'If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being enquired into by those Bhikkhus, pointless speeches are brought forth, and the sense of any single utterance is not clear², I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle the case by referring it (to a jury or commission)³.

¹ Ettakena vâ antarena, on which Buddhaghosa has nothing. On vâ = eva, see Böhtlingk-Roth s. v. vâ, No. 4.

² These words recur at XII, 2, 7, where an instance occurs of the mode of proceeding here laid down.

³ Ubbâhikâya. Childers has quite misunderstood both the meaning and the derivation of this term. It must be derived

‘A Bhikkhu to be chosen on such a jury must be possessed of ten qualities—he must be virtuous—he must be living enclosed by the restraint of the rules of the Pâtimokkha—he must be upright in life, trained according to the precepts, taking them upon himself with a sense of the danger in the least offence¹—he must be versed in the tradition, a custodian of the tradition, a storehouse of the tradition—whatsoever truths, lovely in their origin, lovely in their progress, lovely in their consummation, set forth the higher life, both in its spirit and in its letter, in all its purity and in all its perfectness², in such truths must he be well versed, of such must he be full, they must be laid up in his words³, and dwelt on in his heart, being penetrated throughout through right insight⁴—both the Pâtimokkhas must have

from *ud+vah*; and means simply ‘reference’—the turning over of a difficult or intricate case from the general *Samgha* to a special committee, as was done at Vesâli (below, XII, 2, 7).

¹ With this passage (so far) compare the *Âkaṅkheyya Sutta*, § 2 (translated in Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 210), where the wording is somewhat different. See, however, the various readings here.

² We prefer to translate, in accordance with IX, 5, 1 below, *sâttham savyañṅanam* as given in the corrections to the text on p. 303; thus making the phrase ‘in the spirit and in the letter’ refer to the *brahma-kariyam*, and not to the *dhammâ*. But it should be pointed out that the parallel passage in the stock description of a Buddha (for instance in *Tevigga Sutta* I, 46, translated in Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 187) would support the reading given here in the text, referring the phrase in question to the *dhammâ*, and not to the *brahma-kariyam*.

³ See the various readings, and compare *Sigâlovâda Sutta*, p. 301; *Gâtaka* II, 247, 293; *Mahâvagga* VI, 25, 1.

⁴ Though *diṭṭhi* is usually found in its bad sense of ‘delusion’ (it never means ‘heresy,’ as Childers renders it), it is also used, especially in older texts, in the good sense of ‘insight.’ Compare the ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ I, 11.

been completely handed down to him in their full extent, he must have well divided them, well established them, well investigated them, both sutta by sutta and in every detail¹—further he must be an expert in the Vinaya, irrefutable therein²—he must be competent to point out (the right course) to both friends and foes, to get them to understand a thing, get them to see it and recognise it³, able to pacify them—he must be clever (in judging) both as to the origin and as to the settlement of disputes—he must understand legal questions, the origin thereof, the close thereof, and the way that leads to the close thereof.

‘I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint on the jury a Bhikkhu possessed of these ten qualities⁴.

20. ‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, is he to be appointed. First, the Bhikkhu should be asked (whether he be willing to undertake the office). Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should address the *Samgha* thus :

“May the venerable *Samgha* hear me. Whilst this case was being enquired into pointless speeches were brought forth amongst us, and the sense of no single utterance was clear. If the time seems meet

¹ Perhaps this may mean ‘both as to the Suttas themselves and as to the Old Commentary upon them’—*suttato anuvyañganaso*. See ‘*Vinaya Texts*,’ vol. i, p. xviii, and note 2, p. xxix.

² *Vinaye kḥeko hoti asamhîro*. Compare on the use of these words, *Gâtaka* I, 290; II, 161; *Sutta Nipâta* V, 18, 26.

³ On all these terms, which have occurred above at IV, 2, 1, see the commentary as there quoted in the notes.

⁴ It is of course to be understood that the committee or jury does not consist of only one such Bhikkhu. In the instance already referred to as occurring in XII, 2, 7, four are chosen from each side.

to the venerable *Samgha*, let it appoint Bhikkhus of such and such a name, and of such and such a name on a committee. This is the motion.

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. Whilst (&c., . . . down to) no single utterance was clear. The *Samgha* appoints Bhikkhus of such and such names on a committee to settle this case. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the appointment of such and such Bhikkhus on the committee for the settlement of this case, let him be silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“Such and such a Bhikkhu is appointed by the *Samgha* on the committee for the settlement of this case. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

21. ‘If then, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus are able on the reference (or on the committee) to settle the case, that, O Bhikkhus, is called a case that is settled. And how is it settled? By the Proceeding in Presence¹. And what therein is meant by the Proceeding in Presence? The Dhamma is represented, and the Vinaya is represented, and the particular person is represented².

‘And of these, what is the presence of the Dhamma (&c., as in § 16, down to the end).

‘If a dispute, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a *Pākittiya*³.

22. ‘If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being

¹ *Sammukhâ-vinayena*. See chapter 2.

² This is the same as in § 16 of this chapter, except that ‘the presence of the *Samgha*’ is omitted.

³ See the 63rd *Pākittiya*, and § 17 above.

enquired into by those Bhikkhus, there should be there a Bhikkhu who is a preacher of the Dhamma, but neither has the Sutta¹ been handed down to him nor the Sutta-vibhaṅga, and he not regarding the point of the case, reject the sense for the shadow of the letter, then should the matter be laid before those Bhikkhus by some discreet and able Bhikkhu thus :

“Let the venerable ones hear me. This Bhikkhu of such and such a name is a preacher of the Dhamma, but neither has the Sutta been handed down to him nor the Sutta-vibhaṅga. And he, not regarding the point of the case, is rejecting the sense for the shadow of the letter. If the time seems meet to the venerable ones, let them send away² the Bhikkhu of such and such a name, and let the rest of us settle this case.”

‘If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, should be able, after having sent away that Bhikkhu, to settle the case, that is called a case that is settled. And how has it been settled ? By the Proceeding in Presence (&c., as in last section, down to the end).’

23. (The same decision if the Sutta has been handed down to him, but not the Sutta-vibhaṅga.)

24. ‘If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are not able by the committee to settle that case, those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, ought to hand over the case to the Saṃgha, saying, “We, Sirs, are not able by a committee to settle this case, let the Saṃgha settle it.” I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a case by vote of the majority (&c., as in chapter 9 to the

¹ That is, the Pâtimokkha.

² Literally, ‘cause him to arise.’

end, as to the appointment of a taker of the voting tickets). By that Bhikkhu, the taker of the voting tickets, are the votes to be collected. And according as the larger number of Bhikkhus who are guided by the Dhamma shall speak, so shall the case be decided. This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled.

‘And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence and by the vote of the majority. And what herein is meant by Proceeding in Presence? The presence of the *Samgha*, and the presence of the Dhamma, and the presence of the Vinaya, and the presence of the particular person. And of these, what is the presence of the *Samgha*? (&c., as in § 16, down to) That is the presence in such a matter of the particular person.

‘And what herein is meant by the vote of the majority? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the undertaking of, the acceptance of, the pacification by the official act (the *Kamma*) by the vote of the majority¹. That is what is meant herein by the vote of the majority.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a *Pāṭittiya*. If one who has conveyed his consent complain of the decision, such complaint is a *Pāṭittiya*².’

25. Now at that time a certain legal question had arisen in such and such a manner, and had grown up in such and such a manner at Sāvatti. And those

¹ This sentence is also used of the other modes of settlement below, §§ 27, 29.

² So also above, § 16; and below, §§ 27-29.

Bhikkhus were discontented with the settlement of the case by the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi*. And they heard that in a certain residence there were dwelling a number of Theras versed in the traditions ; men to whom the *Âgamas*¹ had been handed down ; reciters of the Dhamma, of the Vinaya, and of the *Mâtikâs*², learned, discreet, wise, modest, conscientious, anxious to learn. And they thought, 'If those Theras would settle this case according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, then would this case be indeed well settled.' So those Bhikkhus went to that residence, and spake to those Theras thus : 'This legal question, Sirs, has arisen in such and such a manner, and has grown up in such and such a manner. It would be well if the venerable Theras would settle the case according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master!' Then those Theras, saying, 'Even as the case has been settled by the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi*, so is it well settled!' decided the case in the same way. Then those Bhikkhus who had been discontented with the decision of the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi* were discontented with the decision of the number of Theras.

[The paragraph is repeated with the necessary alterations of consecutive applications to three, two, and one Thera with the same result.]

Then those Bhikkhus, discontented with the decision of the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi*, discontented with the decision of the number of Theras, dis-

¹ That is, the Four *Nikâyas*, now forming the *Sutta Piṭaka*.

² See our note above on *Kullavagga* IV, 1, 2.

contented with the decision of the three Theras, discontented with the decision of the two Theras, discontented with the decision of the single Thera, went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘This case, O Bhikkhus, is done with; having been once settled, it is settled for good.

26¹. ‘I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes, in order to appease such Bhikkhus²—the secret method, the whispering method, and the open method.

‘And how, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to make the voting tickets of different colours, and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him he is to say to him thus: “This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion; this the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like.” When he has chosen (he is to add), “Don’t show it to anybody.” If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the vote as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the vote as well taken. This, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking the votes.

‘And how, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to whisper in each Bhikkhu’s ear, “This is the ticket of those of such an opinion; this is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever

¹ On the following section, compare chapters 9 and 10 above.

² On *Saññattiyâ*, see our note below on VII, 4, 1.

you like." When he has chosen (he is to add), "Don't tell anybody (which way you have voted)." If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the vote as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the vote as well taken. Thus, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking the votes.

'And how, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking votes? If he ascertains (beforehand) that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly. Thus, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking the votes.

'These, O Bhikkhus, are the three methods of taking the votes¹.'

27. 'By how many kinds of settlement is a legal question arising out of censure settled? A legal question arising out of censure can be settled by four kinds of settlement—by the Proceeding in Presence—by the Proceeding for those who are consciously innocent—by the Proceeding for those who are no longer out of their mind—by the Proceeding for those who are obstinate.

'If one should ask, "Can it be that a legal question arising out of censure, without recourse being had to two modes of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding for those who are no longer out of their mind, and the

¹ This naive chapter would seem to show that the *pia fraus* was not unknown to the Buddhist monks at the time when the *Kullavagga* was composed. Buddhaghosa's note (given at p. 315 of H. O.'s edition of the text) specifies the different occasions when each of the three methods should be used.

Proceeding for those who are obstinate—may be settled by the two other modes of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding in Presence, and the Proceeding for those who are consciously innocent?" he should be told, "Yes, it can." (If he should say), "How may that be?" the answer should be as follows:

'In case the Bhikkhus bring a groundless charge against a Bhikkhu of a breach of morality. In respect thereof, O Bhikkhus, to that Bhikkhu whose memory in regard to the matter is quite clear, the Proceeding for the consciously innocent is to be accorded.

'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is to be granted (&c., as in chapter 4, § 10, down to the end, with the necessary alterations for a general rule instead of a particular case).

'This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled. And how settled? By the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding for the consciously innocent. And what therein belongs to the Proceeding in Presence? The presence of the *Samgha*, and the presence of the *Dhamma*, and the presence of the *Vinaya*, and the presence of the particular person. And therein what is the presence of the *Samgha* (&c., as in § 16, down to the end)? And what therein belongs to the Proceeding for the consciously innocent? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the undertaking of, the acceptance of, the pacification of the Proceeding for the consciously innocent¹. That is what belongs herein to the Proceeding for the consciously innocent.'

¹ This clause corresponds to the one above, in § 24, and below, in § 29.

28. [This section bears exactly the same relation to chapter 5 as the last section does to chapter 4, the form of the two sections being exactly the same throughout.]

29¹. 'If one should ask, "Can it be that a legal question arising out of censure, without recourse being had to two modes of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding for those who are consciously innocent, and the Proceeding for those who are no longer out of their mind—may be settled by the two other modes of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding in Presence, and the Proceeding for those who are obstinate?" he should be told, "Yes, it can." If he should say, "How may that be?" the answer should be as follows :

'In case a Bhikkhu warn another Bhikkhu in the midst of the *Samgha* of a grievous offence, and call upon him to recollect (whether he have committed it or not), saying, "Has the venerable one been guilty of such and such a grievous offence—a *Pârâgika* offence, or an offence equivalent to a *Pârâgika* offence?" And he replies thus, "I do not, Sir, call to mind that I have been guilty of such and such a grievous offence—a *Pârâgika* offence, or an offence equivalent to a *Pârâgika* offence." To him thus denying the other insists, saying, "Come now, Sir, ascertain for certain whether you are conscious of having been guilty of such and such a grievous

¹ This section again bears exactly the same relation to chapter 11 as the previous ones have done to chapters 4 and 5 respectively. The outline of the form is the same, but as in the introductory part (containing the description of the offence) the present section is much fuller than the chapter to which it refers, we prefer to give that part of this section in full.

offence—a Pârâgika offence, or an offence equivalent to a Pârâgika offence.” And he replies thus: “I do not, Sir, call to mind that I have been guilty of such and such a grievous offence—a Pârâgika offence, or an offence equivalent to a Pârâgika offence. But I do, Sir, recollect that I was guilty of such and such a trifling offence.” To him thus denying the other insists [as before]. And he replies thus: “Seeing that I am willing, Sir, though you did not ask me, to confess myself guilty of that trifling offence, why should I not confess, when asked, such and such a grievous offence—a Pârâgika offence, or an offence equivalent to a Pârâgika offence?” And the other rejoins, “But you do not confess, Sir, even that trifling offence without being asked. How should you confess, if you were not asked, the commission of such and such a grievous offence—a Pârâgika offence, or one equivalent to a Pârâgika offence? Come now, Sir, ascertain for certain whether you are conscious of having been guilty of such and such a grievous offence—a Pârâgika offence, or one equivalent to a Pârâgika offence?” And he replies, “Yes, I am conscious, Sir, of having committed such and such an offence—a Pârâgika offence, or one equivalent to a Pârâgika offence. In sport did I say, in fun did I say that I was not conscious thereof.”

‘Then, O Bhikkhus, the Proceeding for those who are obstinate should be carried out against that Bhikkhu.

‘And thus should it be carried out (&c., as chapter 11, § 2, down to the end, reading “such and such a Bhikkhu” for “Upavâla,” and “grievous offence” for “offence”).

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled. And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding for those who are obstinate. And what therein belongs to the Proceeding in Presence? The Presence of the *Samgha* (&c., as in § 16). And what therein belongs to the Proceeding for those who are obstinate? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the undertaking of, the acceptance of, the pacification of the official act (the *Kamma*) by the Proceeding for those who are obstinate. That is what belongs therein to the Proceeding for those who are obstinate.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a *Pāṭittiya*. If one who has conveyed his consent complain of the decision, such complaint is a *Pāṭittiya*.

30. ‘By how many modes of settlement is a legal question arising out of offence settled? A legal question arising out of offence is settled by three modes of settlement—to wit, by the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding on confession of guilt, and by the Proceeding by covering over as with grass.

‘If one should ask, “Can it be that a legal question arising out of offence, without recourse being had to the one mode of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding by covering over as with grass—may be settled by the other two modes—to wit, the Proceeding in Presence, and the Proceeding on confession of guilt?” he should be told, “Yes, it can.” If he should say, “How may that be?” the answer should be as follows :

‘In case a Bhikkhu has been guilty of a minor offence. That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should go up to another Bhikkhu, and having arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, and squatted down on his heels, and stretched forth his hands with the palms held together, should speak as follows: “I, Sir, have been guilty of such and such an offence; and that I confess.” He should say, “Do you acknowledge it?” “Yes; I acknowledge it.” “May you restrain yourself in future¹!”

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question which has been settled. And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding on confession of guilt. And what therein belongs to the Proceeding in Presence? The presence of the Dhamma, and the presence of the Vinaya, and the presence of the particular individual. And what therein is the presence of the Dhamma, and of the Vinaya? The Dhamma, and the Vinaya, and the teaching of the Master, by the aid of which that legal question is settled. That is the presence in such a matter of the Dhamma, and of the Vinaya. And what therein is the presence of the particular individual? He who confesses, and he to whom he confesses, both are present. That is the presence of the particular individual in such a proceeding. And what therein belongs to the Proceeding on confession of guilt? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the performance of, the acceptance of, the pacification of the official act (the Kamma) by the Proceeding on confession of

¹ *Āyatim samvareyyâsi*. So again in the next section. Compare V, 20, 5.

guilt. That is what belongs therein to the Proceeding on confession of guilt.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a Pāṭittiya¹.

31. ‘If he should thus receive (absolution), it is well. If he should not receive it, that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should go up to a number of Bhikkhus, and having arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, and bowed down before the elder Bhikkhus, and squatted down on his heels, and stretched forth his two hands with the palms held together, he should speak as follows: “I, Sirs, have been guilty of such and such an offence, and that I confess.” Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should lay the matter before those Bhikkhus, saying, “Let the venerable ones hear me. This Bhikkhu, of such and such a name, is conscious of an offence; and he discloses it, reveals it, confesses it. If the time seems meet to the venerable ones, I would absolve² that Bhikkhu’s offence.” And he should say, “Do you acknowledge it?” “Yes; I acknowledge it.” “In future may you restrain yourself!”

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question which has been settled. And how has it been settled? (&c., as in last section, down to the end.)

32. ‘If he should thus receive absolution, it is well. If he should not receive it, that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should go before the Saṃgha (&c., as in last section, down to the end, then adding): And if one who has given his consent to the pro-

¹ See §§ 16, 29, &c. of this chapter.

² *Paṭigāheyyam*. See V, 20, 5.

ceeding thereafter make complaint thereof, that is a *Pākittiya*.

33. 'If one should ask, "Can it be that a legal question arising out of offence, without recourse being had to the one mode of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding on confession of guilt—may be settled by the other two modes—to wit, by the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding by covering over as with grass?" he should be told, "Yes, it can." If he should say, "How may that be?" the answer should be as follows:

'If while the Bhikkhus are continuing in quarrels (&c., as in chapter 13, §§ 1, 2, and 3, down to the end).

'This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled. And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding by the covering over as with grass.

'And what therein belongs to the Proceeding in Presence? The presence (&c., as in § 16, down to) And what therein is the presence of the particular person? He who confesses, and he to whom the confession is made¹, both are present. This is the presence of the particular individual in such a case.

'And what therein belongs to the Proceeding by covering over as with grass? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the performance of, the acceptance of, the pacification of the official act (the Kamma) by the Proceeding by covering over as with grass. That is what belongs therein to the Proceeding by covering over as with grass.

¹ This refers to the technical term of the Proceeding in question, *tiṇavatthārakena deseyyam* (IV, 13, 2); and the singular of course includes the plural, as the confession usually took place before a number of Bhikkhus.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a Pākittiya. If one who has conveyed his consent complain of the decision, such complaint is a Pākittiya.

34. ‘By how many modes of settlement is a legal question arising out of business settled? A legal question arising out of business is settled by one mode of settlement only—to wit, by the Proceeding in Presence.’

End of the Fourth Khandhaka, on the Settlement of Legal Questions.

FIFTH KHANDHAKA.

ON THE DAILY LIFE OF THE BHIKKHUS.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Râgagaha, in the Bamboo Grove, in the Kalandaka Nivâpa. And at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, when bathing, used to rub¹ their bodies—thighs, and arms, and breast, and back—against wood. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas do so, like wrestlers, boxers, or shampooers?’ The Bhikkhus heard the people so murmuring, &c. ; and they told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, having convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, asked the Bhikkhus : ‘Is this true, O Bhikkhus, what they say, that the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, when bathing, rub (&c., as before)?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

¹ Ugghamseti. The simple verb occurs below, V, 9, 2, 4, X, 10, 2, and at Gâtaka, vol. i, p. 190. It is the Sanskrit root gharsh.

² On malla-mu//hikâ Buddhaghosa merely says mu//hika-mallâ. His note on gâma-poddavâ (already given by H. O. at p. 315 of the edition to the text) says, ‘town’s people given to adorning themselves by painting their skin’ (on which compare below, V, 2, 5). But it is difficult to see how that fits in with the connection here.

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'This is improper, O Bhikkhus (&c., as usual, see I, 1, 2, down to the end).' And when he had rebuked them, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'A Bhikkhu, when bathing, is not, O Bhikkhus, to rub his body against wood. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, when bathing, used to rub their bodies—thighs, and arms, and breast, and back—against a pillar—against a wall (&c., as in last section, down to the end).

3. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to bathe on an *Attāna* (a sort of shampooing stand¹). The people (&c., as before). The Bhikkhus (&c., as before). Then the Blessed One (&c., as before, down to) addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'You are not to bathe, O Bhikkhus, on an *Attāna*. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

[Paragraphs similar in every respect to the last follow as to

Using a *Gandhabba-hatthaka*² when bathing.

Using a *Kuruvindaka-sutti*³ when bathing.

Rubbing their bodies, when under water, up against each other⁴.

¹ So Buddhaghosa loc. cit.

² A wooden instrument in the shape of a hand, which was first covered with chunam (fine lime), and then rubbed over the body. See Buddhaghosa's note at p. 315 of H. O.'s edition of the text.

³ Apparently a string of beads which was first covered with the chunam made from *Kuruvindaka* stone (a ruby-coloured stone), and then held at both ends and rubbed over the body. See Buddhaghosa's note loc. cit.

⁴ As Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., explains this by 'rubbing their

Using a Mallaka¹ when bathing.]

4. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had the scab, and he could not bathe with comfort without a Mallaka¹.

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, to a sick man the use of a Mallaka not (artificially) made².'

5. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu who was weak through old age was not able to shampoo his own body.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of an Uk-kâsika³.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, (fearing to offend against these rules,) were afraid to shampoo one another.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the ordinary mode of shampooing with the hand⁴.'

2.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus

bodies up against each other⁽¹⁾, *vigayha* has here probably nothing to do with *gâh*, but is simply *vigrihya*.

¹ A kind of back-scratcher, made according to Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., by placing together, by the roots, hooks made of the teeth of crocodiles (*makara-dantaka*; see V, 11, 6; VI, 3, 2), which had previously been split. Such hooks of split crocodiles' teeth are mentioned in the text itself below, V, 9, 2; and pins or hooks made of *nâga*'s teeth at V, 9, 5, and VI, 3, 5 (*nâga-dantaka*), and V, 11, 7 (*nâga-danta*).

² Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., makes this phrase mean only 'made of teeth that had not been previously split.'

³ Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., explains this word by *vattava/i*; which is to us equally unintelligible.

⁴ *Pudhu-pânika* ti *hattha-parikammam vukkati*. *Tasmâ sabbesam hatthena pi//hi-parikammam kâtum va//ti* (B.).

used to wear ear-rings¹, and ear-drops², and strings of beads for the throat, and girdles of beads³, and bangles⁴, and necklaces⁵, and bracelets, and rings.

The people murmured, &c. . . . The Bhikkhus heard, &c. . . . They told the Blessed One (&c., as in V, 1, 1, down to) he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear any of these things. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.’

2. [A similar paragraph concluding]

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear long hair. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, hair that is two months old, or two inches long.’

3. [Similar paragraph concluding]

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to smooth⁶ the hair

¹ Vallikâ ti *kannato nikkhanta-mutt-olambakâdinam etam adhi-vaṭanam*. Na kevalaṇ *ka* vallikâ eva, *yam kiṇṇi kanna-pilandhanam antamaso tāla-pannam pi na vaṭati* (B.). Compare *sata-vallikam* at V, 29, 4.

² Pāmaṅga. The meaning of which is not clear from Buddhaghosa's note loc. cit. It occurs also at *Dipavamsa* XII, 1, and below in Buddhaghosa's note on *maddavina* at V, 29, 2 (twice).

³ *Kaṭi-suttakam*. This is not mentioned in the similar paragraph at V, 29, 2, where all special kinds of girdles are enumerated. It is forbidden below to the Bhikkhunīs at X, 16.

⁴ *Ovaṭṭika*. This word is explained by Buddhaghosa as the same as *valayam*. *Ovaṭṭiya* occurs, apparently in a different sense, at *Mahāvagga* VII, 1, 5, and the present word in Buddhaghosa on *sata-vallikam* at V, 29, 4.

⁵ *Kāyura*, on which Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., merely says that the meaning of this, and of the following words, is evident. But the *Gāṭaka* commentary (Fausböll III, 437, 14) says *kāyūran ti givāya pilandhana-pasāḍhanam*.

⁶ *Osāṇheti*. Compare the Sanskrit *ślakṣhṇayati*. The art of hair-dressing had, at the time when the *Kullavagga* was com-

with a comb, or with a smoothing instrument shaped like a snake's hood¹, or with the hand used as such an instrument², or with pomade³, or with hair-oil of beeswax³. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

4. [Similar paragraph concluding]

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to look at the image of your faces in a looking-glass, or a bowl of water⁴. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a sore in his face. He asked the Bhikkhus what kind of a sore he had. 'Such and such a kind of sore,' replied they. He did not believe what they said. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, on account of a disease, to look at your faces in a looking-glass, or in a bowl of water.'

5. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (&c., down to)

posed, been already carried to a high state of efficiency in the valley of the Ganges, as may reasonably be concluded from the numerous kinds of head-dresses figured in bas-relief on some of the oldest Buddhist sculptures.

¹ *Phañakenā ti dantamayādisu yena kenaṭi* (B.).

² *Hattha-phañakenā ti hatthen' eva phaṇaka-kikkam karonti, aṅgulīhi osañhenti* (B.). It is clear from this last explanation that the *phaṇaka* was a kind of very primitive brush, but without bristles. In passing the fingers through the hair the fingers are naturally held separate, slightly forward, and stiff—precisely as one would hold them if one wished to imitate the hood of a cobra. To make a real brush with bristles was evidently beyond the mechanical appliances of those times, or such an article would certainly have been mentioned in this connection.

³ On the use of *Telaka*, compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 13, 1, and *Sittha-telaka* at *Kullavagga* IV, 3, 1.

⁴ Compare *Kullavagga* X, 10, 4.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to anoint your faces, nor to rub (ointment, &c.) into your faces, nor to put chunam on your faces, nor to smear red arsenic on your faces, nor to paint your bodies, nor to paint your faces¹.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had disease in his eyes. They told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, on account of disease, to anoint your faces.’

6². Now at that time there was a festival on the mountain-top³ at Râgagaha ; and the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhus went to see it.

The people murmured, were annoyed, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go to see dancing, and singing, and music, like those who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world?’ And they told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to go to see dancing, or singing, or music. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.’

¹ All these practices are seriatim forbidden to the Bhikkhuns also in *Kullavagga* X, 10, 3.

² The following section recurs, almost word for word, of the Bhikkhuns, in the Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga, Pâkittiya X (*Sutta-vibhaṅga*, vol. ii, p. 267).

³ *Giragga-samagga*. Compare *Dîpavamsa* XXI, 32, and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 214, line 2. It occurs also in the Introductory Story in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on the 37th Pâkittiya, and Buddha-ghosa there explains it as follows: *Giragga-samaggo ti girimhi agga-samaggo girissa vâ agga-dese samaggo*. He is evidently in doubt about the word, which is probably connected with ancient local worship or custom, a worship in high-places, as little allied to Vedic Brahmanism as it was to Buddhism.

3.

1. Now at that time the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to sing the Dhamma with the abrupt transitions of song-singing.

The people murmured, were annoyed, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas [do so]?' The Bhikkhus heard (&c., as usual, down to) he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'These five dangers, O Bhikkhus, befall him who sings the Dhamma with the abrupt¹ transitions of song-singing.—He himself becomes captivated with respect to the sound thereof.—Other people become captivated with respect to the sound thereof.—The laymen are shocked.—The meditation of one who strains after accuracy in the sound is broken.—The common people fall into heresy².—These five dangers, O Bhikkhus, befall him who sings the Dhamma with the abrupt transitions of song-singing. The Dhamma is not, O Bhikkhus, to be sung [in that manner]. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus were afraid to make use of intoning³. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to intone.'

¹ *Âyatakena gîta-ssarena*. Compare *âyataken'eva papâto* at *Kullavagga IX, 1, 3*.

² Probably this is supposed to result because dhamma being sung and not said is not intelligible to them—a complaint often made against the singing of prayers among Protestant Christians. On *pakkhimâ ganatâ*, compare the closing words of V, 21, 2; and on the rest of the phrase, *Puggala III, 10, 14*. The translation of *sarakutti* is also very doubtful.

³ *Sara-bhaññam*. So in the *Mahāvagga* we hear that *Sona*

4.

1. Now at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus used to wear woollen cloth with long fleece to it¹.

The people murmured . . . (&c., down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear woollen cloth with long fleece to it. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

5.

1. Now at that time the mangoes were ripe in the park of Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha. And Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, had given command, saying, 'Let the venerable ones have as much fruit as they like.' Then the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus plucked even the young fruits and ate them.

Now Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, wanted a mango; and he gave orders, saying, 'Go,

intoned before the Buddha a chapter from the Sutta Nipāta. The expression there used is *sarena abhāsi*, of which our word is used as the verbal noun, the roots *bhaṇ* and *bhās* being not only synonymous but interchangeable. (See, for instance, Vin. Pit. vol. iv, p. 353.) Perhaps 'recitative' would be a good rendering. I have several times heard the Dhamma thus recited by living Buddhists in accordance with the traditional interpretation of this passage, and their *Sara-bhaṇṇam* was precisely like the intoning of prose passages as practised in our cathedral churches (Rh. D.).

¹ *Bāhira-lomim-unṇim*. Literally, 'with the fleece outside.' Compare *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 4, and the *Magghima Sīla*, § 5 (p. 193 of Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas').

my good men, to the park, and bring me hither a mango.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the men in assent to Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha: and they went to the park, and said to the park-keepers, 'Our lord, good friends, has need of a mango. Give us one!'

'There are no mangoes, Sirs. The Bhikkhus have plucked even the young ones, and eaten them.'

Then those men told the matter to Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, and he said: 'The mangoes have been well used, my good men, by the venerable ones. Notwithstanding it is moderation that has been exalted by the Blessed One.'

The people murmured, were shocked, and were indignant, &c., saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, knowing no moderation, use up the king's mangoes?' The Bhikkhus heard those men murmuring, shocked, and indignant. Then those Bhikkhus told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to eat mangoes. Who-soever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time it was the turn of a certain multitude to provide the Saṃgha with a meal. Mango-peal was put into the curry. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not partake of it.

'Take it, O Bhikkhus, and eat. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat the peal of the mango.'

Now at that time it was the turn of a certain multitude to provide the Saṃgha with a meal. They did not get so far as to make (curry with) the peal, but went about in the dining-hall with whole mangoes. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not accept them.

'Take them, O Bhikkhus, and eat. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat fruit which has become allowable to Samanas in any one of these five ways—when it has been injured by fire¹—or by sword²—or by nails—when it has not yet had any seed in it—and fifthly, when it has no more seed in it³. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat fruit which has become allowable to Samanas in any one of these five ways.'

64.



1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu died of the bite of a snake. They told the matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Buddhaghosa gives in the Samanta Pāsādikā on the 11th Pāṭiṭiya the following explanations of these terms. Aggi-parigitan ti agginā parigitaṃ abhibhūtaṃ daddhaṃ phuṭṭhaṃ ti attho. The reading parigitaṃ is correct and should be inserted in the text for parikitaṃ.

² Sāttha-parigitan ti sātthena parigitaṃ abhibhūtaṃ khinnaṃ viddhaṃ vā ti attho. Esa nayo nakha-parigite (B., loc. cit.).

³ These last two clauses have already occurred at Mahāvagga VI, 21. The principle of the injunction throughout its five divisions is one and the same—the seed, or the capacity of fructification, must either have never existed, or have passed away, or have been destroyed.

⁴ This ancient legend has been expanded into a Gātaka story, under the title of Khandha-vatta Gātaka, No. 203 in Professor Fausbøll's edition (vol. ii, pp. 144–148), in which recur all the verses here given as a snake-charm. The names of the serpents are derived from the ancient mythology, and are not to be supposed to refer to actual breeds of real snakes. Below, Kullavagga VI, 2, 5, where a Bhikkhu is bitten by a snake, the simple precaution enjoined is the use of a higher bedstead.

‘ Now surely, that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, had not let his love flow out over the four royal breeds of serpents! Had he done so, he would not die of the bite of a snake. And which are the four royal breeds of serpents? The Virûpakkhas are a royal breed. The Erâpathas are a royal breed. The *Khabyâputtas* are a royal breed. The *Kanhâgotamakas* are a royal breed. Now surely that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, had not let his love flow out over the four royal breeds of serpents! Had he done so, he would not die of the bite of a snake. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make use of a safeguard for yourselves for your security and protection, by letting your love flow out over the four royal breeds of serpents. And thus, O Bhikkhus, are you to do so.

“ I love Virûpakkhas, the Erâpathas I love.

“ I love *Khabyâputtas*, the *Kanhâgotamakas* I love.

“ I love live things that have no feet, the bipeds too I love.

“ I love four-footed creatures, and things with many feet.

“ Let no footless thing do hurt to me, nor thing that has two feet.

“ Let no four-footed creature hurt, nor thing with many feet.

“ Let all creatures, all things that live, all beings of whatever kind,

“ Let all behold good fortune¹, and let none fall into sin.

¹ This phrase occurs in the passage at Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta I, 31, by which Buddhaghosa is so much perplexed.

“Infinite is the Buddha, infinite the Truth, infinite the Order. Finite are creeping things; snakes, scorpions and centipedes, spiders and lizards, rats and mice.

“Made is my safeguard, made my defence. Let living things retreat,

“Whilst I revere the Blessed One, the Buddhas seven supreme¹.”

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to let blood².’

7.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, tormented by distaste (for meditation, &c.), castrated himself³. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘When one thing wanted cutting off, O Bhikkhus, that foolish fellow has cut off another! You are

¹ This is only one of the many passages from which it is evident that in the oldest Buddhism only the seven Buddhas, from Vipassī down to Gotama inclusive, were known by name to the members of the Buddhist community. Compare Rh. D.’s ‘Hibbert Lectures, 1881,’ p. 142. It is nevertheless probable that, with their ideas as to the infinite number of worlds which had succeeded one another in the past, they considered that the number of previous Buddhas had also been infinite.

² This last injunction, which comes in here so tamely, is omitted in the *Gātaka* story, and is merely a hook on which to hang an excuse for introducing this ancient and evidently favourite prescription into the Vinaya. That it is quite out of place is sufficiently evident from the fact that it has already been laid down in identical terms in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 4, where it is found in its natural connection.

³ *Anabhiratiyā pīlito attano āṅgaḡātam kkhindi*. This *anabhirati* is constantly referred to, and always as the result of falling in love, or in connection with sexual desire.

not, O Bhikkhus, to castrate yourselves. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *thullaḥkaya*.¹

8¹.

1. Now at that time the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had acquired a block² of sandal-wood of the most precious sandal-wood flavour. And the *Setthi* of Râgagaha thought, 'How would it be if I were to have a bowl carved out of this block of sandal-wood, so that the chips³ shall remain my property, and I can give the bowl away?' And the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had a bowl turned out of that block of sandal-wood, and put it in a balance, and had it lifted on to the top of a bamboo⁴, and tying that bamboo at the top of a succession of bamboos, he let it be known, saying, 'If any Samana or Brahman be an Arahat and possessed of Iddhi, let him get down the bowl. It is a gift to him!'

Then Pûrana Kassapa went to the *Setthi* of Râgagaha, and said to him, 'I, O householder, am

¹ A Burmese version of the following legend is translated by Bishop Bigandet in his 'Legend of the Burmese Buddha,' vol. ii, pp. 212-216 (Third Edition).

² *Kandana-gaṇḥikā* uppannā hoti ti *kandana-ghaṇḥikā* uppannā hoti (B.). Compare *gaṇḥikā* at *Gâtaka* I, 150 = *gaṇḍikā* at *ibid.* II, 124, and our note below on that word at V, 29, 3.

³ *Lekham*. It is clear from V, 9, 2, below, and Buddha-ghosa's note there, that *likhitum* is used in the sense of 'to plane' or 'to adze' wood or metal; and the Sinhalese MSS. read here *likham* instead of *lekham*. It cannot be 'to turn,' as the turning lathe is quite a modern invention.

⁴ A similar proceeding is related of a Bhikkhu at 24, 1.

an Arahāt and possessed of Iddhi. Give me the bowl.'

'If, Sir, you are an Arahāt and possessed of Iddhi, let your reverence get down the bowl!'

Then Makkhali Gosāla, and Agita Kesa-kambālī, and Pakudha Kakkāyana, and Saṅgaya Belatthi-putta, and Nigantha Nāta-putta went severally to the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha, [and preferred the same request, and received the same reply.]

Now at that time the venerable Mahā Moggallāna and the venerable Pindola Bhāradvāja, having dressed themselves early in the morning, went into Rāgagaha, duly bowled and robed, for alms. And the venerable Pindola Bhāradvāja said to the venerable Mahā Moggallāna: 'The venerable Mahā Moggallāna is both an Arahāt and possessed of Iddhi. Go, friend Moggallāna, and fetch down this bowl, for this bowl belongs to thee.'

'The venerable Pindola Bhāradvāja also is both an Arahāt and possessed of Iddhi. Go, friend Bhāradvāja, and fetch down the bowl, for this bowl belongs to thee.'

Then the venerable Pindola Bhāradvāja, rising up in the air, took the bowl, and went thrice round Rāgagaha (in the air). And at that time the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha stood in his dwelling-place with his wife and children, and holding up his clasped hands in reverent salutation, he exclaimed, 'May the venerable Bhāradvāja be pleased to descend upon our dwelling-place.' And the venerable Bhāradvāja descended into his dwelling-place. Then the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha took the bowl from the hands of the venerable Bhāradvāja, and filled it with costly food, and presented it to the venerable Bhāradvāja. And

the venerable Bhâradvâga took the bowl, and departed to his Ârâma.

2. Now the people heard, 'The venerable *Pindola Bhâradvâga*, they say, has got down the *Râgagaha Setthi's* bowl.' And those people, with shouts loud and long, followed in the steps of *Pindola Bhâradvâga*. And the Blessed One heard the shouts loud and long, and on hearing them he asked the venerable Ânanda, 'What now, Ânanda, does this so great shouting mean?'

'The venerable *Pindola Bhâradvâga*, Lord, has got down the *Râgagaha Setthi's* bowl; and the people thereof are following in his steps with shouts loud and long.'

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the *Bhikkhu-Samgha*, and asked *Pindola Bhâradvâga*, 'Is it true, as they say, that you, *Bhâradvâga*, have got down the *Râgagaha Setthi's* bowl?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, 'This is improper, *Bhâradvâga*, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a *Samana*, unbecoming, and ought not to be done. How can you, *Bhâradvâga*, for the sake of a miserable wooden pot, display before the laity the superhuman quality of your miraculous power of *Iddhi*? Just, *Bhâradvâga*, like a woman who displays herself for the sake of a miserable piece of money¹, have you, for the sake of a miserable

¹ *Mâsaka-rûpassa*. On the *mâsaka*, see Rh. D.'s 'Ancient Coins and Measures, &c.,' p. 13. It is evident from the use of the word *rûpa* here that stamped pieces of money were known in the valley of the Ganges as early as the time when the *Kulla-*

wooden pot displayed before the laity the superhuman quality of your miraculous power of Iddhi. This will not conduce, Bhâradvâga, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.'

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse¹, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to display before the laity the superhuman power of Iddhi. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa². Break to pieces, O Bhikkhus, that wooden bowl; and when you have ground it to powder, give it to the Bhikkhus as perfume for their eye ointments³. And you are not, O Bhikkhus, to use wooden bowls. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa⁴.'

9.

1. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to use bowls of various kinds, made of gold and silver.

The people murmured (&c., as usual, down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use bowls made

vagga was composed. The word occurs also below at *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 1.

¹ See *Kullavagga* I, 1, 2.

² Compare the 4th *Pârâgika*.

³ The use of sandal-wood for this purpose is allowed by the closing words of *Mahāvagga* VI, 11.

⁴ This injunction is repeated below in the summary at V, 37.

of gold, or made of silver, or set with jewels, or made of beryl (*ve/uriya*¹), or made of crystal, or made of copper, or made of glass², or made of tin, or made of lead, or made of bronze. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, bowls of two kinds,—those made of iron, and those made of clay.'

2. Now at that time the support at the bottom of the bowls wore out³.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use circular (pieces of metal) as the supports for your bowls.'

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to have various kinds of circular supports to their bowls,—silver ones, and gold ones.

The people murmured (&c., down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have various kinds of circular supports to your bowls. Whosoever does

¹ It is clear from verses 192–196 of the 13th chapter of the *Rāga-nighaṇṭu*, written by Narahari of Kashmir in the thirteenth century A. D., that at that time *Vaidūrya* meant 'cat's-eye.' But it is uncertain whether that was the only meaning of the word *ve/uriya* at the time when this passage was composed. (See especially V. 124, p. 25, of Dr. Richard Garbe's edition in his work, 'Die Indischen Mineralien,' Leipzig, 1882.) See also Professor Max Müller's interesting note at p. 266 of his 'What can India teach us?'

² *Kākamayo*. There was probably no glass in our modern sense of the word when the *Kullavagga* was written. But *kāka* is a silicious earth, and some sort of glass-like earthenware may very well have been in use. The phrase has already occurred, together with all the others in this passage, at *Mahāvagga* V, 8, 3, of foot-coverings, but is omitted in the list at *Khudda Sikkhā* V. 10.

³ *Ghaṃsīyati*. Literally, 'were rubbed.' See below, § 3, and our note below on V, 9, 2, 4.

so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, two kinds of circular supports to your bowls,—tin ones, and lead ones.’

The thick circular supports could not be inserted¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to shape them² (until they get to be the right size to fit in)³.’

They would not stay in (?)⁴.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to split little pieces of crocodiles’ teeth (to fit them in with)⁵.’

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus had painted circular linings to the bottoms of their bowls, with painted figures scattered over them, or painted in patches of colour⁶, and they used to walk about the streets exhibiting them.

People murmured (&c., down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have painted circular supports to the bottoms of your bowls, covered

¹ *Akkhūpiyanti*. On the use of this word, compare *Mahāvagga* VIII, 14, 1, where it is used of inserting a slip of cloth in a torn garment.

² See our note above on V, 8, 1. *Buddhaghosa* says here *likhitun ti tanu-karaṇ-atthāy’ etaṃ vuttaṃ*. The ‘shaping’ may be by carving, adzing, or planing.

³ Compare above, V, 8, 1, and see *Buddhaghosa’s* note at p. 316 of the edition of the text.

⁴ The reading is corrupt; and therefore this rendering is merely conjectural. See H. O.’s note at p. 316 of his edition of the text.

⁵ On these split crocodiles’ teeth, see our note above on V, 1, 4.

⁶ *Rūpakokinnāni bhāti-kamma-katāni*. *Buddhaghosa* has nothing on these words. On the second, see below, VI, 2, 7, and H. O.’s note on that passage at p. 321 of the edition of the text. It is most probable that the reading in both passages should be *bhatti-kamma*, ‘patchwork,’ as further explained in our note below on VI, 2, 7; and we have translated accordingly.

with figures, and painted in patches of colour. Whosoever shall do so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, only ordinary linings.'

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus put away their bowls with water in them, and the bowls were split.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put away your bowls with water in them. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to dry your bowls in the sunshine¹ before putting them away.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus dried their bowls in the sunshine, with water in them; and the bowls became evil-smelling.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to dry your bowls in the sunshine with water in them. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to empty out the water², and then warm the bowls, before you put them away.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls away in a warm place; and the colour of the bowls was spoilt.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls away in a warm place. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to dry your bowls for a short time in a warm place, and then to put them away.'

¹ Otâpetvâ. The word has already occurred in Mahāvagga I, 25, 16. Compare Khudda Sikkhâ V. 6.

² Vodakam katvâ. Vodakam bears, of course, the same relation to sa-udakam, used just before, as vagga does to samagga. The expression has occurred already at Mahāvagga I, 25, 13.

4. Now at that time a number of bowls were left in the open air without supports; and the bowls were turned over by a whirlwind¹, and broke.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of supports for your bowls (when they are left out).'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls away at the edge of the sleeping-benches in the verandahs², and the bowls fell down and were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls away on the edge of the sleeping-benches in the verandah. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls away on the edge of the Paribhanda³, and the bowls fell down and were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls away on the edge of the Paribhanda. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus turned their bowls upside down⁴ on the ground, and the lips wore out.

¹ Vāta-mandalikāya. So also in the next section and in the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, Pāṭittiya 96. The reading at Gāṭaka I, 72 is vāta-maṇḍalam.

² Midhante. This word recurs below in VI, 2, 3, where see our note. Buddhaghosa's note is given at p. 317 of the edition of the text. See also Khudda Sikkhā V. 7.

³ Used of a house, this probably means a plastered flooring of scented earth or dried cowdung. See Kullavagga VI, 17, 1, and Buddhaghosa's note there. On the use of the word in tailoring, see Mahāvagga VII, 1, 5, VIII, 21. Buddhaghosa, loc. cit. (p. 317), uses the expression mattika-paribhanda-katāya-bhūmiyā.

⁴ Nikkugganti. See the use of this word at V, 20, 3.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a mat made of grass¹.’

The grass-mat was eaten by white ants.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a small cloth².’

The small cloth was eaten by the white ants.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a raised parapet(?) (on which to put your bowls)³.’

The bowls fell down from the parapet and were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a wicker-work stand⁴.’

On the wicker-work stand the bowls wore out.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of bags to carry your bowls in.’

They had no shoulder-straps⁵.

¹ *Tina-santhâarakam*. That this word means a mat, and not a layer, of grass is clear from its use at *Gâtaka* I, 360, and below, V, 11, 3.

² *Kolaka*. The meaning of the word is doubtful, but see *Mahāvagga* VIII, 18. In the *uddâna* (at p. 143) the corresponding word is *kola*. See also below, VI, 3, 1, VI, 19, VI, 20, 2.

³ *Patta-mâ/akam*. *Buddhaghosa* says merely, ‘It should be made either of bricks or of wood.’ He confirms the reading of the text (with *l* as against Childers’s reading *mâlako*).

⁴ *Patta-kandolikâ ti mahâ-mukha-kunda-santhânâ bhandakukkhâlikâ vukkati* (B.). *Kandola* is a wicker-work basket; see Böhrtlingk-Roth, sub voce.

⁵ See H. O.’s note on the reading here; and compare the table of contents to this chapter (at p. 143), where the reading *amsa-baddham* confirms the suggested alteration. If there were any

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder-strap (by which to carry the bag), or of a piece of string (by which to tie it on).'

5. Now at that time the Bhikkhus hung up their bowls on pins in the walls, or on hooks¹. The pins or hooks falling down, the bowls were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to hang your bowls up. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls down on a bed², or a chair; and sitting down thoughtlessly³ they upset them, and the bowls were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls on the bed, or on a chair. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus kept their bowls on their laps; and rising up thoughtlessly they upset them, and the bowls were broken.

further doubt it would be removed on comparing the closing words of Mahāvagga VI, 12, 4, which are identical with the present passage and contain the correct reading. The same remarks apply to other passages, where the same words occur below, V, 11, 5, V, 12, VI, 12, 3.

¹ The use of these appliances is formally allowed at VI, 3, 5.

² Mañña. Compare Rh.D.'s note at p. 277 of the 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' and Khuddha Sikkhā V. 7.

³ Sati-sammosā. The word occurs at Milinda-pañha (ed. Trenckner), p. 260. It must be connected with muṭṭha-sati, of which the Buddhist Sanskrit equivalent is mushita-smṛtiḥ (see Kathā Sarit Sāgara 56, 289). It is evident that Childers's original explanation of muṭṭha-sati from mūḷha was wrong, and that both words must be referred to the root mush, as he points out at p. 618 of his Dictionary.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to keep your bowls on your laps. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls down on a sunshade; and the sunshade being lifted up by a whirlwind, the bowls rolled over, and were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls down on a sunshade. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when they were holding the bowls in their hands, opened the door¹. The door springing back the bowls were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to open the door with your bowls in your hands. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

10.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus went on their round for alms, carrying water-jugs made out of gourds², or water-pots³.

¹ Kavâṭam paṇāmetvā. The construction of doors is described in detail at V, 14, 3, with reference to the bath-house, and again at VI, 2. That paṇāmeti is to open, and not to shut, is clear from VIII, 1, 1, just as pattam paṇāmeti at VIII, 5, 2 is to uncover, disclose, the bowl. Compare Khuddha Sikkhā V. 8.

² Tumba-kaṭāhan ti lāpu-kaṭāham vukkati (B.). Tumba is gourd, according to Böhtlingk-Roth. See Khuddha Sikkhā V. 11.

³ Ghaṭi-kaṭāhan ti ghaṭi-kapālam (B.). The whole section is repeated in the text of each kind of vessel.

People murmured, were shocked, and indignant, saying, 'As the Titthiyas do.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to go on your rounds for alms with water-jugs, or pots. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, who had taken upon himself a vow to wear or use nothing except what he could procure from dust-heaps or cemeteries, went on his rounds for alms carrying a bowl made out of a skull. A certain woman saw him, and was afraid, and made an outcry¹, saying, 'O horror! This is surely a devil!'

People murmured, were shocked, and indignant, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas carry about bowls made out of skulls, as the devil-worshippers² do?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use bowls made out of skulls. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. And you are not, O Bhikkhus, to take a vow to wear or to use nothing except what you procure from dust-heaps or cemeteries. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus carried out odd bits, and bones, and dirty water³ in their bowls.

People murmured, were shocked, and were indignant, saying, 'The very vessel out of which

¹ Vissaraṃ akâsi, on the use of which idiom see the passages quoted below, Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1.

² Pisâṅgillikâ. See below, 27, 5, and Mahâvagga III, 12, 3.

³ This list recurs in the Old Commentary on the 10th Pâṭṭiya in the Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga. As an explanation of vighâsa, Buddhaghosa says here ukkhattodakam ti mukha-vikkhâlanodakam.

these Sakyaputtiya Samanas eat, that they use as a waste-tub !'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to carry out odd bits, and bones, and dirty water in your bowls. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a waste-tub ¹.'

11.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus sewed their robes together after tearing the cloth with their hands ²; and the robes became jagged.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a blade and of a sheath (for the blade) made of felt ³.'

Now at that time a blade with a haft to it ⁴ had come into the possession of the Saṃgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Paṭiggaho. Slop-basin, waste-tub, 'receptacle' for odd bits. It is so used below at VIII, 4, 4.

² Vipâṭetvâ. The three MSS. read vipphâdetvâ, the same corrected to vipphâdetvâ, and vipphâmetvâ. M for L is a common mistake in Sinhalese MSS., and the correct reading may possibly be vipphâletvâ, if it is not vipphâṭetvâ, as suggested in H. O.'s note, vol. v, p. 259.

³ Namatakan ti satthaka-veṭhanakam pilotika-khandam (B.). The word occurs again below at V, 19, 1, V, 27, 1, and X, 10, 4 (where the nuns are forbidden to use it). Namata is felt; and nâmatika-aṅga, the wearing of felt, is inserted by some Sanskrit Buddhist writers in the list of Dhutaṅgas. (Burnouf, Introduction, &c., p. 306.)

⁴ Danda-satthakan ti vipphalikam vâ aññaṃ pi vâ yam kiṇṇi dandam yogetvâ kata-satthakam (B.). Compare danda-kaṭhinam at V, 11, 3, and danda-parissâvanam at V, 13, 3.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a blade with a haft to it.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used various kinds of long handles to their blades, made of silver, and made of gold.

People murmured (&c., as usual, down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use various kinds of handles to your blades. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of handles to your blades made of bone, or ivory, or horn, or of the *naḷa* reed, or of bamboo, or of hard wood, or of lac, or of the shells of fruit, or of bronze, or of the centre of the chank-shell¹.’

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus sewed their robes with quills or bits of bamboo rind, and the robes were badly sewn.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of needles.’

The needles got blunted².

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a needle-case made of bamboo³.’

Even in the needle-cases the needles became blunt.

¹ This list is given in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 12, 1 (where see our notes), as the materials of which ointment-boxes may be made; and below, V, 11, 5, of thimbles.

² *Kannakitā* *hontī ti malagga-kitā* (B.). *Mala* may probably here mean ‘rust,’ if the needles were made of iron. *Kannakitā*, ‘spoiled,’ is used of plastered walls and the floors of a *Vihāra* at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15 = *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 3; and *pamsu-kitā* occurs just below in our present passage. Compare also the note on *vikannam* in the following section.

³ *Sūki-nāḷikam*. On these needle-cases compare the Introductory Story to the 20th *Gātaka*. It is *Pāṭittiya* to have them made of ivory, horn, or bone. (80th *Pāṭittiya*, but they are there called *Sūki-gḥaram*.)

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fill the cases with chunam ¹.

Even in the chunam the needles became blunt.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fill the cases with barley-meal ².’

Even in the barley-meal the needles became blunt.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of powdered stone ³.’

Even in the powdered stone the needles became blunt.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to mix (the powder) with beeswax ⁴.’

The powder still did not cohere.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to mix sipâtika gum ⁵ with the powder ⁶.’

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus sewed their robes together by planting stakes here and there, and uniting them (with strings). The robes became out of shape ⁷.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a Kathina ⁸,

¹ *Kinnena kunnena* (B.).

² *Satthuyâ ti halidda-missakena pittha-kunnena* (B.).

³ *Saritakan ti pāsâna-kunnam vukkati* (B.).

⁴ *Madhu-sitthakena sâretun ti madhu-sitthakena makkhetum* (B.).

⁵ The use of this gum for medicine purposes is allowed at Mahāvagga VI, 7, where see our note. The present use is again mentioned below, V, 27, 1.

⁶ *Sarita-sibbâ/ikan ti madhu-sitthaka-pilotikam* (B.).

⁷ *Vikannam* hoti. See the note on this expression at Mahāvagga VI, 21, 1. The ‘robes’ were lengths of cloth, and ‘out of shape’ (*vikannam*) must mean either that one side was larger than the other, so that each corner (*kanno*) was not a right angle, or perhaps that each edge (*kanno*) was not straight.

⁸ What *Kathina* may mean in this connection is not exactly

and that you are to sew the robes together after tying down *Kaṭhina*-strings here and there.'

They spread out the *Kaṭhina* on uneven (ground), and the *Kaṭhina* fell to pieces¹.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to spread out the *Kaṭhina* on uneven (ground). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.'

They spread out the *Kaṭhina* on the ground, and the *Kaṭhina* became dirty.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a grass-mat.'

The edge of the *Kaṭhina* decayed through age.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to strengthen it by a doubling or a binding along the edge².

The *Kaṭhina* was not large enough³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a *danda*-

clear to us, but it is evidently a sort of framework, or bench, for the tailors to lay out their work upon. Our notes above on the 1st Nissaggiya and on Mahāvagga VII, 1, 3, refer to a different and secondary use of the word in the *Kaṭhina* ceremonies—so-called doubtless because the *Kaṭhina*-dussa (the supply of cloth to be dyed, sewn, and made up into robes, and distributed, on one and the same day) was to be so sewn with the aid of the *Kaṭhina* here referred to. Buddhaghosa says here, *Kaṭhinan ti nissenī pi tattha attharita-katasāraka-kilaññānam aññataram pi kaṭhinam vukkati yāya dupaṭṭa-kīvaram sibbenti kaṭhine kīvaram pi bandhanti*. On *Dupaṭṭa*, see Mahāvagga VIII, 14, 1.

The use of *obandhitvā* (in reference to the *Kaṭhina*), in opposition to *sambandhitvā* (in reference to the mere stakes), is worthy of notice.

¹ *Paribhiggaṭi*. Perhaps we should translate, 'did not hold together.' See the last section.

² *Anuvāṭam paribhandam*. See Mahāvagga VII, 1, 5, VIII, 21, *Kullavagga* V, 9, 4, VI, 17, 1, XI, 1, 14, and our notes there.

³ *Kaṭhinam na ppahotī ti dighassa bhikkhuno pamāṇena katam kaṭhinam tattha rassassa bhikkhuno kīvaram patthariya-mānam na ppahoti anto yeva hoti* (B.).

*kaṭṭhina*¹, of a *pidalaka*¹, of a ticket, of binding strings, and of binding threads²; and that you sew your robes together after binding them therewith.'

The interstices between the threads became irregular in length³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of little marks (of the leaf of the talipot palm, or such-like things)⁴.'

The threads became crooked.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of false threads (laid along the cloth to show where it is to be cut or sewn)⁵.'

4. Now at that time the Bhikkhus got on to the *Kaṭṭhina* with unwashed feet, or wet feet, or with their shoes on⁶, and the *Kaṭṭhina* was soiled.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to get on to the *Kaṭṭhina* with unwashed feet, or with wet feet, or with your shoes on. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.'

5. Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when sewing

¹ On these terms, which we do not attempt to translate, see Buddhaghosa's notes as quoted by H. O. at p. 317 of the edition of the text. The first seems to be a *Kaṭṭhina* with a cross-bar, but *danda* at V, 11, 1, and V, 13, 3, means handle.

² *Vinandhana-raggum vinandhana-suttakam*. See Buddhaghosa's notes loc. cit., and compare *Mahāvagga* V, 11.

³ *Visamā honti ti kâṭi khuddakâ honti kâṭi mahantâ* (B.). *Sutta* here probably means those threads or strings just referred to by which the stuff was to be tied on to the *Kaṭṭhina*.

⁴ *Kaḷimbhakam*: so explained by Buddhaghosa, loc. cit.

⁵ *Mogha-suttakam*. Buddhaghosa says, 'the making of a mark with a green thread, as carpenters do on wood with a black thread.' Compare also our notes 2 and 3 on *Mahāvagga* VII, 1, 5.

⁶ The whole section is repeated in the text at length for each of these three cases.

their robes, held the stuff with their fingers, and their fingers were hurt.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a thimble¹.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used various kinds of thimbles,—gold ones, and silver ones.

People murmured, &c. The Bhikkhus heard, &c. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use various kinds of thimbles. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, thimbles made of bone, or ivory, or horn, or of the naḷa reed, or of bamboo, or of hard wood, or of lac, or of the shells of fruit, or of bronze, or of the centre of the chank-shell².’

Now at that time the needles, and scissors, and thimbles got lost.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a box or drawer³ in the workshop.’

They got crowded together in the workshop box.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a thimble bag (to carry the thimbles about in).’

They had no shoulder-strap.

¹ Paṭiggaho, ‘receptacle’ for the finger. See our note above on V, 10, 3, where the same word means a waste-tub. For other secondary uses of the word, see *Gātaka* I, 146, II, 9, 26. Buddhaghosa says here, paṭiggahan ti āṅguli-kosakam.

² So of ointment-boxes, *Mahāvagga* VII, 12, 1; and of scissors, above, V, 11, 1.

³ Āsevana-(sic) vitthakam nāma yam kiṇṇi pātī-kaṅgoṭakādi (B.).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder-strap, or of a piece of string, to tie the bags on with¹.’

6². Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when sewing their robes in the open air, were distressed by heat and by cold.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a hall or of a shed for the *Katthina*.’

The *Katthina* hall had too low a basement, and it was inundated with water.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make it with a high basement³.’

The facing (of the basement) fell in.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to line the basement with facing of three kinds⁴—brick facing, stone facing, or wooden facing.’

They found difficulty in getting up into it.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of stairs of three kinds—brick stairs, stone stairs, or wooden stairs.’

As they were going up them they fell off.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a balustrade⁵.’

¹ See our note above on V, 9, 4.

² The whole of this paragraph is repeated below, though not in the same order, of the *Kaṅkama* or cloister, and of the *Gantāghara*, or bath-house. (See V, 14, 2, 3.)

³ That is, to build it on a raised platform, the technical term for which is *kāya*.

⁴ See our note below on V, 14, 3. The whole passage recurs of the lining of a well at V, 16, 2, and of *Vihâras* themselves at VI, 3, 3.

⁵ *Ālambana-bāham*. At *Mahâ-sudassana Sutta* I, 59, there is

Straw and plaster fell (from the walls and roof) into the *Katthina*-hall.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to first cover over (the walls and roof with skins¹), and then plaster them within and without. (And I allow the use of) whitewash, and blacking, and red colouring², and wreath-work, and creeper-work, and bone hooks, and cupboards³, and bamboos to hang robes on, and strings to hang robes on.’

7. Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when they had sewn the robes together, left the *Katthina* as it was, and went away; and the robes were eaten by rats and white ants.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fold up the *Katthina*.’
The *Katthina* came to pieces.

a description of flights of stairs (*sopâṇâ*), each of which had *thambhâ*, evidently posts or banisters; *sûkiyo*, apparently cross-bars let in to these banisters; and *unhîsam*, either a head-line running along the top of the banisters, or a figure-head at the lower end of such a head-line. (See Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 262.) This and the previous paragraphs are repeated below, V, 14, 2, of the *Kaṅkama*.

¹ See *Mahāvagga* V, 11, where the same technical term (*ogumpheti*) is used. *Buddhaghosa*’s note is given at p. 317 of the text. See also V, 14, 3, below.

² *Geruka-parikammam*. This reading, and not *gerika*, is confirmed by VI, 3, 1, VI, 17, 1, where the two previous words also occur. On this mode of preparing walls and floors, see our note below on VI, 20.

³ *Pañka-paṭṭikam* or *-paṭṭhikam*, a term of doubtful signification which recurs, together with all the previous words, in the Old Commentary on the 19th *Pāṭṭiya*. Compare *pañka-prastha* in B.R. The word is perhaps however connected with Sanskrit *paṭṭikâ*, as *kela-pattikam* at V, 21, 2 undoubtedly is. It occurs below, in a similar connection, at VI, 3, 1.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fold up the *Kathina* in a cow-hide (?)¹.’

The *Kathina* got uncovered.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of strings to tie it up with.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus went away, putting the *Kathina* up against the wall or a pillar; and the *Kathina*, falling over, was broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to hang it on a stake of the wall, or on a hook ².’

12.

1. Now the Blessed One, when he had stayed at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, set out on his journey toward Vesālī³.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus went along, carrying their needles and scissors and drugs in their bowls.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bag to carry the drugs in ⁴.’

¹ Go-ghamsikāya. Compare pāda-ghamsani at 22. 1; and on the use of *samharati* in a similar connection, see VI, 2, 7.

² Nāga-dante. See the note on Mallaka at Kullavagga V, 1, 4.

³ This is merely introduced to show that the following rules or privileges in this and the next chapter (§§ 1, 2) were to be in force when the Bhikkhus were on a journey.

⁴ Neither here nor in V, 11, 5 are we to understand that the needles and scissors are to be carried in bags. They are mentioned in both passages merely to show the inconvenience of having no separate receptacles for the thimbles and the drugs.

They had no shoulder-strap.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder-strap¹, or of a string to tie the bags on with.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu tied his sandals on to his girdle, and then entered the village for alms². A certain Upāsaka, when saluting that Bhikkhu, knocked up against the sandals with his head. The Bhikkhu was annoyed; and when he had returned to the Ārāma, he told this matter to the Bhikkhus. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bag to carry your sandals in.’

They had no shoulder-strap.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder-strap, or of a string to tie the bags on with.’

13.

1. Now at that time the water as they went along could not be drunk without breaking the rules³, as they had no strainers.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a strainer.’

The little cloth (that was used for a strainer) was not sufficient (to filter enough water for the whole party).

¹ See the note on V, 9, 4.

² He would require the sandals only when he came, in his journey, to rough places; not on the smooth, well-trodden, village paths.

³ The rule, that is, against destroying the life of living things.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a strainer fixed on to a ladle¹.’

Still the little cloth was not sufficient for the purpose.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a regulation water-pot².’

2. Now at that time two Bhikkhus were travelling along the high-road in the Kosala country. One of the Bhikkhus was guilty of some transgression. The other one said to him, ‘Do not, my friend, do such a thing. It is not becoming.’ The first one bore a grudge against him³. Afterwards the other Bhikkhu, being tormented with thirst, said to the Bhikkhu who bore the grudge, ‘Give me, friend, your strainer. I am going to drink some water.’ The Bhikkhu who bore the grudge would not give it to him. The other Bhikkhu died of thirst⁴. Then that Bhikkhu, when he had arrived at the Ârâma, told this matter to the Bhikkhus.

¹ *Kaṭakkhu-parissāvanam nāma tīsu dandakesu vinandhitvā kaṭam* (B.).

² *Dhamma-karakam*. Doubtless a water-pot with a strainer so fixed into it that a quantity of water could be filtered quickly. The word occurs at *Mahāvamsa*, p. 90, and below, VI, 21, 3.

³ So *tasmim upanandhi*. The Introductory Story in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on the 36th *Pāṭiṭṭiya* is, so far, word for word the same as this section. *Buddhaghosa* there explains *upanandhi* by *ganita-upanāho*. See vol. iv, p. 359, of H. O.’s edition of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. The Introductory Story to the 31st *Gāṭaka* is also based on a similar incident, and there the corresponding expression is *vivādam akamsu*. (*Fausbøll’s Gāṭaka*, vol. i, p. 198.)

⁴ In the *Gāṭaka* commentary this tragic result of the refusal is absent. The Bhikkhu who has no strainer merely drinks without straining. (Rh. D.’s ‘*Buddhist Birth Stories*,’ vol. i, p. 278.)

‘What then, Sir? when asked for your strainer, would you not lend it?’

‘It is even so, Sirs.’

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed and vexed, and murmured, saying, ‘How can a Bhikkhu, when asked for his strainer, refuse to lend it?’ And they told this matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection (&c., as usual, see for instance in *Kullavagga* I, 1, 2, down to) addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘A Bhikkhu who is on a journey is not, O Bhikkhus, to refuse to lend his strainer, when he is asked for it. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. And (a Bhikkhu who is) not provided with a strainer, O Bhikkhus, is not to undertake a journey. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. If there be no strainer nor regulation water-pot, the corner of the upper robe is to be adopted¹ for the purpose of straining before drinking.’

3. Now the Blessed One, journeying straight on, arrived in due course at Vesālī. And there at Vesālī the Blessed One lodged in the Mahāvana, in the Kûṭāgāra Hall.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus were engaged in building²; and the strainer did not act³.

¹ *Adhiṭṭhātabbo*, that is, the Bhikkhu is to determine in his mind that that part of his robe is a strainer for the time.

² *Navakammam karonti*. On the use of this and allied idioms, see *Gâtaka* I, 92, line 22; *Kullavagga* I, 18, 1, VI, 5, 2; *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, 1; *Indian Antiquary* XI, 29; Senart's *Kaṭṭhâyaṇa*, p. 189.

³ *Na sammati*, which is curious. For ‘did not suffice,’ the standing expression would be *na ppahoti*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a double strainer¹.’

The double strainer did not act.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a filter².’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus were troubled³ by mosquitoes.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of mosquito curtains⁴.’

14.

1. Now at that time at Vesālī a regular service of sweet food had been established, the laity taking the duty in turns. The Bhikkhus, eating the sweet food, became very sick with superfluity of humors in their body⁵.

Now *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭa* went to Vesālī on

¹ *Danda-parissāvanam*. Apparently a long box, both ends of which strain the water, which is poured into the middle by means of a pipe (*dandaka*). Buddhaghosa says, *Danda-parissāvanam* ti (sic; only one s) *raganakānam khāra-parissāvanam viya katusu pādesu baddha-nisenikāya sākākam bandhitvā magghe dandake udakam āsiññitabbam*. Tam ubhohi *koṭṭhāsehi pūretvā parissāvati*. Compare *danda-satthakam* and *danda-kathinam*, above, V, 11, 1, 3.

² *Ottharakam nāma yam udaye ottharivā ghaṭakena udakam ganhanti*. Tam hi *katusu dandakesu vettham bandhitvā sabbe pariyante udakato moketvā magghe ottharivā ghaṭena udakam ganhanti* (B.).

³ *Ubbāḥā*. See Mahāvagga III, 9, 1-4, and Gāṭaka I, 300.

⁴ *Makasa-kuṭikā ti kīvara-kuṭikā* (B.). Literally, a ‘mosquito hut,’ the walls of which are to be of cloth.

⁵ *Abhisannakāyā ti semhādi-dos’ussanna-kāyā* (B.). This word has already occurred at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 7, where Buddhaghosa’s explanation is much the same. See also Mahāvagga VIII, 1, 30.

some business or other. And on seeing the Bhikkhus very sick with superfluity of humors, he went up to where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he saluted the Blessed One and took his seat on one side. And when so seated he said to the Blessed One: 'The Bhikkhus, Lord, are now very sick with superfluity of humors. It would be well if the Blessed One were to prescribe, Lord, for the Bhikkhus the use of the cloister¹ and of the bath-room². Thus will the Bhikkhus become convalescent.'

Then the Blessed One instructed, and aroused, and incited, and gladdened *Givaka Komârabhakkā* with religious discourse. And *Givaka Komârabhakkā*, so instructed, and incited, and aroused, and gladdened with religious discourse, arose from his seat and saluted the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence. And the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened an assembly of the Bhikkhusamgha, and addressed the Bhikkhus, and said, 'I

¹ *Kaṅkama*. A straight piece of ground cleared and levelled for the purpose of walking up and down upon for exercise and meditation. See our note on this word at Mahāvagga V, 1, 14.

² *Gantāghara*. See our note above on Mahāvagga I, 25, 12. It was not ordinarily used for cold baths, which were taken in the rivers or tanks, but for a kind of hot-water bath, or perhaps steam bath, the exact mode of taking or administering which is not as yet certain. Several Bhikkhus took the bath at the same time, but it is not likely that they got into the water (though the expression *uttarati* is used, loc. cit., of their leaving the bath), as they scarcely would have made vessels large enough to contain a man. It rather seems that they sat on stools close to a large fire, and had water poured over them. The use of this kind of bath is forbidden to the Bhikkhunis at Kullavagga X, 27, 4.

prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the use of the cloister and of the bath-room.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus walked up and down on a cloister on uneven ground; and their feet were hurt.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make it level.'

The cloister had too low a basement, and was inundated with water¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make it with a high basement.'

The facing of the basement fell in².

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of facing of three kinds—brick facing, stone facing, and wooden facing.'

They found difficulty in getting up into it.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of stairs of three kinds—brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs.'

As they were going up them, they fell off.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a balustrade.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when walking up and down in the cloister, fell down.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to provide a railing³ for the cloister.'

¹ All the following paragraphs are the same as above, V, 11, 6, where see our notes.

² As we have pointed out above, in our note on Mahāvagga V, 1, 14, it is not probable that the *Kaṅkama* at first had a roof and stairs and balustrade. These were later improvements.

³ *Vedikā*. See Mahā-sudassana Sutta I, 60, and Rh. D.'s note there ('Buddhist Suttas,' p. 262), and below, VI, 2, 2.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when walking up and down in the open air, were distressed by heat and by cold.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a hall for the cloister¹.’

Straw and plaster fell (from the walls and roof) into the cloister-hall.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to first cover over (the walls and roof with skins), and then plaster them. (And I allow the use of) whitewash, and blacking, and red colouring, and wreath-work, and creeper-work, and bone hooks, and cupboards, and bamboos to hang robes on, and strings to hang robes on.’

3. [The whole of the above, from the basement down to the balustrade, is repeated of the hot-bath house.]

The bath house had no door.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a door, with door-posts and lintel², with hollows like a mortar (for the door to revolve in³), with projections to

¹ *Kaṅkamana-sālā*, already referred to at Mahāvagga III, 5.

² *Piṭṭha-saṃghāṭam*. See Childers under *saṃghāṭa*, and the Samanta Pāsādikā on the 19th Pāṭittiya. *Kavāṭa-piṭṭha* occurs in Mahāvagga I, 25, 15, and in the Samanta Pāsādikā on Pāṭittiya 19 (compare *upari-piṭṭhiti* at Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1), and this and the two following phrases below, VI, 2, 1. Buddha-ghosa has nothing on them, either here or there; and they were probably therefore in quite common use even in his day. The whole of this paragraph recurs below, VI, 3, 7.

³ *Udukkhalikam*. Presumably the door had no hinges, but the upper and lower ends of one side projected into hollows prepared for them in the lintel and the threshold. This suggestion is confirmed by the connection in which these words are used at VI, 2, 1.

revolve in those hollows¹, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in², with a block of wood fixed unto the edge of the door-post and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the monkey's head³), with a pin⁴ (to secure the bolt by), with a connecting bolt⁵, with a key-hole⁶, with a hole for the string with which the door can be closed, and with a string for that purpose⁷.'

¹ Uttara-pâsakam. See the last note. Pâsaka recurs also in the next but one. Compare aggala-pâsaga in Âyâraṅga Sutta II, 1, 5, 2.

² Aggala-vaṭṭi nâma dvâra-bâhâye samappamâno yeva aggalatthambho vuḍḍati yattha tîni kattâri khiddâni katvâ sūhiyo denti (B.).

³ Kapi-sîsakam nâma dvâra-bâham vigghitva tattha pavesito aggala-pâsako vuḍḍati (B.). The word recurs in the Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 32, where it is said of Ânanda that he kapisîsakam âlambitvâ aṭṭhâsi, just as in the Mahâ-sudassana Sutta II, 24 it is said of the queen under similar circumstances that she dvâra-bâham âlambitvâ aṭṭhâsi. Buddhaghosa's commentary on the word in the former of these two passages is given by Rh. D. in his note at p. 95 of the 'Buddhist Suttas.'

⁴ Sūhikâ ti tattha (that is, kapi-sîsake) magghe khiddam katvâ pavesitâ (B.). Apparently a pin to pass through the monkey's head so as to secure the bolt in its place after it has been shot into the cavity. See the next note and below, VI, 2, 1.

⁵ Ghaṭikâ ti upari-yogitâ (B.). At Gâtaka I, 360 (compare Kullavagga IX, 1, 2), we are told of a man who dvârâni pidahanto sabba-dvâresu sūlighaṭikâdayo datvâ talam (sic, query tâlam) abhiruhitvâ tattha pi dvâram pidahitvâ nisîdi. As the principal bolt was probably called aggala (unless that were the name for the whole machinery), this was some smaller bolt. And in Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1 an instance is given of a man undoing the bolt (ghaṭikam ugghâ/etvâ) of an uninhabited vihâra, such as is referred to in VI, 2, 1.

⁶ Tâlakkhiddam. See the end of VI, 2, 1, and Childers under the word tâlo. Buddhaghosa says nothing. The word tâla occurs in the last note.

⁷ Âviññhana-kkhiddam âviññhana-raggum. These are said in VI, 2, 1 to be necessary because the door could not be put

The lower part of the wattle and daub wall¹ of the bath-room decayed (through damp).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to face round the lower half of the wall (with bricks²).'

The bath-room had no chimney³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a chimney.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus made a fire-place in the middle of a small bath-room, and there was no room to get to (the bath).

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make the fire-place at one side of a small bath-room, and in the middle of a large one⁴.'

The fire in the bath-room scorched their faces.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of clay to spread over your faces⁵.'

They moistened the clay in their hands.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a trough to moisten the clay in⁶.'

to, and doubtless have the meaning above assigned to them. *Āviññi* (or *āviñgi*?) at Sutta-vibhaṅga, *Samghādisesa* II, 4, 9, means he drew towards himself; and *Āviññanā* (*āviñganā*?), *ibid.* II, 2, 2, is used as an equivalent of *ākaddhanā*, which is much the same thing.

¹ *Kudda-pādo*. Compare Rh. D.'s note on Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta V, 41. The phrase recurs below of Vihāras at VI, 3, 4.

² *Mandalikam kātun ti nika-vatthukam kinitum* (B.). *Kīnāti* is the technical word for laying bricks one above another; the comment therefore means 'to line or face the lower part with bricks.' (Compare *pokkharaniyo itthikāhi kinitum* at Mahā-sudassana Sutta I, 58; Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 262, 'to face the ponds with bricks or tiles;' and on facing a well below, V, 16, 2.)

³ *Dhūma-nettan ti dhūma-nikkhamana-khiddam* (B.). The word is used of a surgical instrument at Mahāvagga VI, 13, 2.

⁴ A similar paragraph occurs below, VI, 3, 3, of Vihāras.

⁵ *Mukha-mattikam*. See our note 4 on Mahāvagga I, 25, 12.

⁶ *Mattikā-donikam*. See the last words of V, 16, 2.

The clay had a bad smell.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to scent it.’

The fire in the bath-room scorched their bodies.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have water poured over you.’

They poured the water out of dishes and alms-bowls.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a stand for the water, and saucers¹ to pour it from.’

A bath-room with a thatched roof did not produce perspiration.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover the roof of the bath-room (with skins²), and to plaster it within and without.’

The bath-room became swampy.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to lay the floor with flooring of three kinds—brick flooring, stone flooring, and wooden flooring.’

It still became swampy.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wash the floor.’

The water settled on the floor.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a drain to carry off the water³.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus sat in the bath-room on the ground, and they had pins and needles in their limbs⁴.

¹ *Sarāvakaṃ*. See *Mahāvagga* VI, 12, 1, and *Gâtaka*, vol. i, p. 8.

² *Ogumphetvâ*. See above, V, 11, 6, and our note there.

³ *Udaka-niddhamanaṃ*. See *Gâtaka* I, 175, 409, 425, 489, in which passages an entrance to, or an exit from, a palace or a city is effected respectively *niddhamana-mukhena*, *niddhamana-dvârena*, *niddhamanena*, and *niddhamana-maggena*. Our phrase here recurs below, V, 35, 4.

⁴ *Gattâni kaṇḍuvanti*. *Gattâni* is nominative, not accusative. Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 5, where *kaṇḍuvati* is used in the neuter sense. (‘The sore was irritable.’)

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of stools for the bath-room.’

Now at that time the bath-room had no enclosure.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enclose it with three kinds of enclosures—brick walls, and stone walls, and wooden fences.’

4. There was no antechamber¹ (in which the water could be kept).

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have an antechamber.’

The basement of the antechamber was too low, and it was inundated with water [and so on, as in II. 6, and in the last section down to the end of the description of the door, followed by the closing words of II. 6 and of § 2 from ‘straw and plaster fell, &c.,’ down to ‘cupboards²’].

5. The cell³ became swampy.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to spread gravel⁴ over it.’

¹ *Ko//hako*. This word means a room without a window; and it is used either of 1. ‘a room over a gateway,’ or 2. ‘a room used as a store-room.’ (Compare *Mahāvagga* III, 5, 6, 9; *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 6, 7, VI, 3, 7, 9, VI, 4, 10, IX, 1, 2; and *Gātaka* I, 179, 227, 230, II, 168.) The whole of this paragraph recurs below, V, 35, 4, of the *ko//haka* to a privy; and the two passages taken together show that an entrance room or passage, a porch or antechamber, is meant, in which the water was kept ready for use. For that reason this particular kind of *ko//haka* is elsewhere called, in both connections, *udaka-ko//haka* (*Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 3, of the bath-room—where see Buddhaghosa’s note quoted in our ‘*Vinaya Texts*,’ vol. ii, p. 57—and *Dhammapada*, p. 103, of the privy). Buddhaghosa explains it here by *dvāra-ko//hako*; and it occurs again below, VIII, 8, 2, in the same sense.

² The last two items in § 2 are supplied for this case also in the next chapter but one.

³ *Pariveṇa* is doubtless here, and below at VIII, 8, 2 in the same connection, a cell used as a cooling-room, after the steam bath. Buddhaghosa says nothing here, but gives a note below, V, 35, 4.

⁴ *Marumba*. This word occurs in a description of different kinds of earths in the Old Commentary on the 10th *Pāṭittiya*

They did not succeed in getting any¹.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to flag it with stone.’

The water settled on the floor.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have a drain to it.’

15.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when naked², saluted one another, and received salutes; did service to one another, and received services; gave to one another, and accepted; ate, both hard food and soft; tasted; and drank.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A man, O Bhikkhus, when naked, is not to give salutations, nor receive them; is not to do services, nor to accept them³; is not to give, nor to receive; is not to eat either hard or soft; is not to taste; is not to drink. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

16.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus in the bath-room put the robes down on the ground, and the robes became dirty.

(Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pāṭittiya X, 2, 1); and in a similar connection at Dīpavamsa XIX, 2. Also below, V, 35, 4, VI, 3, 8.

¹ Na pariyāpuṇanti. See the use of this phrase at Kullavagga V, 5, 2.

² That is, while in the Gantāghara, which explains the otherwise inexplicable fact of this chapter being inserted here instead of at the commencement of 16. 2.

³ In Mahāvagga I, 25, 13, services are to be rendered to a Bhikkhu who is in the bath. This is permitted by 16. 2 below.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bamboo to hang your robes on, and of a string to hang your robes on¹.’

When rain fell, it fell over the robes.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have a hall to the bath-room.’

The basement of the bath-room hall was too low [&c., as in 11. 6; 14. 2 as to basement, roof-facing, stairs, and balustrade, followed by the closing words of 11. 6 and 14. 2, down to the end].

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus were afraid² to do service to one another, both when in the bath-room and in the water.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, three kinds of coverings—the covering of the bath-room, the covering of the water, and the covering by clothes³.’

Now at that time there was no water in the bath-room.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a well.’

The facing of the well fell in⁴.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to line the well with

¹ So also above, 11. 6 (at the end), and 14. 2 (at the end).

² On account of the rule laid down in chapter 15.

³ This rule abrogates that laid down in chapter 15, so far as regards bathing and shampooing. Buddhaghosa says accordingly, Tisso *paṭikkhādayo* ti. Ettha *gantāghara-paṭikkhādi ka udaka-paṭikkhādi ka parikammam karontass’ eva vaṭṭati*, sesesu *abhi-vādanādisu na vaṭṭati*. *Vattha-paṭikkhādi sabba-kammesu vaṭṭati*.

⁴ *Kūlam luggati*. (The reading is not without doubt.) Compare *Paluggati*. The same expression occurs below, V, 17, 2; and *luggati* at Mahāvagga VIII, 21, 1.

facings of three kinds¹—brick facing, stone facing, and wooden facing.’

[Then follow the paragraphs as to the high basement, the facing of the roof, the stairs, and the balustrade, as in 11. 6; 14. 2; and above, § 1².]

Now at that time the Bhikkhus drew water with jungle-rope³, or with their waistbands.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a string rope to draw water with.’

Their hands were hurt (by the rope).

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a long pole balanced as a lever⁴, of a bullock machine⁵, or of a wheel and axle⁶.’

¹ *Kinitum* tayo *kaye*. See our note 4 above on V, 14, 3, and the passages there quoted. The whole passage occurs V, 11, 6.

² All this refers doubtless to the kind of shed or portico to be erected over the well. (See below.) One would expect that the formal licence for such a *mandapa* would have been inserted here in due course as above, 11. 6, for the *Kaṭṭhina-sālā*.

³ This is the usual Anglo-Indian term for the creepers so commonly used for such purposes. The Pāli word is *vallikā*, which occurs in a different sense at V, 2, 1.

⁴ *Tulā*. This is the ordinary and simple machine, so common in all countries where irrigation is carried on, for raising water from canals or from shallow wells. Buddhaghosa says here: *Tulan ti pannikānam viya udaka-abbhāhana-tulā*. *Pannika* is ‘florist’ (see *Gāṭaka* I, 411, II, 180). *Abbhāhana* must be wrong (see *Sutta Nipāta* III, 8, 8); possibly *abbhāvāhana* is the correct reading.

⁵ The name of this machine is spelt differently in the MSS. (*karaka/aṅka* the Sinhalese MS., and *karakaḍaka* the Burmese MSS.), and the reading is doubtful. Buddhaghosa says: *Dakadaka/ako* (sic! In the next note but two the same MS. reads *kaṭṭadaka/ake*) *vukkati gone vā yogetvā hatthehi vā gahetvā dīgha-varattādīhi ākaddhana-yantam*. We can only say negatively that the word can have nothing to do either with *karka/aka*, a hook in the form of a crab’s claw; or with *kara-kaṇṭaka*, finger-nail.

⁶ *Kakkavaṭṭakam*, on which Buddhaghosa has the unintelligible note *arahatta(!)-ghaṭi-yantam*.

A number of pots were broken.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, water-vessels¹ of three kinds—brass pots, wooden pots, and skins².'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when drawing water in the open air, suffered from heat and cold.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to build a shed over the well³.'

Straw and plaster fell into the building over the well.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover the shed with skins, and to plaster it within and without; and I allow the use of whitewash, blacking, red-colouring, wreath work, creeper work, cupboards, bamboos to hang robes on, and strings to hang robes on.'

The well was uncovered, and it was littered over with grass, and plaster, and dirt.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a lid⁴ to the well.'

Water-vessels were found wanting.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of troughs⁵ and basons.'

¹ Vārake. The spelling of this word in Childers's Dictionary (varāko) is a misprint. Both the passages he quotes read vārako. Other water-vessels, besides these three, are allowed by the closing rule of this chapter.

² Kamma-khandam nāma tūlāya vā ka/adaka/ake vā yogetabam kamma-bhāganam (B.). The rendering adopted by Childers from Turnour (Mahāvamsa, p. 3) is therefore incorrect.

³ The following passage has already occurred above, V, 11, 6 and V, 14, 3.

⁴ Apidhānam. See Mahāvagga VI, 12, 2.

⁵ Udaka-donim. At Gâtaka I, 450, such a doni is said to have been made out of the trunk of a tree. Compare the use of mattikâ-donikam at V, 14, 3.

17.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to bathe anywhere all over the Ârâma, and the Ârâma became muddy.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a pool (at the entrance to the Ârâma).’

The pool was public, and the Bhikkhus were ashamed to bathe in it.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to surround it with enclosures of three kinds—brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences¹.’

The pool became muddy.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to flag it with three kinds of flooring—brick flooring, stone flooring, or wooden flooring.’

The water settled.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a drain.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus’ limbs became cold.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make use of a towel², and to wipe the water off with a cloth.’

2. Now at that time a certain Upâsaka was desirous of making a tank for the use of the Samgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a tank.’

The sides of the tank fell in³.

¹ So also the closing words of V, 14, 3.

² Udaka-puññani. This is also mentioned in the Old Commentary on the 86th Pâṭittiya. The verb recurs in the same sense below, VI, 3, 1.

³ Kûlam luggati. See V, 16, 2.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to line the tank with facing of three kinds—brick facing, stone facing, and wooden facing.'

They found difficulty¹ in getting into it.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, flights of stairs of three kinds—brick steps, stone steps, and wooden steps.'

While going up them, they fell down.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a balustrade.'

The water in the tank became stale.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of pipes to lay on the water², and to drain the water off³.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was desirous of erecting a bath-room with a *nillekha*⁴ roof for the use of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a bath-room with such a roof to it.'

18.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus separated themselves from the mats on which they sat down for four months⁵.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to separate yourselves for four months from the mats on which you sit

¹ *Vihaññanti*. See V, 11, 6.

² *Udakâyatikan ti udakassa âgamana-mattikam* (B.). Compare *âyataka* at IX, 1, 3.

³ See above our note on V, 14, 3.

⁴ *Nillekha-gantâgharam nâma âviddha-pakkha-pâsakam vukkati*. *Gopânasînam upari-mandale pakkha-pâsake ihapetvâ kata-kûta-kkhadanass' etam nâmam* (B.).

⁵ Compare the 2nd *Nissaggiya*.

down. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.¹

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus lay down to sleep on beds scattered over with flowers.

People who came on a visit to the Vihâras saw it, and murmured, &c., saying, 'Like those who still live in the pleasures of the world.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to sleep on beds scattered over with flowers. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time people came to the Ârâma, bringing perfumes and garlands. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not accept them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to accept the perfume, and to apply it to the door for a space of five finger-breadths¹; and to accept the flowers, and put them on one side in the Vihâra.'

19.

1. Now at that time a sheath of felt² had come into the possession of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a sheath.'

The Bhikkhus considered whether a sheath was a thing which each one might keep for himself, or a thing which ought to be handed over from time to time by one Bhikkhu to another.'

¹ *Kavâte pañkaṅgulikam dâtum*, on which Buddhaghosa has no note. This measure occurs in *Gâtaka* I, 166, 192; Fausböll's 'Five Gâtakas' 6; and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 193.

² *Namatakam*. See V, 11, 1.

‘A sheath, O Bhikkhus, is neither to be appropriated nor to be handed over¹.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to eat lying on decorated divans.

People murmured, &c. . . . saying, ‘Like those still living in the pleasures of the world.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to eat lying on decorated divans². Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and when eating he was not able to hold his bowl in his hand.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a stand for the bowl³.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to eat out of one dish, to drink out of one vessel, and to lie on one bed, one coverlet, or one mat⁴.

The people murmured, &c. . . .

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Na adhi//hâtabbam na vikappetabbam. That is, it is always to be kept as common property of the Samgha (Samghika). See Mahāvagga VIII, 20, 2, where the same expressions occur.

² Âsittakûpadhânam nâma tamba-lohena vâ ragatena vâ katâya pe/âya (MS. belâya) etam adhivâkanam. The use of an ubhato-lohitakûpadhânam is condemned, among other things of a like kind, in the Magghima Sîla, § 5 (Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 193), and above, Mahāvagga V, 10, 2.

³ Ma/orikâ ti danâdhârako vukkati. Ya//hi-âdhâraka-pammâ-dhâraka-pakkhita-pi//hâni pi etth’ eva pavii//hâni. Âdhâraka-samkhepana-gamanato hi pa//hâya khiddam viddham pi aviddham pi va//ati yeva (B.).

⁴ All these words have already occurred above at Kullavagga I, 13, 1. ‘Sitting on one seat’ is there added to the list.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, [to do any of these things.] Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

20.

1. Now at that time *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* was a friend of the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka¹. Now *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* went up to the place where those Bhikkhus were, and on arriving there he said to them, ‘My salutation to you, Sirs!’ When he had thus spoken, the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka gave him no reply. And a second and a third time [he said the same words, and still received no reply].

‘Wherein have I offended you, Sirs? Why do you give me no reply?’

‘Therein, that you, friend, sit contented while we are being molested by Dabba the Mallian.’

‘But what, Sirs, can I do?’

‘If you wished it, friend, to-day even would the Blessed One expel Dabba the Mallian.

‘But what shall I do, Sirs? What is that it is in my power to do?’

‘Come then, friend *Vaddha*. Do you go up to the place where the Blessed One is, and when you have come there, say as follows: “This, Lord, is neither fit nor becoming that the very quarter of the heavens which ought to be safe, secure, and free from danger,

¹ These are two of the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus; and the evil deeds of the followers form the subject of *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 5 and following sections. Our sections 1, 2 are nearly the same as §§ 8, 9 there.

that from that very quarter should arise danger, calamity, and distress—that where one ought to expect a calm, that just there one should meet a gale! Methinks the very water has taken fire! My wife has been defiled by Dabba the Mallian!”’

2. ‘Very well, Sirs!’ said *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, accepting the word of the followers of *Mettiya* and *Bhummagaka*. And he went up to the Blessed One [and spake even as he had been directed].

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the *Bhikkhu-saṃgha*, and asked the venerable Dabba the Mallian:

‘Are you conscious¹, Dabba, of having done such a thing as this *Vaddha* says?’

‘As my Lord, the Blessed One, knows.’

[And a second, and a third time, the Blessed One asked the same question, and received the same reply.]

‘The Dabbas, O Dabba, do not thus repudiate. If you have done it, say so. If you have not done it, say you have not.’

‘Since I was born, Lord, I cannot call to mind that I have practised sexual intercourse, even in a dream, much less when I was awake!’

3. Then the Blessed One addressed the *Bhikkhus*, and said: ‘Let then the *Samgha*, O *Bhikkhus*, turn the bowl down² in respect of *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*,

¹ See the note above on IV, 4, 9.

² *Pattam nikkuggatu*. This phrase is used in the ordinary signification above, V, 9, 4. It is characteristic of the mildness of early Buddhism that this should be the only penalty imposed upon a layman. Compare H. O.’s remarks in his ‘*Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*,’ pp. 391–393. The house of such a layman becomes then an *agoḥaro*, an ‘unlawful resort.’ (*Kulla-vagga* VIII, 1, 2.)

and make him incapable of granting an alms to the *Samgha*¹.

‘There are eight things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise an Upāsaka, the bowl is to be turned down in respect of him;—when he goes about to bring loss of gifts on the Bhikkhus, when he goes about to bring harm to the Bhikkhus, when he goes about to cause the Bhikkhus to want a place of residence, when he reviles or slanders the Bhikkhus, when he causes divisions between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhus;—when he speaks in dispraise of the Buddha;—when he speaks in dispraise of the Dhamma;—when he speaks in dispraise of the *Samgha*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to turn down the bowl in respect of an Upāsaka who is characterised by these eight things².’

4. ‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the bowl to be turned down. Some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

¹ *Asambhogam samghena karotu*. This phrase is used in regard to a Bhikkhu at *Kullavagga* I, 25, 1, as the distinctive mark of the Act of Suspension (*Ukkhepaniya-kamma*), and there means ‘depriving him of his right to eat and dwell with the other Bhikkhus.’ *Sambhoge anāpatti* at *Mahāvagga* I, 79, 2 (at the end), means that it is not an offence for the Bhikkhus to eat and dwell together with a guilty Bhikkhu under certain conditions there specified. As an Upāsaka never, under any circumstances, either eats or dwells together with the Bhikkhus (in *Pāṭittiya* 5 the reference is to *sāmañeras*), the meaning here must be to make him one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*, to withdraw his privilege of providing food or lodging for the *Samgha*. The *sambhoganam kulam* in the 43rd *Pāṭittiya* has probably nothing to do with this.

² When a Bhikkhu behaves towards the laity in any one of the first five of these eight ways the *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma* is to be carried out against him—that is to say, he has to ask pardon of the layman against whom he has offended. See I, 20. The whole eight recur below, § 6.

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* has brought a groundless charge against the venerable *Dabba* the *Mallian* of a breach of morality. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* turn down the bowl as respects *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and make him as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*.

“This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“*Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* has brought a groundless charge against *Dabba* the *Mallian* of a breach of morality. The *Samgha* turns down the bowl as respects *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and makes him as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the bowl being turned down as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and of making him as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“The bowl is turned down by the *Samgha* as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, he is as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

5. Then the venerable *Ānanda*, having dressed himself early in the morning, went, duly bowled and robed, to the residence of *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*. And when he had come there he spake to *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and said: ‘The bowl, friend *Vaddha*, has been turned down by the *Samgha* as regards you, and you are as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*.’ And *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, on hearing that saying, immediately¹ fainted and fell.

¹ Literally, ‘on that very spot.’

Then the friends and companions of *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and his relatives of one blood with him, said to him: 'It is enough, friend *Vaddha*. Weep not, neither lament. We will reconcile¹ the Blessed One to you, and the Order of *Bhikkhus*.'

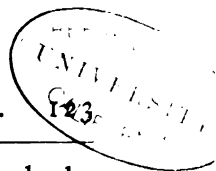
And *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, with his wife and his children, and with his friends and companions, and with his relatives of one blood with him, went up, with wet garments and with streaming hair, to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he cast himself down with his head at the feet of the Blessed One, and said: 'Sin has overcome me, Lord—even according to my weakness, according to my folly, according to my unrighteousness—in that without ground I brought a charge against *Dabba* the *Mallian* of a breach of morality. In respect thereof may my Lord the Blessed One accept the confession I make of my sin in its sinfulness², to the end that I may in future restrain myself therefrom³.'

'Verily, O friend *Vaddha*, sin hath overcome you—even according to your weakness, and according to your folly, and according to your unrighteousness—in that you brought without ground against *Dabba* the *Mallian* a charge of breach of morality. But since you, O friend *Vaddha*, look upon your sin as sin, and make amends for it as is meet, we do accept at your hands your confession of it. For this, O friend *Vaddha*, is the advantage of

¹ This is precisely the expression made use of in the converse case, when a *Bhikkhu* has offended against the laity. See I, 22, 3.

² *Akkayam akkayato paṭigāhātu*. See the parallel passages in *Mahāvagga* IX, 1, 9; *Kullavagga* VII, 3, 6, &c.

³ *Āyatim samvarāya*. So also above of an offending *Bhikkhu*, IV, 14, 30.



the discipline of the noble one, that he who looks upon his sin as sin, and makes amends for it as is meet, he becomes able in future to restrain himself therefrom¹.

6. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Let then the *Samgha* turn up the bowl again as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and make him as one who has dealings with the *Samgha*.

'There are eight things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise an *Upāsaka* the bowl should be turned up again as regards him;—when he goes not about to bring loss of gifts on the Bhikkhus, when he goes not about to bring harm to the Bhikkhus, when he goes not about to cause the Bhikkhus to want a place of residence, when he reviles or slanders not the Bhikkhus, when he causes not divisions between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhus;—when he speaks not in dispraise of the Buddha;—when he speaks not in dispraise of the Dhamma;—when he speaks not in dispraise of the *Samgha*.

7. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the bowl to be turned up². That *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* should go before the *Samgha*, with his upper robe arranged over one shoulder³, and squatting down, and raising

¹ *Samvaram āpaggati*. Compare the use of *vikappam āpaggeyya* in the 8th *Nissaggiya*.

² The following paragraphs are precisely the same as those in which the revocation of the *Tagganiya-kamma* is described in the reverse case of a Bhikkhu, above, I, 8.

³ *Ekamsam uttarāsaṅgam karitvā*. Unless these words have been introduced by mistake from the corresponding passage in I, 8 (which is not probable), they show that the *uttarāsaṅga* (on which see the note on *Mahāvagga VIII*, 13, 4) was also worn by laymen. But this is the only passage known to

his hands with the palms joined together, should speak as follows :

“ The bowl has been turned down against me, Sirs, by the *Samgha*, and I am become as one having no dealings with the *Samgha*. I am conducting myself, Sirs, aright in accordance thereto, and am broken in spirit¹, and I seek for release ; and I request the *Samgha* for a turning up again of the bowl.”

‘ And a second time he is to prefer the same request, and a third time he is to prefer the same request in the same words.

‘ Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The bowl has been turned down by the *Samgha* against *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and he is conducting himself aright in accordance thereto, and is broken in spirit, and seeks for release, and requests the *Samgha* for a turning up again of the bowl. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* turn up the bowl again as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and make him as one who has dealings with the *Samgha*.

“ This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The bowl has been turned down (&c., as before), and he is conducting himself (&c., as before), and he requests the *Samgha* (&c., as before). The *Samgha* turns up again the bowl as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and makes him as one who has dealings with the

us in the earlier literature in which such a use of it is mentioned or implied. Compare Rh. D.’s note on the ‘ Book of the Great Decease,’ VI, 26.

¹ *Lomam pâtemi*. See the note on *Kullavagga* I, 6, 1.

Samgha. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence; whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“The bowl is turned up again by the *Samgha* as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and he is as one who has dealings with the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

21.

1. Now the Blessed One, when he had stayed at Vesālī as long as he thought fit, set out on his journey toward Bhaggā¹. And journeying straight on he arrived in due course at Bhaggā. And there at Bhaggā the Blessed One resided on the Dragon's Hill, in the hermitage in the Bhesaka/ā Wood².

Now at that time Bodhi the king's son's mansion, which was called Kokanada, had just been finished, and had not as yet been used³ by *Samana*, or by *Brāhman*, or by any human being. And Bodhi the king's son gave command to the young Brahman, the son of the *Saṅgika* woman⁴, saying, ‘Come

¹ Bhaggesu. Compare Buddhaghosa's note on a similar plural at *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* III, 5, quoted in Rh. D.'s ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,’ p. 24.

² This place is also mentioned in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on the 55th and 56th *Sekhiyas*.

³ *Anaggāvattho*, literally, no doubt, ‘dwelt in.’ But it is clear that the meal afterwards taken in it by the Buddha was supposed to be the dedication, so to say, or the house-warming, after which it was *aggāvattho*.

⁴ On this habit of naming people after the family or tribal (not the personal) name of their mothers, see Rh. D.'s note in his ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 1.

now, my friend Saṅgikā-putta, go thou to the place where the Blessed One is, and when you have come there, bow down in salutation at his feet on my behalf, and enquire in my name whether he is free from sickness and suffering, and is in the enjoyment of ease and comfort and vigorous health, saying, "Bodhi the king's son, Lord, bows down in salutation at thy feet, and enquires [as I have said]¹, and asks: 'May my Lord the Blessed One consent to take his to-morrow's meal with Bodhi the king's son, together with the Saṃgha of Bhikkhus.'"

'Even so, Sir!' said the young Brahman Saṅgikā-putta, in assent to Bodhi the king's son. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there he exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility. And when he had done so, he took his seat on one side, and so seated he [delivered to him the message even as the king's son had commanded]. And the Blessed One gave, by silence, his consent.

2. And when the young Brahman Saṅgikā-putta had perceived that the Blessed One had consented, he arose from his seat, and went up to the place where Bodhi the king's son was. And when he had come there, he said to him: 'We have spoken, Sir, in your behalf to that venerable Gotama, saying (&c., as before), and have received the consent of the Samāṇa Gotama.'

Then Bodhi the king's son made ready at the end

¹ So far this conversation is the stock phrase for a message from a royal personage to the Buddha. See 'Book of the Great Decease,' I, 2 (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 2).

of that night sweet food, both hard and soft; and had the mansion Kokanada spread over with white cloths even unto the last planks in the flight of steps (at the entrance)¹; and gave command to the young Brahman Saṅgikâ-putta, saying, 'Come now, my friend Saṅgikâ-putta, go thou up to the place where the Blessed One is; and when you have come there, announce the time, saying, "The meal, Lord, is ready, and the time has come."' "

'Even so, Lord,' said Saṅgikâ-putta in assent [and went to the Blessed One and announced accordingly].

Now the Blessed One, having dressed himself early in the morning, went, duly bowled and robed, to Bodhi the king's son's mansion. And Bodhi the king's son stood at that time at the portico over the outer door to welcome the Blessed One. And he saw the Blessed One coming from afar; and on seeing him he went forth thence to meet him, and when he had saluted the Blessed One, he returned again to the mansion Kokanada.

Now the Blessed One stopped at the last plank on the flight of steps at the entrance. And Bodhi the king's son said to the Blessed One, 'May my Lord the Blessed One walk over the cloths. May the Happy One walk over the cloths, that the same may be to me for a long time for a weal and for a joy.'

And when he had thus spoken, the Blessed One remained silent. And a second time he [preferred the same request in the same words with the same

¹ Sopâna-kaṅgarâ. Compare the Sanskrit Kaṇḍakara (also written kaṇḍagara). The correct reading is doubtless 𑖅, not 𑖆.

result]. And a third time he [preferred the same request]. Then the Blessed One looked round at the venerable Ānanda.

And the venerable Ānanda said to Bodhi the king's son, 'Let them gather up, O prince, these cloths. The Blessed One will not walk on a strip of cloth (laid down for ceremonial purposes)¹. The Tathâgata has mercy even on the meanest thing.'

3. Then Bodhi the king's son had the cloths gathered up, and spread out a seat on the top of Kokanada. And the Blessed One ascended up into Kokanada, and sat down on the seat spread out there with the *Samgha* of Bhikkhus. And Bodhi the king's son satisfied the Bhikkhu-*samgha* with the Buddha at their head with the sweet food, both hard and soft, waiting upon them with his own hand². And when the Blessed One had cleansed his bowl and his hands, he (Bodhi) took his seat on one side. And the Blessed One instructed, and roused, and incited, and gladdened him thus sitting with religious discourse. And when he had been thus instructed, and roused, and incited, and gladdened

¹ *Kela-pattikâ* ti *kela-santharam*, says Buddhaghosa. See *pattikâ* in Childers, and compare *pañña-paṭṭhikam* at V, 11, 6. *Kela* is not merely ordinary cloth; it is cloth regarded as a means of giving a decorative or festive appearance to a house by spreading canopies, &c. See *Gâtaka* I, 178, and *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* VI, 26 (p. 64). On such festive occasions the whole house (or the *Mandapa* erected in special honour of the guest) is covered with lengths of clean cotton cloth—the same as are otherwise used for ordinary apparel—white being the colour signifying peculiar respect. It is such lengths of cloth so used *honoris causâ* that are called *kela-pattikâ*. Compare Rh. D.'s note in 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 122.

² See the note above on *Mahāvagga* I, 8, 4.

with religious discourse, Bodhi the king's son rose from his seat and departed thence.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened an assembly of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and after he had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus and said :

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to walk upon cloth laid down (for ceremonial purposes). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

4. Now at that time a certain woman who had had a miscarriage, and had invited the Bhikkhus, and spread cloths in their honour, said to them, ‘Step, Sirs, over the cloth.’

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not do so.

‘Step, Sirs, over the cloth, for good luck's sake.’

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not do so.

Then that woman murmured, was annoyed, and was indignant, saying, ‘How can their reverences refuse to step over the cloth when they are asked to do so for good luck's sake?’

The Bhikkhus heard of that woman's murmuring, and being annoyed, and indignant. And they told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, when asked to do so for the sake of good luck to laymen, to step over cloth laid down for ceremonial purposes.’

Now at the time the Bhikkhus were afraid to step on to a mat to be used for wiping the feet¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Dhota-pādaka.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to step on to a mat to be used for wiping the feet.’

Here ends the second Portion¹ for Recitation.

22.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhaggâ as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Sâvatthi. And journeying straight on he arrived in due course at Sâvatthi, and there, at Sâvatthi, he stayed in the *Getavana*, in the *Ârâma* of *Anâtha-pindîka*.

Now *Visâkhâ* the mother of *Migâra*, bringing small jars², and earthenware foot-scrubbers³, and brooms, went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when she had come there, she saluted the Blessed One, and took her seat on one side. And so sitting, *Visâkhâ* the mother of *Migâra* said to the Blessed One, ‘May the Blessed One accept these things at my hands, that that may be to me for long for a blessing and a joy.’ And the Blessed One accepted the small jars and the brooms; but the Blessed One did not accept the earthenware foot-scrubbers.

¹ There is no mention in the text of where the first such Portion (*Bhânavâra*) ends. There is also no division into *Bhânavâras* in the previous books of the *Kullavagga*.

² *Ghaṭakam*. At *Gâtaka* I, 32 this word seems to mean the capital of a pillar. We have taken it as the diminutive of *ghaṭa*, especially as *Buddhaghosa* says nothing; but this is doubtful.

³ *Katakam*. To the note quoted at p. 318 of the text, which shows that this is a kind of foot-rubber, *Buddhaghosa* adds that this article is forbidden *bâhulikânuyogattâ*. This injunction is repeated below at V, 37, where *kataka* is mentioned as a kind of earthenware.

Then the Blessed One instructed (&c., as usual, see 21. 2, down to) she departed thence. And the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, after having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, small jars and brooms. You are not, O Bhikkhus, to make use of earthenware foot-scrubbers. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, three kinds of things to rub the feet with—to wit, sandstone¹, gravel¹, and sea-foam².’

2. [A similar paragraph ending]

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of fans and flower-stands³.’

23.

1. Now at that time a mosquito-fan had come into the possession of the Saṃgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of mosquito-fans.’

A chāmara (a tail of the Bos Gruniens or Tibetan ox, mounted on a stick, to be used by

¹ Sakkharā and kaḥala, the exact distinction between which two terms is not stated.

² Samudda-pheṇaka. By this name are designated the bones of the cuttle-fish which, when cast up by the waves on the sea-shore, are not unlike petrified foam, and have actually been introduced from the East into use in Europe as a kind of rough natural soap; and are now sold for that purpose in most chemists’ shops in England (compare Meerschau). The same word is found in later Sanskrit works.

³ Tālavanīkam. See Gâtaka I, 26, 5 (at the end); and compare tālavanīkam below, V, 29, 4.

an attendant to whisk off flies) had come into the possession of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to make use of a *chāmara*. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*¹. I allow, O Bhikkhus, three kinds of fly-whisks—those made of bark, those made of *Ustra*-grass, and those made of peacocks’ tails².’

2. [Similar paragraph ending]

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of sun-shades³.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiyas* went about with sun-shades up. And at that time a certain *Upāsaka* went to a garden with a number of men who were followers of the *Āgīvakas* (naked ascetics). And those followers of the *Āgīvakas* saw the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus coming along in the distance with sun-shades held over them; and on seeing them, they said to that *Upāsaka*:

‘Are these, Sir, the men whom you reverence coming along, like lords of the treasury, there with sun-shades held over them?’

‘No, Sirs. These are not Bhikkhus; they are *Paribbāgakas* (wandering mendicants).’

So they made a bet whether they were Bhikkhus or not. And when that *Upāsaka* recognised them, when they came up, he murmured, was annoyed, and was indignant, saying, ‘How can their reverences go about with sun-shades held over them?’

The Bhikkhus heard of that *Upāsaka*’s thus mur-

¹ Probably because this, like a white umbrella, was considered an appanage of royalty.

² *Mora-piñṇha*. This word is spelt *piṇṇa* by Childers, and by Fausbøll, *Gātaka* I, 38, 207.

³ See the note at the end of the chapter.

muring, &c. And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying (&c., as usual, see I, 1, 2, 3). And when he had rebuked them, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have sun-shades held over you. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and without a sun-shade (being held over him) he was ill at ease.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a sun-shade for the sick.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, thinking, ‘It is for the sick only that sun-shades have been allowed by the Blessed One, and not for those who are not sick,’ were afraid to use sun-shades in the Ārâma, or in the precincts of the Ārâma.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, either a sick man, or one who is not sick, to have a sun-shade held over him either in the Ārâma, or in the precincts of the Ārâma¹.’

¹ There is an ambiguity, either in the use of the word *khaṭṭa*, or in the use of the verb *dhâreti*, or both, running through this chapter. As a matter of fact, the Bhikkhus now use sun-shades (usually those made of paper in China) of the same shape as the umbrellas now used in England; and they make no distinction as to the place in which they use them. But there is another shape for shades, to be carried by a dependant walking behind the person to be shaded, in which the handle is fastened to the rim at the side of, and not in the middle underneath that part of it which

24.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu tied his bowl with a string, and suspending it on a staff¹, went after noon out of a certain village gate. The people calling out, 'There goes a thief; his sword is glistening,' fell upon him, and seized him. But on recognising him, they let him go. That Bhikkhu, returning to the Ârâma, told this matter to the Bhikkhus.

'What then, Sir, did you carry a staff with a string to it?'

'It is even so, Sirs.'

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate murmured (&c., as usual, see I, 1, 2, 3) told the Blessed One he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to carry a staff with a string to it. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and he could not wander about without a staff.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

actually keeps off the sun. Both kinds are figured on the most ancient Buddhist sculptures. The Old Commentary on the corresponding rule for the nuns (Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, Pâṭṭiya LXXXIV, 2, 1) says that sun-shades are either white, or made of matting, or made of leaves (doubtless of the talipot palm); and it adds that they are either *maṇḍala-baddham* or *saḷāka-baddham*, which apparently refers to these two ways in which the handle was joined on to the shading-part. In the 57th Sekhiya (compare also the 23rd and the 67th), and in Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1, will be found rules of etiquette which show that it was a sign of courtesy or of respect to put down a sun-shade.

¹ See the similar phraseology at V, 8, 1. On uḷḷitvā, compare *oddeti*.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give to a sick Bhikkhu the permission (license) to use a staff. And thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be given. That sick Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should go up to the Samgha [here follow the words of a Kammavâkâ, precisely as in V, 20, 7].’

3. [Similar paragraphs ending with Kammavâkâs for license to lift the bowl with a string, and with both a staff and a string.]

25.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was a ruminator¹, and he, continually ruminating, used to chew the cud.

The Bhikkhus murmured, were annoyed, and were indignant, saying, ‘This Bhikkhu eats food out of hours².’ And they told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘This Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, has but lately fallen from the condition of being an ox. I allow, O Bhikkhus, to a ruminator the chew of the cud. But nothing, O Bhikkhus, brought from the door of the mouth to the outside thereof is to be so chewed³. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to the law⁴.’

26.

1. Now at that time a certain multitude had

¹ Romanthaka.

² Which is against the rule laid down in the 27th Pâkittiya.

³ That would be a breach of the 30th Pâkittiya.

⁴ That is, according to the 27th, 28th, or 30th Pâkittiya.

arranged for the privilege of supplying food to the *Samgha*, and in the dining-hall many fragments of rice were allowed to fall.

The people murmured, were annoyed, and were indignant, saying, 'How can the *Sakya-puttiya Samanas*, when food is being given to them, take it so carelessly. Each single ball of rice is the result of hundredfold labour!'

The *Bhikkhus* heard of the people thus murmuring, &c., and they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O *Bhikkhus*, whatever thing falls when it is being given to you, yourselves to pick it up and eat it. That has been presented, O *Bhikkhus*, by the givers.'

27.

1. Now at that time a certain *Bhikkhu* went on his round for alms with long finger-nails. A certain woman, seeing him, said to that *Bhikkhu*: 'Come along, Sir, and have connection with me.'

'Nay, Sister, that is not becoming.'

'If you do not, Sir, I will at once scratch¹ my limbs with my own nails, and will make as if I were angry, saying, "This *Bhikkhu* has ill-treated me."'

'Settle that with yourself, Sister.'

That woman did as she had said, and people running up seized that *Bhikkhu*. Then they saw skin and blood on the woman's nails; and on seeing that, they let the *Bhikkhu* go, saying, 'This is the

¹ On *vilikhati*, compare VI, 20.

work of the woman herself. The Bhikkhu has not done it.'

Then that Bhikkhu, returning to the Ârâma, told the matter to the Bhikkhus.

'What then, Sir, do you wear long nails?'

'It is even so, Sirs.'

The Bhikkhus who were moderate murmured (&c. . . .) told the matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear long nails. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukka $\acute{t}$ a.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus tore off their nails with the nails, bit them off with their teeth, or rubbed them down against the wall; and their fingers were hurt.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, nail-cutters.'

They cut their nails down to the blood, and their fingers were hurt.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cut your nails according to the length of the flesh.'

Now at that time the K $\acute{h}$ abbaggiya Bhikkhus had all the twenty nails (on their hands and feet) polished.

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like those who still live in the pleasures of the world.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have the twenty nails polished. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to remove the dirt only.'

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus' hair grew long.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Are the Bhikkhus able, O Bhikkhus, to remove one another's hair?'

'They are, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, after he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of razors, of a hone to sharpen the razors on, of powder prepared with Sipâtika-gum to prevent them rusting¹, of a sheath to hold them in², and of all the apparatus of a barber³.’

4. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus wore (&c., as usual, down to)

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have your beards cut (by barbers)⁴, nor to let them grow long, nor to wear them long on the chin like a goat’s beard⁵, nor so cut that they have four corners⁶, nor to cut off the hair growing on your breast⁷, nor to cut the hair on your bellies into figures⁸, nor to wear whiskers⁹, nor to remove the hair from your private parts¹⁰. Who-soever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*.’

¹ *Khura-sipâtikaṃ*. See the notes on V, 11, 2, and Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 319 of the text.

² *Namatakam*. See above, V, 11, 1, and V, 19, 1.

³ *Khura-bhandam*. Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 37.

⁴ *Massum kappāpentī ti kattariyā massum khedāpentī* (B.). On *Kattari* (a knife), see *Gâtaka* I, 223. It is clear from the first words of the next section that Buddhaghosa’s explanation here is not quite accurate.

⁵ *Go-lomikan ti hanukamhi dīgham katvā śhapitam elaka-massum vukkati* (B.).

⁶ *Katurassan ti katu-konaṃ* (B.).

⁷ *Parimukhan ti ure loma-samharanam* (B.).

⁸ *Addharūkam*. See the various readings and Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 319 of the text.

⁹ *Dāṭhikam*. It is the Sanskrit *dādḥikā* or *daṃśtrikā*; and occurs at *Gâtaka* I, 305.

¹⁰ On the corresponding rule in the *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*, the 2nd *Pāṭittiya*, the Old Commentary has *sambādho nāma ubho upakakkhakaṃ mutta-karanam*.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a fistula¹, and the ointment would not stick to it.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, on account of disease, to remove the hair from the private parts.'

5. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to)

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have your hair cut off with a knife². Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a sore on his head, and the hair could not be removed with a razor.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, on account of disease, to have your hair cut off with a knife.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus wore the hair in their nostrils long.

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like the devil-worshippers³.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear the hair in your nostrils long. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus had the hair in their nostrils pulled out with a potsherd⁴, or with beeswax; and their nostrils were hurt.

¹ Compare Mahāvagga VI, 22, 2.

² Kattarikâyâ ti *ganda-rudhi*-(sic MS.)-sīsa-roḡ'-âbâdha-paḷ-kayâ vaṭṭati, which is simply a repetition of the next paragraph, is all that Buddhaghosa here says. See note above on § 4.

³ Pisâḱillikâ. So also V, 10, 2, of carrying a skull about; and Mahāvagga III, 12, 3, of living in the hollow of a tree.

⁴ Sakkharikâ, said at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 5 to be used as a lancet.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of pincers¹.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (&c., as before, ending with)

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have the white hairs pulled out (off your heads). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.’

6. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu’s ears were stopped with the wax.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of an instrument to remove the wax from the ear².’

[Then a paragraph as to the substances of which it may be made, word for word, as in *Mahāvagga* VI, 6, 21; 12, 3; *Kullavagga* V, 5, 2; 29, 2, &c.]

28.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus laid up much store of brass ware and copper ware.

People who came on a visit to the Vihâras, seeing it, murmured, &c., saying, ‘Like those who spread out copper (for sale)³.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to lay up much store of brass ware and copper ware. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*⁴.’

¹ *Sandâsa*. So at *Gâtaka* I, 138, 4, a barber pulls out a white hair from the king’s head, *suvarana-sandâsena*.

² This license is repeated in the next chapter.

³ *Kamsa-pattharikâ* tî *kamsa-bhanda-vânigâ* (B.).

⁴ They might have all kinds of brass ware, except certain articles, according to chapter 37 below.

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus were afraid to use boxes to put eye-ointment in¹, and little flat sticks to lay it on with², and instruments for removing wax from the ear³, and handles (for razors, staves, &c.)⁴.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of these things.'

Now at that time the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus sat down lolling up against their waist-cloths (arranged as a cushion)⁵, and the edges of the waist-cloths wore out⁶.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to loll in this way. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and without some handicraft⁷ he was ill at ease.

¹ *Añganim*. The use of these has been already allowed at Mahāvagga VI, 12, 1, 2, 4.

² In the text read *añgana-saḷākāṃ*, on which see Mahāvagga VI, 12, 3, 4.

³ Already allowed in the last chapter.

⁴ *Bandhana-mattan ti vāsi-kattara-yaṭṭhi-ādinam vā bandhana-mattam* (B.). It is clear from this note, and the repetition of the *pi* in the text, that we have to do here with a special object, and not a mere qualification of the other three.

⁵ *Samghāsi-pallatthikāya nisīditvā*. See IV, 4, 7 at the end, and the Old Commentary on the 26th Sekhiya. Childers translates it as if it were the same as *ukku/ikam nisīditvā*; but it must be different from it as that was allowed and constantly practised.

⁶ *Paṭṭā lugganti*. So read (not *pattā* as in the text) in accordance with our note 3 on Mahāvagga VIII, 21, 1. The second word occurs also above, V, 16, 2; 17, 2. From this passage here it is probable that *aṭṭha-pāḍaka* at Mahāvagga VIII, 21, means a stool.

⁷ *Āyogam*. Compare the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, Pāṭittiya LXXXVIII, 2, 2; *Gāṭaka* III, 447, 6.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a loom, and of shuttles, strings, tickets, and all the apparatus belonging to a loom.’

29.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu entered the village for alms without a girdle on, and in the highway¹ his waist-cloth fell down². The people made an outcry, and that Bhikkhu was abashed.

On his return to the Ārāma, that Bhikkhu told this matter to the Bhikkhus, and the Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to enter the village without a girdle on. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, a girdle³.’

2. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus wore (&c., as usual, ending with)

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear special girdles⁴—those made of many strings plaited to-

¹ Rathiyāya. The Old Commentary on the Bhikkhūn-vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya XIV, says, Rathiyā ti rakkhā. The word recurs, *ibid.*, Pāṭiṭṭiya LXXXVI, XCVI (the last of which is nearly the same as our passage here). For the more usual form rathikā, see Kullavagga X, 12.

² Pabhassittha. Compare Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya LXXXIII, 1, 2. It is from the root bhram, not bhās.

³ The use of this has already been enjoined at Mahāvagga I, 25, 9, 10. It was to be tied on round the waist, over the waist-cloth, to keep it in its place.

⁴ It is curious that kaṭi-suttakam, a kind of girdle which would seem properly to belong here, has been included in a former list of forbidden articles at V, 2, 1.

gether¹, those made like the head of a water-snake², girdles with tambourines on them³, girdles with beads on (or with ornaments hanging from them)⁴. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, girdles of two kinds—those made of strips of cloth, and those⁵

The borders of the girdles decayed through age.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, an edging of brighter material⁶ and strengthening at the ends⁷.’

The end of the girdle where the knot was tied decayed through age⁸.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a buckle⁹.’

[A paragraph on the substances of which it may be made, as usual, see Mahāvagga VI, 12, 3; Kulla-

¹ Kalābukam. See Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 319 of the text, and compare Böhtlingk-Roth under kalāpa, kalāpaka.

² Deddubhakam nāma udaka-sappi-sisa-sadisam (B.). Deddubha corresponds to the later Sanskrit dundubha, an older form of which is dundubha.

³ Muraga, literally, ‘tambourines;’ but see Buddhaghosa’s note, loc. cit.

⁴ Maddavīnam nāma pāmaṅga-saṅghānam (B.). On pāmaṅga, see our note at Kullavagga V, 2, 1.

⁵ Sūkarāntakam. See Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 319 of the text. We do not venture to translate the term.

⁶ Sobhanam nāma vetthetvā mukha-vaṭṭi-sibhanam (B.). In the Magghima Sīla, § 3, sobhanakam or sobhana-karaṇam (so Rh. D.’s MS.) is a kind of game or show.

⁷ Gunakam nāma mudika(? muddhika)-saṅghānena sibbanam (B.). Clough, under guṇa, gives inter alia, 1. fastening; 2. a plant of the fibres of which bow-strings are made; 3. bow-string.

⁸ Pavananto ti pāsanto (B.).

⁹ Vidho. But both the reading and the explanation are uncertain, and Buddhaghosa says nothing. The word occurs also, and apparently in the same sense, in the Old Commentary on the 86th Pāṭiṭiya.

vagga V, 5, 2, &c., adding at the end 'and made of string.']

3. Now at the time the venerable Ānanda went into the village for alms with light garments on¹; and his garments were blown up by a whirlwind.

The venerable Ānanda, on returning to the Ārāma, told this matter to the Bhikkhus; and the Bhikkhus told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a block² (to be used as a weight) or a chain³.'

[Similar paragraph to that just above as to the substances of which the block may be made.]

Now at that time the Bhikkhus fastened the block or the chain immediately on to their robes; and the robes gave way.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a piece of phalaka cloth⁴ to attach the block or the chain to.'

They fastened the phalaka cloth for the block or the chain on to the edge of the robe; and the corner came open⁵.

¹ *Samghāsiyo* in the plural must mean garments and not waist-cloths only. See the parallel passage in the *Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga*, *Pāṭikīya* XCVI.

² *Gaṇṭhikam*. The use of this article is referred to in VIII, 4, 3, and at *Dhammapada*, p. 372. That *gaṇṭhi* means a block, usually of wood, is clear from the use of *dhamma-gaṇṭhikam* at *Gāṭaka* I, 150 (spelt *gaṇḍika* however at II, 124), compared with *gaṇṭhi* (block of sandal-wood) above, V, 8, 1. The word occurs also in the Old Commentary on the 86th *Pāṭikīya*.

³ *Pāsakam*, which does not correspond to Sanskrit *prāsaka* here, but to *pāsaka* = *pāsa* (Böhtlingk-Roth give inter alia, 'Sahl oder Leiste am Anfange eines Gewebes'). Compare *pāsanta* in *Buddhaghosa* on *maḍḍhāvāḷakam* in the next section.

⁴ See our note on this word at *Mahāvagga* VIII, 28, 2.

⁵ That is, perhaps, the weight dragged the robe to one side and the legs were visible through the opening.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fasten the phalaka cloth for the block on the edge of the robe, and to fasten the phalaka cloth for the chain seven or eight finger-breadths up the robe.'

4. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus wore (&c., as usual, ending with)

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear your under garments arranged as laymen do, nor arranged with appendages like elephant-trunks¹, nor arranged like fishing-nets², nor arranged with four corners showing³, nor arranged like flower-stands⁴, nor arranged like rows of jewelry⁵. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

[Similar paragraph, ending]

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear your upper⁶

¹ *Hatthi-sonḍakam* nāma nābhi-mūlato *hatthi-sonḍa-saṇḍhānam* olambakam katvā nivattham, *koṭṭika-itthīnam* nivāsanaṃ viya (B.).

² *Maḁḁha-vāḷakam* nāma ekato dasantam ekato pāsantam olambitvā nivattham (B.).

³ *Katu-kannakam* upari dve *hetthato* dve evaṃ *kattāro kanne* dassetvā nivattham (B.).

⁴ *Tāla-vanṭakam* nāma *tālavanti'*-ākārena *sātakam* olambitvā nivāsanaṃ (B.). See our note on *tālavanta* above, V, 22, 2, and on *āmaḷaka-vanṭika-pīṭham* below, VI, 2, 4.

⁵ *Sata-vallikam* nāma dīgha-sātakam aneka-kkhattum obhaṇṇitvā *ovaṭṭikam* karontena nivattham vā, *padakkhina-passesu* vā *nirantaram* valiyo dassetvā nivattham. *Sake* pana *gānuto patthāya* eko vā dve vā valiyo *paññāyanti, vaṭṭati* (B.). Compare *vallikā* and *ovaṭṭikam* at V, 2, 1. Buddhaghosa's second explanation would be possible if the reading were *sata-valikam*, and is probably only a pis aller, due to the difficulty of the first, which we have adopted doubtfully.

⁶ *Pārupati* as opposed to *nivāseti* above. Compare *Dhammapada*, pp. 114, 376; *Gāṭaka*, vol. i, p. 57, line 16.

garments as the laymen do. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

5. [Similar paragraph, ending]

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear your under garments¹ as the king's porters do¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

30.

1. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus carried a double pingo (a yoke over the shoulders with the weight to be carried on both sides).

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like the king's porters².'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to carry a double pingo. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to carry a single pingo, a pingo for two bearers³, and to carry weights on your head, or your shoulders, or against your hips⁴, and suspended over your backs.'

31.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus did not use tooth-sticks⁵, and their mouths got a bad odour.

¹ *Samvelliyaṃ nivāsetabbam* See Buddhaghosa's note at p. 319 of the text.

² *Munda-vallī* or *-veṭṭhi*. See the note from the *Samanta Pāsādikā* at p. 319 of the text.

³ *Antarā-kāgam nāma magghe laggetvā dvīhi vahitabbam bhāram* (B.).

⁴ That is held round by the arm, and resting against the side of the hips. Women in India commonly carry their children so, the children sitting on the hip, with one leg in front and one behind.

⁵ *Danta-katṭham*, not 'tooth-brushes,' as Childers translates.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘There are these five disadvantages, O Bhikkhus, in not using tooth-sticks—it is bad for the eyes ¹—the mouth becomes bad-smelling—the passages by which the flavours of the food pass are not pure—bile and phlegm get into ² the food—and the food does not taste well ³ to him (who does not use them). These are the five disadvantages, O Bhikkhus, in not using tooth-sticks.’

‘There are five advantages, O Bhikkhus, (&c., the converse of the last).’

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, tooth-sticks.’

2. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used long tooth-sticks; and even struck the *Sâma-neras* with them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use long tooth-

Mechanical skill had not advanced so far in those days; and we hear nothing of brushes of any kind (see above, V, 2, 3, as to hair-dressing). The 'tooth-sticks' were bits of sweet-smelling wood or root, or creeper (see *Gâtaka* I, 80; *Mahāvamsa*, p. 23), the ends of which were to be masticated as a dentifrice, not rubbed on the teeth. After using them the mouth was rinsed out with water; and so in all other passages in the *Khandhakas* where they are mentioned (always in reference to the duty of providing them), it is in connection with the bringing of water for that purpose.

¹ This has of course nothing to do with keeping the teeth white and beautiful; that was not the purpose which the tooth-sticks were designed to effect. There seems to have been really some idea that the use of them was good for the eye-sight. So Buddhaghosa says here, *aḥakkhussan ti ḥakkhūnam hitam ma hoti, parihāṇim ganeti*, quite in accordance with the Sanskrit *ḥakshushya*. The words recur below, VI, 2, 2, in the same sense.

² **Pariyonandhanti.** Literally, 'envelope,' 'cover.'

³ Na *khhâdeti*. This is a different word from *khâdeti*, 'to cover.' It is *khad* No. 2 in Böhlingk-Roth.

sticks. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, tooth-sticks up to eight finger-breadths in length. And Sāmañeras are not to be struck with them. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, when using too short a tooth-stick, got it stuck in his throat.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use too short a tooth-stick. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, tooth-sticks four finger-breadths long at the least.'

32.

1. Now at that time the Kāḍhagga Bhikkhus set the woods on fire.

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like the charcoal burners.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to set woods on fire. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time the Vihāras were hidden under masses of grass¹, and when the woods were set on fire the Vihāras were burnt. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not make a counter-fire for their own protection.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, when the woods are

¹ Tina-gahanā. Not covered with thatch, the word for which is tina-kkhanā. See V, 11, 6; V, 14, 3, &c.

on fire to make a counter-fire¹, and thus afford yourselves protection.'

2. Now at that time the *Kabbaggiya* Bhikkhus climbed up trees, and jumped from tree to tree.

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like monkeys.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to climb up trees. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*.'

Now at that time, when a certain Bhikkhu in the Kosala country was going to Sāvatti, an elephant pursued him on the way. And that Bhikkhu, when he had run up to the foot of a tree, fearing to offend, did not climb up. The elephant passed on another way.

That Bhikkhu, on arriving at Sāvatti, told this matter to the Bhikkhus (and the Bhikkhus told this matter to the Blessed One²).

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, when there shall be something to be done to ascend a tree to the height of a man; and in cases of misfortune as high as you like.'

33.

1. Now at that time there were two brothers, Bhikkhus, by name Yameḷu and Tekula³, Brāh-

¹ *Paḍaggim dātum*. See the story at *Gātaka* I, 212, and foll.

² Omitted in the text.

³ *Yameḷutekulā*. It is possible that this compound should be dissolved into *Yameḷa* and *Utekula*. Compare the word *Yameḷe* at verse 35 of the *Uddāna* (which stands where a nominative should stand, judging by the form of the other words in the *Uddāna*). A comma has there been omitted by misprint after *Yameḷe*.

mans by birth, excelling in speech, excelling in pronunciation. These went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when they had come there, they saluted the Blessed One, and took their seats on one side. And so sitting those Bhikkhus spake to the Blessed One thus :

‘At the present time, Lord, Bhikkhus, differing in name, differing in lineage, differing in birth, differing in family, have gone forth (from the world). These corrupt the word of the Buddhas by (repeating it in) their own dialect. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanskrit) verse¹.’

‘How can you, O foolish ones, speak thus, saying, “Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into verse?” This will not conduce, O foolish ones, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted ; but rather to those who have not been converted being not converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.’

And when the Blessed One had rebuked those Bhikkhus, and had delivered a religious discourse², he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

¹ We think that in these words (*khandaso âropema*) there does lie a reference to the earlier Sanskrit. And this especially for four reasons : firstly, this is required by the antithesis to ‘their own dialect ;’ secondly, the use of the word *khandasi* in *Pāṇini*, where it always means precisely ‘in the Veda-dialect,’ requires it ; thirdly, it is difficult to understand otherwise the mention of ‘Brāhmans by birth ;’ and fourthly, this is in accordance with the traditional interpretation of the passage handed down among the Bhikkhus. *Buddhaghosa* says, *khandaso âropemâ ti Vedam viya sakkata-bhāsāya vāṭanā-maggam âropema*. *Sakkata* is of course *Sanskṛita*.

² See the substance intended at *Kullavagga I, 1, 3*.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanskrit) verse. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to learn the word of the Buddhas each in his own dialect¹.’

2. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus learnt the Lokāyata system².

People murmured, &c., saying, ‘Like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world!’

The Bhikkhus heard of the people thus murmuring; and those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Now can a man who holds the Lokāyata as valuable reach up, O Bhikkhus, to the full advantage of, or attain to full growth in, to full breadth in this doctrine and discipline³?’

‘This cannot be, Lord.’

‘Or can a man who holds this doctrine and discipline to be valuable learn the Lokāyata system?’

¹ On the historical conclusions which may be drawn from this tradition, see H. O.’s introduction to the text of the *Mahāvagga*, pp. xlix and following.

² This is mentioned also in the *Assalāyana Sutta* (at the beginning), and in the same terms in the *Milinda Paṇḥa*, p. 10, as one of the branches of learning distinctive of well-educated Brāhmins. It is condemned among other ‘low arts’ in the very ancient *Mahā Sīla*, § 5. (See Rh. D.’s ‘*Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli*,’ p. 199, and his note on the age of this work, *ibid.* p. 188.) Among later works, the Nepalese Buddhists refer to it as one of the things with which a Bodhisattva will not condescend to occupy himself (*Lotus of the Good Law*, ch. xiii, Burnouf’s version, p. 168), and in which good disciples will take no pleasure (*ibid.* p. 280). *Buddhaghosa* has a note on the passage in the *Mahā Sīla* (quoted by Childers sub voce), which shows that it was understood in his time to be, or rather to have been, a system of casuistry.

³ So also in the *Ketokhila Sutta 2* (translated in Rh. D.’s ‘*Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli*,’ p. 223).

‘This cannot be, Lord.’

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to learn the Lokâyata system. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Khabbaggiya Bhikkhus taught the Lokâyata system.

People murmured, &c., saying, ‘Like those still enjoying the pleasures of the world!’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to teach the Lokâyata system. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

[Similar paragraphs to the last, ending]

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to learn—to teach—the low arts¹ (of divination, spells, omens, astrology, sacrifices to gods, witchcraft, and quackery).’

3. Now at that time the Blessed One when, surrounded by a great assembly, he was preaching the Dhamma, sneezed. The Bhikkhus raised a great and mighty shout, ‘Long life to our Lord the Blessed One! Long life to the Happy One!’ and by the sound thereof the discourse was interrupted. Then the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus :

‘Now if when a man has sneezed, O Bhikkhus, some one says, “Long life to you,” can he live or die on that account?’

‘Not so, Lord.’

¹ *Tirakkhâna-viggâ*. Literally, ‘brutish, or beastly, wisdom.’ These are set out in full in the seven sections of the Mahâ Sîla (translated in Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,’ pp. 196–200). As noticed above, the Lokâyata system is there mentioned (§ 5) as one of them. Learning or teaching these things are forbidden in almost identical terms to the Bhikkhunis in the Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga, Pâṭṭiyas XLIX and L.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, when one has sneezed, to call out, “Long life to you.” Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.’

Now at that time people said to the Bhikkhus when they sneezed, ‘Long life to your reverence!’ and the Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, gave no reply. The people murmured, were annoyed, and were indignant, saying, ‘How can the Sakya-puttiya Samānas omit to reply when people say, “Long life to your reverence?”’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Laymen, O Bhikkhus, are given to lucky phrases². I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to reply, “May you live long!” to laymen who say to you, “Long life to your reverence!”’

34.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One when, surrounded by a great assembly, he was preaching the Dhamma, was seated. And a certain Bhikkhu, who had eaten onions, sat down apart, thinking, ‘Let not the Bhikkhus be annoyed³!’

The Blessed One saw that Bhikkhu sitting apart; and on seeing him, he said to the Bhikkhus, ‘Why now, O Bhikkhus, is that Bhikkhu seated apart?’

‘This Bhikkhu, Lord, has eaten onions, and has

¹ This story forms the Introductory Story also to the Gaggā Gâtaka (No. 155 in Fausböll's edition). On the superstition here condemned, see Dr. Morris's remarks in the ‘Contemporary Review’ for May, 1881.

² Gihî bhikkhave maṅgalikā.

³ Vyābāhimsu is for vyābādhimsu. See p. 320 of the edition of the text.

seated himself apart in order not to annoy the Bhikkhus.'

'But ought, O Bhikkhus, anything to be eaten, that will cause the eater to keep away from such a preaching of the Dhamma as this?'

'No, indeed, Lord.'

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to eat onions. Who-soever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.'

2. Now at that time the venerable Sâriputta had wind in his stomach. And the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna went up to the place where the venerable Sâriputta was, and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Sâriputta :

'How did you formerly, friend Sâriputta, get relief, when you had wind in the stomach?'

'By eating onions, my friend².'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat onions on account of disease.'

35.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus made water here and there in the Ârâma, and the Ârâma was defiled.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make water at one side (of the Ârâma).'

¹ There is a similar rule for the Bhikkhunis in the Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga, Pâkittiya I. So also onions are mentioned among the things a Gain Bhikkhu may not accept (Âyâraṅga Sutta II, 1, 8, 13).

² It is gruel of various kinds that is prescribed for this malady in Mahâvagga VI, 16, 3-17, 2.

The *Ārāma* became offensive. . . .

[The rest of this chapter is scarcely translatable. It records in like manner the various sanitary difficulties which arose from the living together of a number of Bhikkhus. Each such difficulty is quite solemnly said to have been reported to the Blessed One, and he is said to have found a way out of it. The result of the whole is, that the building of privies is enjoined, and all the contrivances, such as seats, doors, steps, plastering, &c., already mentioned with respect to the bath-room, above, V, 14, are here repeated verbatim¹.]

36.

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus followed evil practices such as these—they used to plant [&c., word for word as in the long list at I, 13, 1, 2, down to the end].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to follow manifold evil practices. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to the law.’

37.

1. Now at the time when the venerable Kassapa of Uruveḷa went forth (from the world), much property in brass and wood and earthenware came into the possession of the *Samgha*². And the

¹ For some of the details, compare Mahāvagga V, 8, 3, and Mahāvagga I, 25, 19=Kullavagga VIII, 1, 5, and Kullavagga VIII, 9 and 10.

² See Mahāvagga I, 20, 19–21.

Bhikkhus thought, 'What kinds of brass ware—of wooden things—of earthenware¹—has the Blessed One allowed, and what kinds has he not allowed?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, all kinds of brass ware, except weapons²—all kinds of wooden things, except divans³, and long-armed chairs³, and bowls⁴, and shoes⁵,—and all kinds of earthenware, except *katikas*⁶, and large earthen vessels to be used as huts to live in⁷.'

Here ends the Fifth Khandhaka, on
minor details.

¹ See *Kullavagga* VIII, 3, 1.

² *Paharanattham katan paharanî ti vuṭṭati. Yassa kassa ki āvudha-samghâtass' etam adhivāṭanam* (B.).

³ See *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 4, 5.

⁴ See *Kullavagga* V, 8, 2.

⁵ See *Mahāvagga* V, 6, 4.

⁶ On this word see our note above at V, 22, 1.

⁷ This is the only one of the things here mentioned not referred to in previous rules. Buddhaghosa says, *Kumbha-kārikā ti Dhaniyass' eva sabba-mattikāmaya-kusî vuṭṭati*. The story of *Dhaniya* is given in the text of the *Vinaya*, vol. iii, pp. 42 and following.

SIXTH KHANDHAKA.

ON DWELLINGS AND FURNITURE.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha¹ was staying at Rāgagaha in the Veḷuvana, in the Kalandaka Nivāpa². And at that time no permission had been given to the Bhikkhus by the Blessed One with respect to dwellings. So the Bhikkhus dwelt now here, now there—in the woods, at the foot of trees, on hill-sides, in grottoes, in mountain caves, in cemeteries, in forests, in open plains, and in heaps of straw. And at early morn they came in from this place or from that place—from the woods (&c., as before) decorous in their walking and turning, in their looking on or looking round, in stretching out their arms or in drawing them back, with eyes cast down, and dignified in deportment³.

2. Now at that time the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha went at early morn to his garden. And the *Setthi* of

¹ Our readers will have noticed that the phrase at the beginning of each Khandhaka is 'the Blessed Buddha,' and not merely 'the Blessed One.' It recurs besides only in the constantly-repeated paragraph 'The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, &c.' (see, for instance, *Kullavagga* I, 1, 2, where the connection is given in full).

² Compare the note on *Mahāvagga* III, 1, 1.

³ So also *Mahāvagga* I, 23, 2, and frequently in the *Suttas*.

Râgagaha saw those Bhikkhus coming in from this place and from that place, from the woods (&c., as in § 1, down to the end), and on seeing them he took pleasure therein¹. And the *Setthi* of Râgagaha went up to those Bhikkhus, and said to them :

‘If, Sirs, I were to have dwellings erected for you, would you take up your abode in those dwellings?’

‘Not so, O householder. Dwellings have not been allowed by the Blessed One.’

‘Then, Sirs, ask the Blessed One about it, and let me know.’

‘Very well, O householder,’ said they, in assent to the *Setthi* of Râgagaha. And they went up to the Blessed One, and saluted him, and took their seats on one side. And when they were so seated, they said to the Blessed One :

‘The *Setthi* of Râgagaha, Lord, wishes to have dwellings erected for us. What, Lord, should be done?’

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—Vihâras, *Addhayogas*, storied dwellings, attics, caves².’

3. Then those Bhikkhus went up to the *Setthi* of Râgagaha, and said to him : ‘The Blessed One, Sir, has allowed us dwellings ; do, therefore, what seemeth to thee good.’ And the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had sixty dwelling-places put up in one day.

¹ So also of Bimbisâra in the *Gâtaka Commentary*, I, 66.

² Buddhaghosa’s note on these *pañka lenâni* has already been given in our note above, *Mahāvagga* I, 30, 4.

4. And when the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had completed those sixty dwelling-places, he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and [invited him and the Bhikkhu *Samgha* for the morrow's meal; and so on, as usual¹, down to the time when, after the meal, the *Setthi*] said to the Blessed One :

'I have had, Lord, these sixty dwelling-places made for the sake of merit, and for the sake of heaven. What am I to do, Lord, with respect to them?'

'Then, O householder, dedicate² these sixty dwelling-places to the *Samgha* of the four directions, whether now present, or hereafter to arrive.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the *Setthi* of Râgagaha, in assent to the Blessed One, and he dedicated those sixty dwelling-places to the use of the *Samgha* of the four directions whether present or to come³.'

5. Then the Blessed One gave thanks to the *Setthi* of Râgagaha in these verses⁴:

'1. Cold he wards off and heat, so also beasts of prey,
And creeping things and gnats, and rains in the wet season.
And when the dreaded heated winds arise,
they are kept off.

¹ See, for instance, Mahâvagga VI, 30, or Kullavagga V, 27.

² Literally, 'establish' (*paṭiṭṭhâpehi*).

³ This formula of dedication has been constantly found in rock-inscriptions in India and Ceylon over the ancient cave-dwellings of Buddhist hermits. See Rh. D. in the 'Indian Antiquary' for May, 1872.

⁴ The following verses recur below at VI, 9, 2; and also in that connection in the *Gâtaka* Commentary, I, 93.

2. To give Vihâras to the *Samgha*, wherein in
safety and in peace
To meditate and think at ease, the Buddha
calls the best of gifts. .
3. Let then the able man, regarding his own weal,
Have pleasant monasteries built, and lodge
there learned men ¹.
4. Let him with cheerful mind give food to them,
and drink,
Raiment, and dwelling-places, to the upright
in heart.
5. Then shall they preach to him the Truth—
The Truth dispelling every grief—
Which Truth when here that man perceives
He sins no more, and dies away ² !'

And when the Blessed One had given thanks to
the *Setthi* of Râgagaha in these verses, he rose
from his seat, and departed thence.

2.

1. And the people heard, saying, 'Vihâras have
been allowed by the Blessed One.' And they
built Vihâras zealously. Those Vihâras had no
doors ³, and snakes, scorpions, and centipedes got in.

¹ This verse forms the subject of one of the 'Questions of Milinda' (ed. Trenckner, p. 211).

² The above verses may have stood originally in a different context from that in which they have been handed down, as the opening phrase *sîtam pañhanti* would be more intelligible if the word *vihâro* occurred in the immediately preceding clause.

³ *Kavâṭa*. This is the special word for door. *Dvâra* often roughly translated door, is not really 'door,' but 'door-' or 'gate-way,' with special reference to the aperture and not to that by which the aperture could be closed. The latter word is also

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a door¹.'

They made holes in the wall, and tied the door on with string or with creepers, These were eaten by mice and white ants ; and when the things by which the doors had been tied on had been eaten away, the doors fell.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, door-posts and lintel, hollow like a mortar, for the door to revolve in, and projections to the door for it to revolve on.'

The doors would not come to.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a hole to pass a string through with which to pull the door to, and a string for that purpose.'

The doors could not be made fast².

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, blocks of wood fixed to the edge of the door-post and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into, a pin to secure the bolt by, and a bolt.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus were not able to open the door.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

different from 'door,' in that it is never used for the entrance into an inner chamber. It is always the outer entrance (and the entrance at the front as distinguished from the entrance at the back) of a house, or one of the principal entrances to a walled town or village. See, for instance, *Pâkittiya* XIX ; *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 1, VIII, 8, 1 ; *Gâtaka* I, 63, 114, 346, 361, II, 63, 140.

¹ On this and the following details, compare V, 14, 3, and the notes there.

² *Thakîyanti*: literally, 'covered, or stopped, up.' The same word is used at *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 5, of closing up the lattices mentioned in the next section (VI, 2, 2).

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, key-holes, and keys of three kinds—bronze keys, and keys of hard wood, and keys of horn.’

When anybody unlocked them¹, and entered, the Vihâras became unprotected.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a yantaka, and a pin to it².’

2. Now at that time the Vihâras were thatched; and in the cold season they were cold, and in the hot season hot.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover them (with skins)³, and to plaster them within and without.’

Now at that time the Vihâras had no windows, and they were bad for the eyes, and had a disagreeable odour.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, windows of three kinds—windows made with railings⁴, windows made with network⁵, and windows made with slips of wood⁶.’

¹ Ugghâ/etvâ, an expression used in VIII, 1, 1 of undoing the bolt (gha/ikâ) just referred to.

² Yantakaṃ sūṭikam, which is the only expression here used which has not already occurred above at V, 14, 3. Buddhaghosa says, Yantaka-sūṭikan ti ettha yaṃ yaṃ gānāti taṃ taṃ yantakaṃ. Tassa vivara-sūṭikam kuṇṭhikam kātum vaṭṭati.

³ See the note at V, 14, 3.

⁴ Vedikā-vātapānaṃ nāma kētiye vedikā-sadisam (B.). See our note on vedikā above, V, 14, 2. These windows or lattices are mentioned in Kullavagga VIII, 1, 5; Mahāvagga I, 25, 18.

⁵ Gāla-vātapānaṃ nāma gālaka-baddham (B.). Gālam, literally ‘net,’ is given as a word for ‘window’ at Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā, verse 216. The expression probably corresponds to our ‘lattice,’ and does not mean that an actual net was used. Compare the Anglo-Indian ‘jalousie.’

⁶ Salāka-vātapānaṃ nāma thambhaka-vātapānaṃ (B.). Pos-

Squirrels and bats¹ entered through the opening for the window.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, window-blinds (or curtains)².’

The squirrels and bats still got in through the interstices between the blind (and the wall).

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, shutters, and rolls or bags (to fill up interstices with)³.

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus slept on the floor, and both their limbs and their robes became dirty.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, mats made of grass.’

The mats were eaten by mice and white ants.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a solid bench or divan (built up against the wall of a room, or under the verandah against the outside wall of the house)⁴.

sibly this means with slips of wood arranged horizontally as in our venetian blinds.

¹ Vagguliyo. This habit of the bat and its harmlessness are referred to in *Milinda Panha*, p. 404. Compare the Sanskrit *valgulī*.

² *Kakkalikaṇa* ti. *Ettha kolaka-pāda-puññhaṇaṃ bandhitum anugānāmi* ti attho (B.). The word *kakkali* occurs below, VI, 19, probably in the sense here meant.

³ *Vātapāna-bhisī* ti *vātapāna-pamāṇena bhisim* katvā *bandhitum anugānāmi* ti attho (B.). Probably like the sand-bags used in England to keep out draughts. On the use of the word in other connections, see our note on *Mahāvagga* VIII, 13, 1, and the Old Commentary on *Pāṭi* XIV (where five kinds are named) with the *Kankhā-vitarāṇi* on the last passage quoted by Minayeff, p. 86.

⁴ *Midḍhim*. See the note on V, 9, 4. Native huts in Ceylon always have such solid benches (of brick or mud covered with plaster) built up against the wall under the verandah: and they are commonly used as sleeping-places for the unmarried males

On the solid bench their limbs ached.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, bedsteads made of laths of split bamboo¹.’

Now at that time a bier-like masâraka² bedstead—a masâraka chair—a bier-like bundikâbaddha³ bedstead—a bundikâbaddha chair—a bier-like kulîra-pâdaka⁴ bedstead—a kulîra-pâdaka chair—a bier-like âhaṭṭa-pâdaka⁵ bedstead—an âhaṭṭa-pâdaka chair—had come into the possession of the Samgha.

in the house. Waskaḍuwa Subhûti has this in his mind in the explanation he gives in English of vedikâ (Abhidhâna-ppadîpikâ, verse 222), though he applies it to the wrong word.

¹ Bidala-mañṇakam nâma vetta-mañṇam, veḷu-vilivâhi vâ vitam (B.). The word occurs in the Gâtaka Commentary I, 9, lines 26, 34. Compare the Sanskrit bidala and vidala.

² Masârako, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing here; but on the Old Commentary to the 14th Pâkittiya, where all the four words in this paragraph also occur, he has the following note (see Minayeff, p. 68): Masârako ti mañṇa-pâde vigghitvâ tattha aṇiyo pavesetvâ kato—just the opposite therefore of âhaṭṭa-pâdako below. On aṇi, compare our note to the 87th Pâkittiya. The four names recur, of chairs only, in the Old Commentary on the 87th and 88th Pâkittiyas.

³ Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., says, Bundikâbaddho ti aṇihi mañṇa-pâde damsâpetvâ pallaṅka-samkhepema kato. The first word, bundika, may mean a small bolt.

⁴ Kulîra-pâdako ti assa-menāḍḍinam pâda-sadisēhi pâdakehi kato: yo vâ pana koṭi vaṅka-pâdako ayam kulîra-pâdako (B. loc. cit.). A bedstead or chair with curved or carved legs, especially when carved to represent animals' feet. Kulîra is a crab.

⁵ Âhaṭṭa-pâdako ti. Ayam pana âhaṭṭa-pâdako nâma mañṇo aṅge vigghitvâ kato hotiṭi evam parato pâliyam yeva vutto. Tasmâ aṇiyo vigghitvâ tattha pâda-sikham pavesetvâ upari ânim datvâ kata-mañṇo âhaṭṭa-pâdako ti veditabbo (B. loc. cit.). This is in agreement with the Old Commentary on the 18th Pâkittiya in which this word already occurs. Compare âhaṭṭa in the Âyâ-ranga Sûya II, 1, 1, 2, II, 1, 10, 6.

They told this matter (in each case) to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, (each of these things).’

4. Now at that time a rectangular chair¹—an arm-chair²—a sofa³—a sofa with arms to it⁴—a state chair⁵—a cushioned chair⁶—a chair raised on a pedestal⁷—a chair with many legs⁸—a board (to recline on)⁹—a cane-bottomed chair¹⁰—a straw-bottomed chair—had come into the possession of the Samgha.

They told this matter (in each case) to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, (each of these things).’

¹ *Âsandiko*. Buddhaghosa says, *Âsandako* (sic) *ti katurassa-pîṭham vukkati*. An *âsandi* (cushioned chair) is forbidden at Mahāvagga V, 10, 4.

² *Ukkakam pi âsandikan ti vatanato ekato-bhâgena dgha-pîṭham eva hi al/haṅgula-pâdakam vaṭṭati* (B.).

³ *Sattaṅgo nâma tîsu disâsu apassayam katvâ maṇḍo* (B.). On *apassayam*, compare note 9.

⁴ *Ukkako pi sattaṅgo*. Compare note 2.

⁵ *Bhadda-pîṭhan ti vetta-mayam pîṭham vukkati* (B.). We follow Böhrling-Roth sub voce *bhadra-pîṭha*.

⁶ *Pîṭhikâ ti pilotika-baddham pîṭham eva* (B.). Childers says ‘bench, stool.’ Compare Sanskrit *pîṭhaka* (in the addenda to the Petersburg Dictionary).

⁷ *Eḷaka-pâdaka-pîṭham nâma dâru-paṭṭikâya upari pâdeḷapetvâ bhogana-phalakam viya kata-pîṭham vukkati* (B.).

⁸ *Âmaḷaka-vanṭika-pîṭham nâma âmaḷakâkârena yogitam bahu-pâda-pîṭham* (B.). Compare *tâlavanṭa* at V, 22, 2, and *tâla-vanṭaka* at V, 29, 4.

⁹ *Phalakam*. Compare *apassena-phalakam* at Mahāvagga I, 25, 12, and below, *Kullavagga* VI, 20, 2.

¹⁰ *Kokkham nâma vâkamayam vâ usîramayam vâ muṅga-mayam vâ babbagamayam vâ anto samvetṭetvâ baddham hoti*, says the Old Commentary on the 14th Pâkittiya. Buddhaghosa gives here the same explanation, omitting *vâka*.

5. Now at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus slept on lofty beds.

People coming on a visit to the Vihâra, when they saw them, murmured, &c., saying, 'Like those who still live in the pleasure of the world.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to sleep on lofty beds. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, when sleeping on a low couch, was bitten by a snake².

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, supports to your bedsteads³.'

Now at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus used lofty supports to their bedsteads, and rocked themselves with these bedstead supports, backwards and forwards⁴.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use lofty supports to your bedsteads. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you such supports up to eight inches in length.'

6. Now at that time a quantity of string had come into the possession of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to weave (a texture of string across) the bedstead.'

Much string was taken up by (passing it round) the sides of the bedstead.

¹ Compare the 8th *Kūla* Sīla (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 191).

² Compare *Kullavagga* V, 6.

³ *Mañka-paṭipādakam* mentioned in *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 16.

⁴ *Pavedhenti*. The reading is doubtful, but the suggestion at p. 321 of the text must be withdrawn.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to pierce the sides of the bedstead, and thus to weave the string across and across¹.'

A cloth had come into their possession.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use it as a carpet².'

A mattress stuffed with cotton³ had come into their possession.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to comb out the cotton, and make the cotton up into pillows⁴ if it be of any of these three kinds—cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers, cotton produced from *Potaki*-grass.'

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus made use of pillows half the size of a man's body.

People who came on a visit to the Vihâras murmured, &c., on seeing this, saying, 'Like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world.'

¹ *A//hapadakam vetum*. Buddhaghosa says nothing, either here or at Mahāvagga VIII, 21, where the word also occurs. *A//hapada-//hâpana* at *Gâtaka* II, 5, 14, is a mode of dressing the hair, probably in broad plaits crossing each other so as to resemble the squares of a chessboard.

² Or 'rug.' *Kilimikâ ti nâma parikammakatâya bhûmiyâ kkhavi-samrakkhanatthâya attharanam vukkati* (B.). It is probably the same word as, or connected with, *kimilikâ*, used by Buddhaghosa in note 5 on Mahāvagga VII, 1, 5, and explained by him (in Minayeff, p. 87, line 5) as *tâla-pannâdhi katâ*. Both words are possibly diminutives of *kola*, and it is not improbable that the reading should be *kilimikâ* in both cases, as Buddhaghosa so spells the word again in his note below on VI, 2, 7.

³ *Tûlikâ*. This is undoubtedly what is meant to be forbidden in § 5 of the *Magghima Sîla*, although Grimblot, 'Sept Suttas Palis,' p. 9, reads *kulikam*. See Mahāvagga V, 10, 4.

⁴ Compare IV, 4, 4, VIII, 1, 3, where such pillows are mentioned among the ordinary belongings of a Vihâra. The present rule is repeated below in VI, 14.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to make use of pillows half the size of a man’s body. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have pillows the size of a man’s head.’

7. Now at that time there was a festival on a high place¹ at Rāgagaha. The people provided for the use of high officials bolsters stuffed with wool, or cotton cloth, or bark, or grass, or leaves. When the festival had been held they tore open the covers of skin and carried them off. And the Bhikkhus saw much wool, and cotton cloth, and bark, and grass, and leaves thrown away on the spot where the festival had been held; and on seeing this, they told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, bolsters² of five kinds—those stuffed with wool, or cotton cloth, or bark, or grass, or talipot leaves.’

Now at that time a bed coverlet had come into the possession of the Saṃgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover a bolster with it.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus folded up bed bolsters on to chairs³, and chair bolsters on to bedsteads, and the bolsters came to pieces.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, chairs and bedsteads covered (with upholstered cushions to fit them).’

¹ Giragga-samaggo. See our note above on V, 2, 6.

² Bhisi. See the note on this word at Mahāvagga VIII, 13, 1.

³ Buddhaghosa says here *mañka-bhisim piṭhe samharantī ti mañka-piṭhe attharanti attharanatthāya harantī ti yuggati* (B.). On this use of *samharati* compare above, V, 11, 7.

They covered the bedsteads and chairs without putting a cloth beneath them¹, and the stuffing came out from below.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, first to spread out a cloth under the bedsteads or chairs, and then to upholster them.'

They tore off the coverings², and took them away.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to bespatter (the coverings with dye)³.'

They still took them away.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use coverings coloured in patches⁴.'

They still took them away.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to colour the coverings in patches only the size of a man's hand⁵.'

¹ *Ullokaṃ* akaritvā hetthā *ālimikāṃ* adatvā (B.). The word occurs again at Mahāvagga I, 25, 15 = *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 3, where cobwebs are to be removed with a cloth (*ullokā*!).

² *Khavim*; but perhaps not necessarily of leather. See the commencement of this section.

³ So that the coverings would be useless for other purposes. The Pāli word is *positum*, which Buddhaghosa explains thus—*hesitun ti* (so the Berlin MS.) *raganena vā haliddhāya vā upari pusitāni dātum*. The word is evidently connected not with the root *push*, but with the roots *prish* and *prush*, 'to bespatter'; and is the same as *phositun* at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 5, which is probably the better reading of the two.

⁴ *Bhatti-kammam*. The meaning is doubtful, because the reading is uncertain. Buddhaghosa says, *Bhitti-kamman ti* (sic) *bhisi-khaviyā upari bhitti-kammam*. The word is probably analogous in formation to our English 'patchwork,' though the 'patches' are not of pieces of different coloured stuffs, but of bits of different colour spread over the same stuff, and whatever its meaning, it is probably the same word as *bhati-kamma* at V, 9, 2.

⁵ Again both reading and interpretation are open to question. *Hattha-bhittin ti paññaṅgula-bhittim* is all that Buddhaghosa

3.

1. Now at that time the sleeping-rooms of the Tittihyas were whitewashed, the floors of their rooms were coloured black, and the walls coloured with red chalk¹. Much people went to look at their sleeping-rooms.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use in your Vihâras of whitewash, black colouring, and red colouring.’

Now at that time the whitewash would not lie on to the rough walls.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply the husks of grain made up into little balls; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands², to lay on the whitewash.’

The whitewash would not adhere.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply soft clay; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands², to lay on the whitewash.’

(Still) the whitewash would not adhere.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of slime³ (of trees) or of paste⁴.’

says; and we have followed in our translation the reading of the Sinhalese MS. (see p. 321 of the edition of the text), which brings the word into connection with the preceding phrase.

¹ See V, 11, 6, where all these words recur.

² *Pânîkâya*. Buddhaghosa says nothing.

³ *Ikkâsa*, on which we have nothing to add to Buddhaghosa's note at p. 321 of the edition of the text. It recurs below again in this section.

⁴ *Piṭṭha-maddan ti piṭṭha-khalam* (B.). Compare the Sanskrit *mṛid*.

Now at that time the colouring matter of red chalk would not lie on the rough walls.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply the husks of grain made up into little balls; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands, to lay on the colouring matter of red chalk.’

The red colour would not adhere.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply clay mixed with the red powder which adheres to the grain of rice under the husks¹; and when you have so taken off the unevenness with your hands to lay on the red colouring matter.’

Still the red colouring matter would not adhere.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a paste made of mustard seed², and of oil of beeswax³.’

It lay on the wall too thickly in great drops⁴.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wipe it down with a cloth⁵.’

Now at that time the black colouring matter did not lie on the rough ground.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply husks of grain

¹ *Kundaka-mattikan ti kundaka-missaka-mattikam* (B.). Compare *kundaka-pūvam* in the *Gâtaka Commentary* I, 423 (cakes made of flour mixed with this powder).

² *Sâsapa-ku//an ti sâsapa-pi//ham*. The word has occurred already at *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 5, where the reading is *ku//a* instead of *kudda* given in the text here. The latter should be altered in accordance with that passage, and with *Buddhaghosa* here.

³ *Sittha-telakan ti vilina-madhu-sithakam* (B.). It is mentioned as used for hair-oil at *Kullavagga* V, 2, 3.

⁴ *Akkussannam hoti ti bindum bindum hutvâ ti//hati*, says *Buddhaghosa*.

⁵ *Kolakena pakṛuddharitum*. *Buddhaghosa* says *pakṛut-tharitum ti muṇṇitum*; but compare for the right form V, 17, 1.

made up into little balls; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands, to lay on the black colouring matter.'

The black colouring matter would not adhere.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply clay mixed with. (the excrement of) earth-worms¹; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands, to lay on the black colouring matter.'

Still the black colouring matter would not adhere.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of slime and astringent liquid².'

2. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus had imaginative drawings³ painted on their Vihâras—figures of men, and figures of women.

People, when they saw them on going to visit the Vihâras, murmured, &c., saying, 'Like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world.'

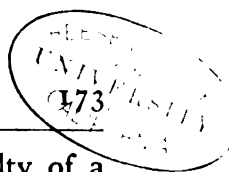
They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have imaginative drawings painted—figures of men, and figures of

¹ *Gandu-mattika* n ti *ganduppâda-gûtha-mattika* (B.).

² *Kasâvan* ti *âmalaka-hari/akânam kasâvam* (B.). Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 4.

³ *Paṭibhâna-kittam*. The Bhikkhus were forbidden by the 41st *Pâkittiya* of the Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga to go and see such paintings. (*Sutta-vibhaṅga* II, 298, where a picture gallery, *Kittâgâra*, belonging to King Pasenadi of Kosala, is mentioned.) We are not quite sure of the connotation of the term, which appears to imply some reproach. Perhaps it means 'suggestive.' Figures as such were not forbidden; and remains of statues and bas reliefs erected in the Vihâras, illustrative of every-day life, have been found in great numbers. In the introductory story to the 26th *Pâkittiya* it certainly means 'indecent.'



women. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, representations of wreaths and creepers and bone hooks and cupboards¹.

3. Now at that time the Vihâras had too low a basement (&c., as in V, 11, 6 as to roofing, stairs, and balustrade).

Now at that time the Vihâras were crowded with people². The Bhikkhus were ashamed to lie down to sleep.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of curtains.’

They lifted up the curtains and looked in.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to put up a lath and plaster wall half the height of the Vihâra.’

They looked on from over this half-wall.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make inner chambers of three kinds—chambers in shape like a palankeen³, chambers in shape like a quart measure⁴, and chambers on an upper storey⁵.’

¹ All these words occur above at V, 11, 6, and V, 14, 4. The meaning of the two last is very doubtful. Perhaps it is intended that these should occupy the space on the walls instead of any ornamentation.

² Âlakamandâ, literally, ‘like Kuvera’s city in heaven.’ Buddhaghosa tells us why. Âlakamandâ ti ekaṅganâ manussâbhikkinnâ. Âkinna-yakkhâ, corresponding to this last word, recurs in the standing description of Âlakamandâ at Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 43 = Mahâ Sudassana Sutta I, 3. The name of the city is spelt in both those passages with / not l.

³ Sivikâ-gabbho ti katurassa-gabbho says Buddhaghosa.

⁴ Nâ/ikâ-gabbho ti vitthârato dviguna-tigun-âyâmo digha-gabbho (B.). That nâ/ikâ is used like nâ/î for a bushel measure follows from a comparison of Gâtaka I, 124, last lines, with I, 126, line 3.

⁵ Hammiya-gabbho ti âkâsa-tale kuṅgâra-gabbho mudanda-

Now at that time the Bhikkhus made inner chambers in the middle of small Vihâras, and there was no room to move about in.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make the inner chambers at one side of small Vihâras, and in the middle of large ones¹.'

4. Now at that time the lower part of the lath and plaster wall of the Vihâra decayed.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, buttresses of timber².'

Rain leaked through on to the lath and plaster wall of the Vihâra³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a protecting arrangement⁴ and cement⁵.'

Now at that time a snake fell from the roof on to the back of a certain Bhikkhu. He was terrified, and made an outcry⁶. The Bhikkhus, running up, said to that Bhikkhu: 'Why, Sir, do you make an outcry?' Then that Bhikkhu told the matter to

kkhadana-gabbho vâ (B.). Compare our note on Mahāvagga I, 30, 4.

¹ There is a similar injunction at V, 14, 3, with respect to fire-places in bath-rooms.

² *Kulaṅka-pādakam*. See Buddhaghosa's note at p. 321 of the edition of the text. The remedy here is different from that provided in the similar case, at V, 14, 3, with respect to bath-houses.

³ On the use of *ovassati* compare V, 16, 1, and VIII, 3, 3.

⁴ *Parittāna-kiṭṭikan ti tassa parittānattham kiṭṭikam* is all that Buddhaghosa says. Compare the end of § 5.

⁵ *Uddha-sudhan ti vatthaka-gomayena ka kharikāya ka sad-dhim maddita-mattikam* (B.).

⁶ *Vissaram akāsi*. See the note on Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1, where the whole incident is similar.

the Bhikkhus, and they told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a ceiling-cloth.’

5. Now at that time the Bhikkhus hung their bags at the feet of the bedsteads, and at the feet of the chairs; and they were gnawed by the mice and white ants.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, pins in the wall, and bone hooks¹.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus laid aside their robes on the bedsteads and on the chairs, and the robes were torn.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, bamboos to hang your robes on, and strings to hang your robes on².’

Now at that time the Vihâras had no verandahs, and no defences³.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, verandahs⁴, covered terraces⁵, inner verandahs⁶, and over-hanging eaves⁷.’

¹ The use of these has been already referred to at V, 9, 5.

² These have already been allowed in *Kullavagga* V, 11, 6, and V, 14, 3. The license under the present rule extends only to their use in Vihâras.

³ *Apaṭissaranâ*, which must have some special, technical, meaning unknown to us. *Buddhaghosa* says nothing.

⁴ *Âlindo nâma pamukham vuḥkati* (B.). Compare *Abhidhâna-ppadîpikâ*, verse 218.

⁵ *Paghanam nâma yam nikkhamantâ ka pavisantâ ka pâdehi hananti*. Tassa vihâra-dvâre ubhato kuḥam (?) niharitvâ kata-padesass’ etam adhivaṭṭanam. *Paghânan ti pi vuḥkati* (B.).

⁶ *Pakuḥan ti magghe gabbhassa samantâ pariyâgâro vuḥkati*. *Pakuḥan ti pi pâḥo* (B.).

⁷ *Osarako ti anâṇḍake vihâre vamsam datvâ tato dandake*

The verandahs were too public; and the Bhikkhus were ashamed to lie down in them to sleep.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, an arrangement in form of a curtain that can be drawn aside¹, or an arrangement in form of a moveable screen².’

6. Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when taking their midday meal in the open air, were troubled by cold and heat.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a Service Hall.’

The Service Hall had too low a basement (&c., as in V, 11, 6, down to the end).

Now at that time the Bhikkhus spread their robes out on the ground in the open air, and they became dirty.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, bamboos to hang robes on, and strings to hang robes in, in the open air.

7. The water became warm.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a water-room and a water-shed.’

The water-room had too low a basement (&c., as in V, 11, 6, down to the end).

There were no vessels for the water.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, chank shells and saucers for the water.’

8. Now at that time the Vihâras had no fence round them.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enclose them with

osâretvâ katam *khadana-pamukham* (B.). At Gâtaka III, 446, it is said of a dying man ‘*niharitvâ osârake nipaggâpesum.*’

¹ *Samsarana-kiziko nâma kakkala-yutto kiziko* (B.). *Kakkala* should be compared with *kakkhalikâ* at VI, 2, 2, and *kakkhali* at VI, 19.

² *Ugghâ/ana-kiziko*, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing.

ramparts (Pākāra) of three kinds—brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences.’

There was no store-room¹.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a store-room.’

The store-room had too low a basement, and it was flooded with water.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make it with a high basement.’

The store-room had no door.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a door; with door-posts and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed into the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the Monkey’s Head), with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for that purpose².’

Grass and plaster fell from the store-room.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus (&c., as in V, 14, 4, down to the end of V, 14, 5, as to roofing, flooring, drains, &c.).’

9. Now at that time the Bhikkhus made fire-places here and there in the Parivena, and the Parivena was covered with the remains of the fires³.

¹ *Koṭṭhaka*. See our note above on V, 14, 4, as to the various allied meanings of this word. Perhaps ‘gateway’ should be chosen as the rendering here, as it clearly must be in the closely allied passage in the next section but one (§ 10). As the chamber supposed always to be built over the gateway could be used as a store-room, the difference is not very essential.

² The whole as above in V, 14, 3, where see the note.

³ *Uklāpo*. On this use of the word compare *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 3.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make a separate room for the fire at one side.’

The fire-room had too low a basement (&c., as in V, 11, 6, as to flooring, stairs, and balustrade, followed by the paragraph as to the door, and the facing, as in V, 14, 3, &c.).

10. Now at that time the Ârâmas had no fences to them, and goats and cattle injured the plantations¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to surround them with fencing of three kinds—bamboo fences, thorn fences, and ditches.’

There was no gateway (*kottḥaka*), and goats and cattle, even so, injured the plantations.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a gateway, with gates made of stakes interlaced with thorny brakes², with fences (across the gateway) made of the akka plant³, with ornamental screen-work over the gateway⁴, and with bars.’

[Then the paragraphs allowing the roofing, &c., of this *kottḥaka* as in V, 11, 6, and drains for the Ârâma, as in V, 14, 3.]

11. Now at that time Seniya Bimbisâra, the king of Magadha, wanted to build a pâsâda⁵ (residence),

¹ Uparope. Compare Uparopaka at Gâtaka II, 345.

² Apesiyam. See p. 321 of the edition of the text, reading of course *kantḥaka*.

³ Akkavâṭa, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing. A kind of dress made from the stalks of the akka plant is mentioned in Mahāvagga VIII, 28, 2.

⁴ Tosana, which is the ornamental erection over a gateway of which such excellent examples in stone have been found at the Sānchi and Bharhut Topes.

⁵ The exact meaning of the word Pâsâda at the time when this

covered with cement and clay, for the use of the *Samgha*. And it occurred to the Bhikkhus, 'What kind of roof now has been allowed by the Blessed One, and what kind of roof has not been allowed?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, roofing of five kinds—brick roofing, stone roofing, cement roofing, straw roofing, and roofing of leaves.'

End of the First Bhānavāra (or Portion for Recitation).

4.

1. Now at that time the householder Anātha Pindika was the husband of the sister of the Rāgagaha Setthi. And Anātha Pindika the householder went to Rāgagaha on some business or other. Now at that time the *Samgha*, with the Buddha at its head, had been bidden by the Setthi of Rāgagaha for the morrow's meal. And the Setthi of Rāgagaha gave command to his slaves and work-people, saying, 'So get up at early morn, my men, and cook congey, and cook rice, and prepare curries, and prepare delicacies¹'

book was written has not yet been precisely ascertained. In later times it meant a building of several storeys, each successive storey being smaller in superficial area than the one immediately beneath it. Compare the Mahā-loha-pāsāda so often mentioned in the Mahāvamsa (pp. 161-257), the stone pillars of the lowest stories of which are still one of the sights of Anurādhapura.

¹ Uttari-bhaṅgam. Childers sub voce *uttari* is in doubt what the meaning of this phrase is. It is no longer uncertain that the word means 'delicacy' of some sort. Whether the term was more

And it occurred to Anâtha Pindîka the householder, 'Now formerly this householder was wont, when I arrived, to lay aside all other business, and exchange the greetings of courtesy with me; but now he appears excited, and is giving orders to his slaves and work-people. How can it be? Is he taking in marriage, or is he giving in marriage, or has he set a great sacrifice on foot, or has he invited the Mâgadhan Seniya Bimbisâra, together with his retinue, for to-morrow's meal?'

2. Now when the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had given commandment to his slaves and his work-people, he went up to the place where Anâtha Pindîka the householder was, and exchanged with him the greetings of courtesy, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, Anâtha Pindîka the householder [told him the thoughts that had passed through his mind].

'I am neither taking nor giving in marriage, O householder' (was the reply), 'nor have I invited the Mâgadhan Seniya Bimbisâra to to-morrow's meal. But a great sacrifice I have set on foot, for the *Samgha*, with the Buddha at its head, has been invited for to-morrow's meal at my house.'

'Did you, O householder, say "the Buddha?"'

'Yes, it was "the Buddha" that I said.'

precise, and denoted some particular delicacy or not, is still doubtful. Compare the passages quoted in our note above on Mahâvagga VI, 14, 3 (adding *Gâtaka* I, 186, and *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 5, VIII, 4, 4), which show that it was eaten with boiled rice or congey; is mentioned along with ghee and oil; and could be made from the flesh (or other parts) of a sucking-pig. If it were not for the latter circumstance (*Gâtaka* I, 197) it might well be pickles or chutney.

[And thrice the same question was put, and the same reply was given.]

‘Hard is it, O householder, to meet even with the mere expression in the world—the news, that is, of “a Buddha, a Buddha”¹. Would it be possible for us, at this very time, to go and visit that Blessed One, the Arahāt, the very Buddha²?’

‘It is not now, O householder, the proper time to pay a visit to the Blessed One; but early on the morrow you shall go and visit him.’

Then Anātha Pindāka, pondering of the visit he was about to pay, lay down to sleep with his thoughts so bent upon the Buddha that thrice in the night he arose, thinking the daylight had appeared.

3. And Anātha Pindāka the householder went up to the gate leading to the Sītavana, and celestial beings opened the gate. And as he emerged from the city, the light disappeared and a thick darkness arose, and fear and trembling and consternation sprang up within him, so that a longing came upon him to turn back again from that spot. But Sīvaka the Yakkha, himself the while invisible, caused a sound to be heard, saying :

‘A hundred elephants, a hundred steeds, a hundred chariots with mules³,

‘A hundred thousand virgins with their jewelled earrings on,—

¹ ‘Much more so with the reality’ is to be understood. Compare Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta VI, 63 (at the end).

² On this rendering of Sammā-sambuddham, see Rh. D.’s ‘Hibbert Lectures,’ pp. 145–147.

³ Assatari. Compare vakkhatarī at Mahāvagga V, 9, 1, 3. The word recurs below at VII, 2, 5.

‘These are not worth, O householder, the sixteenth portion of one single stride.

‘Go on, go on, O householder! Advance, and not retreat, shall profit thee.’

Then the darkness disappeared before Anâtha Pindîka the householder, and a bright light arose, and the fear and trembling and consternation that had sprung upon within him were appeased.

[And a second and a third time the same thing happened, and the same words were heard, and with the same result.]

4. And Anâtha Pindîka the householder arrived at the Sîtavana; and at that time the Blessed One, who had arisen at early dawn, was walking up and down (meditating) in the open air. And the Blessed One saw Anâtha Pindîka the householder when he was coming from afar; and the Blessed One left the place where he had been walking up and down, and sat himself down on the seat put out for him. And when he was so seated, he addressed Anâtha Pindîka the householder, and said:

‘Come hither, Sudatta!’

Then Anâtha Pindîka, glad and happy at the thought that the Blessed One had addressed him by his name, went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, falling at his feet, and said:

‘I trust my lord the Blessed One has slept in peace!’

‘He ever sleeps in peace, the Arahât who is free¹,

¹ Brâhmano parinibbuto. To translate the first of these words by ‘Brahman’ would mislead English readers. It is constantly used in early Buddhist texts for Arahât. On the use of

'Who is not touched by lusts, but calm and free from sin¹,

'Has broken all the bars (to freedom of the mind)²,
has quenched the anguish in his heart,

'Has fixed peace in his mind, and peaceful, sleeps in peace³.'

5⁴. Then the Blessed One discoursed to Anâtha Pindika the householder in due order; that is to say, he spake to him of giving, of righteousness, of heaven, of the danger, the vanity, and the defilement of lusts, and of the advantages of renunciation. And when the Blessed One saw that Anâtha Pindika the householder had become prepared, softened, unprejudiced, and upraised and believing in heart, then he proclaimed that which is the special doctrine of the Buddhas; that is to say, Suffering, its Origin, its Cessation, and the Path. And just as a clean cloth from which all stain has been washed away will readily take the dye, just even so did Anâtha

parinibbuto not in the sense of 'dead,' but of a living man in the sense of 'spiritually free,' compare Dhammapada, verse 89; Sutta Nipâta II, 13, 1, 12, III, 12, 35; and Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta IV, 3.

¹ Nirûpadhi, i.e. free from Kâma, Kilesa, and Kamma.

² Sabbâ âsattiyo khetvâ. Having cut or broken all the âsatti's (from the root *sañg*, to hang), the things which hang on to and burden a man in his spiritual progress. Compare the figure of speech at Gâtaka I, 5 (*âsattam kunapam khaddetvâ*). Buddhaghosa says *sabbâ âsattiyo khetvâ ti . . . hadaye daratham kîtte kilesa-daratham ginetvâ*.

³ Vineyya and appuya are no doubt gerunds. In a corresponding passage of the Ânguttara Nikâya the Phayre MS. reads *appeyya*, which smoothes over a difficulty at the expense of the better reading.

⁴ The following section is in identical terms with Mahâvagga I, 7, 5, 10, V, 1, 9, 10, VI, 26, 8, 9.

Pindika the householder obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth ; (that is to say, the knowledge that) whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution. Thus did *Anâtha Pindika* the householder see, and master, and understand, and penetrate the Truth ; and he overcame uncertainty, and dispelled all doubts, and gained full knowledge, becoming dependent upon no one else for his knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher. And he addressed the Blessed One, and said :

‘Most excellent, Lord (are the words of thy mouth), most excellent ! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms—just even so, Lord, has the Truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as one who, from this day forth as long as life endures, has taken his refuge in him. And may the Blessed One consent to accept at my hand the to-morrow’s meal for himself and for his Order of *Bhikkhus*.’

Then the Blessed One, by silence, granted his consent. And when *Anâtha Pindika* the householder perceived that his request had been granted, he rose from his seat, and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, he departed thence.

6. Now the *Setthi* of *Râgagaha* heard that the

Order of Bhikkhus which has the Buddha at its head had been invited by Anātha Pindika the householder for the morrow's meal. And the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha said to Anātha Pindika the householder: 'They say, O householder, that you have invited the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, with the Buddha at its head, for the morrow's meal, and you are but a stranger here. I will provide the means¹, O householder, for you to provide the Order of Bhikkhus, which has the Buddha at its head, with food.'

'It is not necessary, O householder; I have means sufficient for the purpose.'

[And the townsman of Rāgagaha², and Seniya Bimbisāra the Rāga of Magadha, made the same offer in the same words, and received the same reply.]

7. Then Anātha Pindika the householder, when the night was far spent, made ready in the house of the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha sweet food both hard and soft, and had the time announced to the Blessed One, saying, 'The time, Lord, has come; and the meal is ready.'

And the Blessed One, when he had dressed himself in the early morning, went duly bowled and

¹ Veyyāyikam formed from vyaya, expenditure. Veyyāyikan ti vayakaraṇam vuḷḷati (B.).

² Rāgagahako negamo. This person has been already mentioned, and there also in intimate connection with the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha, in the Mahāvagga VIII, 1, 2, 16. It is tolerably clear from the connection that this is no ordinary citizen, but one holding a distinct and semi-official position. In this respect the word is an exact parallel to its neighbour the *Setthi*. For instances of the word in its more general sense, see *Kakkāyana* (ed. Senart), p. 219; and *Dāḥāvamsa* III, 3.

robed to the house of the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha, and sat down there on the seat spread out for him, together with the Order of Bhikkhus. And Anātha Pindika the householder offered to the Order of Bhikkhus which had the Buddha at its head the sweet food both hard and soft, waiting upon them with his own hand¹. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had cleansed his hands and his bowl, Anātha Pindika took his seat on one side; and, so seated, he said to the Blessed One: 'May the Blessed One consent to spend the rainy season of Was at Sāvatti, together with the Order of Bhikkhus.'

'The Tathāgatas, O householder, take pleasure in solitude.'

'I understand, O Blessed One; I understand, O Happy One' (was the reply)².

Then the Blessed One, after he had instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Anātha Pindika the householder with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and departed thence.

8. Now at that time Anātha Pindika the householder had many friends and large acquaintance, and his word was held of weight³. When he had

¹ Compare the note on Mahāvagga I, 8, 4.

² *Aññātam bhagavā aññātam sugatā ti*. The first word is the standing expression used when the Buddha or a Thera has signified a request, not in so many words, but in some phrase from which the request may be implied, and the person addressed desires to express that he has perceived the intended implication. Compare *Dīpavamsa* XIV, 65, XV, 5.

³ *Ādeyyavāko ti tassa vaṭṭanam bahuganā mānetabbam maññantī ti attho* (B.). In *Puggala* III, 11, we have the phrase *tassa vaṭṭanam ādheyyam gaṭṭhati*, which the commentary explains by *hadaye ādhātabbam /hapitabbam*.

brought the business he had in hand at Rāgagaha to its conclusion, he set out towards Sāvatti; and on the way he gave orders to people, saying, 'Build dwellings, my good men, and make rest-houses ready, and prepare gifts. A Buddha has appeared in the world, and that Blessed One has been invited by me, and by this road will he come.' And those people [did all even as they were commanded].

And when Anātha Pindika the householder had arrived at Sāvatti, he examined all the region round about it, saying¹, 'Where now shall I fix the place for the Blessed One to stay in, not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible for all who wish to visit him, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm, protected from the wind², hidden from men, well fitted for a retired life?'

9. And Anātha Pindika the householder saw that the garden of Geta the Kumāra had [all these advantages]. And when he saw that, he went to Geta the Kumāra, and said to him, 'Sir, let me have your garden to make an Ārama on it.'

'It is not, Sir, for sale, even for (a sum so great that the pieces of money would be sufficient to cover it if they were) laid side by side.'

'I take, Sir, the garden at the price.'

'No, O householder, there was no bargain meant³.'

¹ The following speech is identical with that put into Bimbisāra's mouth on choosing the Veuvana, above Mahāvagga I, 22, 16, 17.

² Viganavātaṃ, of which neither the reading nor the meaning is certain. See the various forms given from the commentaries in the notes on the text of the passage in the Mahāvagga, loc. cit.

³ Na gahito: literally, 'it is not taken.'

Then they asked the lords of justice whether a bargain of sale had been made or not. And the lords decided thus: 'The Ârâma is taken, Sir, at the price which you fixed.'

And Anâtha Pindîka the householder had gold brought down in carts, and covered the *Getavana* with (pieces) laid side by side¹.

10. Now the gold that he had brought down the first time did not suffice (after the rest of the garden was covered) to cover one small space close by the gateway. So Anâtha Pindîka the householder told his servants to go back and fetch more gold, saying he would cover that piece also.

Then thought Geta the Kumâra, 'This can be no ordinary matter², for which this householder is ready to lavish so much gold!' And he said to Anâtha Pindîka the householder, 'It is enough, O householder. You need not have that space covered. Let me have that space, and it shall be my gift.'

Then Anâtha Pindîka the householder thought³, 'This Geta the Kumâra is a very distinguished and illustrious person. Great would be the efficacy of the adherence of so well known a man as he to this doctrine and discipline.' And he gave up that

¹ It is evident from the illustration of this story on a bas relief at the Bharhut Tope that these pieces of money were supposed to be square, not round. See Cunningham's 'The Stûpa of Bharhut,' Plate No. LVII and pp. 84-86.

² Na orakam bhavissati. Compare Mahâvagga I, 9, 1, and the commencement of our next chapter below. The idiom recurs in VII, 3, 3.

³ The following phrase is identical with that put into the mouth of Ânanda, at Mahâvagga VI, 36, 3, with respect to Roga the Malla. In the text here there is a slight misprint; the full-stop after *ñâtamanusso* should be struck out.

space to Geta the Kumâra. And Geta the Prince erected thereon a gateway, with a room over it.

And Anâtha Pindîka the householder built¹ dwelling-rooms, and retiring-rooms, and store-rooms (over the gateways), and service halls, and halls with fire-places in them, and storehouses (outside the Vihâra)², and closets, and cloisters, and halls for exercise, and wells, and sheds for the well³, and bath-rooms, and halls attached to the bath-rooms, and ponds, and open-roofed sheds⁴.

5.

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed at Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, he set out towards Vesâlî; and journeying straight on he in due course arrived there. And there at Vesâlî the Blessed One stayed in the peak-roofed hall at the Mahâvana.

Now at that time the people were zealously engaged in putting up new buildings (for the use of the Order)⁵, and as zealously provided with the

¹ With the following list should be compared the list of things that laymen build for themselves given in Mahâvagga III, 5, 7.

² Kappiya-ku/iyo. See Mahâvagga VI, 33.

³ Udapâna-sâlâyo. See above, V, 16, 2.

⁴ Mandape. See Mahâvagga VIII, 7, 1, and above, Kullavagga VI, 3, 7.

⁵ Navakammam karonti. This idiom always connotes buildings for the use of the Order. See the passages quoted in our note on Kullavagga I, 18, 1. If the buildings were for the Bhikkhus, then a Bhikkhu, if for the Bhikkhunîs, then a Bhikkhunî, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the

requisite clothes, and food, and lodging, and medicine for the sick, all such Bhikkhus as superintended their work.

Now a certain poor tailor thought, 'This can be no every-day matter on which the people are so zealously engaged. Let me too set to work on a new building.' And that poor tailor himself kneaded the clay, and laid the bricks, and raised the walls. But by his want of experience the laying was out of line and the wall fell down. And a second and a third time he [repeated his work, and with the same result].

2. Then that poor tailor murmured, was annoyed, and became indignant, saying, 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas exhort and teach those men who provide them with the requisite clothes, food, lodging, and medicine, and superintend their buildings for them. But I am poor, and no one exhorts or teaches me, or helps me in my building !'

The Bhikkhus heard him so murmuring, and told the matter to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection made a religious discourse, and gave command to the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I permit you, O Bhikkhus, to give new buildings in course of erection (for the use of the Order) in charge (to a Bhikkhu who shall superintend¹ the work). And the Bhikkhu who

buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments.

The buildings referred to in this section are no doubt intended to be the same as those referred to in Kullavagga V, 13, 3.

¹ Navakammam dâṭum. For the works which ought not to be included, and for those which might be lawfully included in this term, see below, Kullavagga VI, 17. Hence the overseer is called navakammika.

is overseer shall zealously exert himself to the end that the work on the Vihâra may be brought to a rapid conclusion, and shall afterwards cause repairs to be executed wherever the buildings have become broken or worn out ¹.

3. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the work to be given in charge. In the first place a Bhikkhu is to be asked (whether he will undertake the duty). When he has been asked, some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to lay the matter before the Samgha, saying, "Let the venerable Samgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha give in charge to such and such a Bhikkhu the Vihâra of such and such a householder as a navakammam. This is the motion (*ñatti*). Let the venerable Samgha hear me. The Samgha hereby gives in charge . . . (&c., as before). Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence; whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Samgha has given in charge . . . (&c., as before). Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'"

6².

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as he thought fit at Vesālī he set out towards Sāvattī.

¹ *Khandan ti bhinnokâso: phullan ti phalitokâso* (B.). The expression recurs below at VI, 17, 1.

² The incident related in the following chapter is identical with the 37th *Gâtaka* (including the Introductory Story there given) already translated by Rh. D. in the 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 310-314.

Now at that time the pupils of the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus went on in front of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha which had the Buddha at its head, and occupied the rooms, and occupied the sleeping-places, saying, 'This will do for our superiors (*upagghāyas*), this for our teachers (*āḥariyas*), this for ourselves.' And the venerable Sāriputta who had followed after the Bhikkhu-saṃgha which had the Buddha at its head, since all the rooms and all the sleeping-places had been occupied, found no place to sleep in, and took his seat at the foot of a certain tree.

Now the Blessed One, at early dawn, after he had risen, coughed. The venerable Sāriputta coughed also.

'Who is this?' (said the Blessed One.)

'It is I, Lord; Sāriputta.'

'How do you come to be sitting here, Sāriputta?'

Then the venerable Sāriputta told the matter to the Blessed One.

2. Then the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked, 'Is it true, as I have been told, O Bhikkhus, that the pupils of the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus have (acted in this way)?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked them, saying (as usual, see *Kullavagga* I, 1, 2, 3), and he said to the Bhikkhus, 'Who is it, O Bhikkhus, who is worthy of the best seat, and the best water, and the best food?'

Some of the Bhikkhus said, 'One who belonged to a Kshatriya family before he entered the Order.' Others of the Bhikkhus said, 'One who belonged to a Brahman family before he entered the Order.' Others again said, 'One who belonged to a Gaha-

pati¹ family before he entered the Order—one versed in the Suttas—one versed in the Rules of the Order—an expounder of the Dhamma²—one who has attained the first, second, third, fourth *Ghâna*—one who has entered the first, second, third Path—an Arahāt—one who has the threefold wisdom³—one who has the six powers⁴.

3. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said, 'Long ago, O Bhikkhus, there was a great banyan tree on the lower slopes of the Himālaya range; and near it there dwelt three friends—a partridge, a monkey, and an elephant. And they dwelt together without mutual reverence, confidence, and courtesy⁵. Then, O Bhikkhus, it occurred to those friends, "Come now, let us find out which of us is the elder by birth; and let us agree to honour and reverence and esteem and support him, and by his counsels let us abide." So, Bhikkhus, the partridge and the monkey asked the elephant,

"How far back can you, friend, remember?"

"Friends! when I was little I used to walk over

¹ On this mention of *gahapati* as the name of a caste or rank, compare the passage in the *Tevigga Sutta* I, 47 = *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, p. 133 (translated by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' S. B. E. vol. xi, p. 187), where the word is opposed to *aññatarasmim kule paṭṭhagāto*.

² Dhamma is here possibly already used in the special sense to which the term *Abhidhamma* was afterwards applied. So *Purāṇa*, who in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* I, 14, is called the chief of the expounders of the Dhamma (compare *Dīpavamsa* IV, 4), says of himself in the *Apadāna abhidhammanayaññō 'ham*.

³ *Teviggo*. See Rh. D.'s remarks in 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 161, 162.

⁴ This list contains one or two terms which are omitted in the *Gāṭaka* introduction.

⁵ These terms recur at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 6.

this banyan tree, keeping it between my thighs, and its topmost twig brushed against my stomach. So far back, friends, can I remember."

'Then, O Bhikkhus, the partridge and the elephant asked the monkey [the same question],

"Friends! when I was little, sitting once on the ground, I gnawed at the then topmost twig of this banyan. So far back can I remember."

'Then, O Bhikkhus, the monkey and the elephant asked the partridge [the same question],

"Friends! there was formerly a lofty banyan tree in yonder open space. One day after eating one of its fruits, I voided the seed here; and from that this banyan tree grew up. So I must be older than either of you."

'Thereupon, O Bhikkhus, the elephant and the monkey said to the partridge, "You, friend, are the oldest of us all. Henceforth we will honour and reverence and esteem and support you, and by your counsels will we abide."

'Thenceforth, O Bhikkhus, the partridge kept the monkey and the elephant in obedience to the Five Precepts, and observed them also himself. And dwelling together in mutual reverence, confidence, and courtesy, at the dissolution of the body after death they were reborn unto a happy state in heaven. And this (perfect life of theirs) became known as "the good life of the partridge¹."

'Tis those who reverence the old
That are the men who Dhamma know,

¹ *Tittiriyaṃ brahmaṇariyaṃ*. It is quite possible that a covert sarcasm is here intended to be understood against the *Taittirīya* Brahmins.

Worthy of praise while in this life
And happy in the life to come.

4. 'So that, O Bhikkhus, since even animals can live together in mutual reverence, confidence, and courtesy, so much more, O Bhikkhus, should you so let your light shine forth¹ that you, who have left the world to follow so well taught a doctrine and discipline, may be seen to dwell in like manner together.' And when he had delivered a religious discourse (as in I, 1, 3), he said to the Bhikkhus:

'I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, that paying of reverence, rising up in reverence, salutation, proper respect, and apportionment of the best seat and water and food, shall be according to seniority. But property belonging to the *Samgha* shall not be exclusively appropriated according to seniority². Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*.

5. 'These ten, O Bhikkhus, are not to be saluted—a Bhikkhu afterwards admitted unto the higher grade of the Order by one previously admitted—a person not admitted—a senior Bhikkhu when he belongs to a different community, and does not speak according to the Dhamma—a woman³—a eunuch⁴—a Bhikkhu who has been placed under probation⁵—one who, having been so placed, is

¹ *Tam sobhetha yam . . .* On this idiom compare *Mahāvagga* X, 2, 20.

² Compare chapter 7 and also chapter 12. It would seem from these passages that the prohibition to reserve exclusively according to seniority the use of property belonging to the whole *Samgha* was held to imply that the temporary use of it was to go according to seniority. Compare X, 18.

³ See *Kullavagga* X, 3.

⁴ Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 61, 2.

⁵ See *Kullavagga* II, 1, 2.

liable to be thrown back to the beginning of his probationary term¹—one who is liable to have a penance (*Mānatta*) imposed upon him—one who is undergoing a penance—one who, so undergoing a penance, is fit to be rehabilitated.

‘And these three, O Bhikkhus, ought to be saluted—one previously admitted into the higher grade of the Order by one afterwards admitted—the senior in a different community when he speaks according to the Dhamma—and, O Bhikkhus, throughout the worlds of men and gods, of Māras and of Brahmas, by all creatures *Samanas* and *Brāhmans*, gods and men, the *Arahat Sammā-sambuddha*.’

7.

1. Now at that time people provided arbours (*mandapas*), and couches, and room for the use of the *Samgha*. And the pupils of the *Kḥabaggiya* Bhikkhus, saying, ‘It has been laid down by the Blessed One that that which pertains (wholly) to the *Samgha* shall be used according to seniority, but not that which is given only for the temporary use of the *Samgha*,’ went on in front of the *Samgha* and occupied the *mandapas*, and occupied the couches, and occupied the room, saying, ‘This shall be for our superiors, and this for our teachers, and this for ourselves.’

And *Sāriputta* (&c., as in last chapter, §§ 1, 2, down to) Then the Blessed One rebuked them, &c., and said to the Bhikkhus, ‘Even that which has been set aside only for the temporary use of

¹ See *Kullavagga* III, 14.

the *Samgha* is not, O Bhikkhus, to be reserved for exclusive use according to seniority.'

8.

1. Now at that time people arranged in the eating-rooms, or in the interior courtyards of their houses, lofty and large couches, such as [here follows the list of things forbidden in *Mahāvagga V*, 10, 4]. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not sit down upon them.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down on seats arranged by laymen—excepting three, (that is to say) large cushions, divans, mattresses¹—but not to lie down upon them.'

Now at that time people put in the eating-rooms, or in the courtyards, stuffed couches and stuffed chairs. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not sit down on them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down on any [such] things arranged by laymen, but not to lie down upon them².'

9.

1. Now the Blessed One, proceeding on his journey, arrived in due course at *Sāvatthi*; and there,

¹ These are Nos. 1, 2, and 7 in the list just referred to, and may be kept if treated in the way laid down in VI, 14, 2 below.

² This rule has already occurred in identical terms at *Mahāvagga V*, 11. Probably both here and there the word *such*, which we have here added in brackets, is to be understood.

at Sâvatthi, the Blessed One stayed in the *Getavana*, the park of Anâtha Pindîka. Then Anâtha Pindîka the householder [invited the Blessed One for the morrow's meal, and when the meal was over, he said to the Blessed One¹]:

‘What, Lord, shall I do with regard to the *Getavana*?’

‘You may dedicate it, O householder, to the use of the *Samgha* of the four directions² either now here present, or hereafter to arrive.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said Anâtha Pindîka the householder in assent to the Blessed One, and he did so.

2. Then the Blessed One gave thanks to Anâtha Pindîka the householder in these verses. [Here follow the same verses as were used above in VI, 1, 5 on the presentation of the *Getavana*³.]

10.

1. Now at that time it had been settled that a certain high official at court, a follower of the *Āgīvakas*, should provide the day's meal for the *Samgha*. And the venerable Upananda the Sâkyan, coming late, but before the meal was over, made the Bhikkhu next (junior to him in seniority⁴) get

¹ The usual terms are here followed throughout: see, for instance, above, VI, 4, 6, 7.

² That is ‘of all the world.’ See our note above on Mahāvagga VIII, 27, 5, where the phrase has already occurred.

³ The verses are quoted in the account of Anâtha Pindîka's gift given in the *Gâtaka* commentary (Fausböll I, 93; Rh. D.'s ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ I, 131).

⁴ *Ānantarikaṃ*; perhaps ‘the Bhikkhu (who happened to be)

up out of his seat; and the dining-hall was thrown into confusion.

Then that minister became indignant, murmured, and was annoyed: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas behave so! Is it not then lawful for any one, unless he have been seated, to eat as much as he requires?'

And the Bhikkhus heard him murmuring, &c. And they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true as they say, &c.?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked him, &c., and he said to the Bhikkhus, 'A Bhikkhu is not, O Bhikkhus, to be made to get up out of his seat before the meal is over. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. And if any one causes another to get up, and be then invited to partake of the meal, he shall be ordered to go and fetch water. If he shall thus receive the place, it is well; if not, the other one shall first complete his swallowing of the rice, and shall then give up the place to his senior. But in no case, O Bhikkhus, do I say that a place properly belonging to a senior Bhikkhu is to be taken (by a junior). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.'

2. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus made sick Bhikkhus get up (from their seats). The sick men said, 'We cannot, Sirs, get up; for we are sick.'

'We insist upon your getting up,' said they; and

next (to him). The text reads *anantarikaṃ*, which is a misprint. Compare Mahāvagga IX, 4, 8, and Kullavagga VII, 3, 9, VIII, 4, 1.

¹ Compare the rule for Bhikkhunīs at X, 18. .

seizing them, and pulling them up, they let them go as they were standing. The sick men, as soon as they were let go, fell down.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A sick man, O Bhikkhus, is not to be made to get up. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, saying, ‘We are sick, and cannot be turned out,’ took possession of the best sleeping-places.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, that you allot to sick Bhikkhus suitable sleeping-places.’

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, on pretext of some slight indisposition¹, took exclusive possession of sleeping-places.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

11².

1. Now at that time the *Sattarasa-vaggiya* Bhikkhus made ready a certain large Vihâra in the neighbourhood³, with the intention of dwelling in it. And when the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus saw what they were doing, they said: ‘These venerable ones, the *Sattarasa-vaggiya* Bhikkhus, are

¹ Lesakappenâ ti appakena sṣsâbâdhâdimattena (B.).

² The story in this section forms also the introductory story to the 17th Pâṭṭiya.

³ *Pakkantimam*; perhaps ‘in the border-country.’ Compare *pakkantam nagaram*, a frontier fort at Dhammapada, p. 56.

getting a Vihâra ready; come, let us turn them out.' Some of them said: 'Let us stay here¹ whilst they get it ready, and turn them out when it is prepared.' So the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus said to the Sattarasa-vaggiyas: 'Depart, Sirs; the Vihâra has fallen unto us.'

'Why did you not, Sirs, say so sooner; and we would have got some other one ready?'

'Is not, then, this Vihâra the common property of the *Samgha* ?'

'Yes, Sirs; that is so.'

'Then depart, Sirs; for the Vihâra has fallen unto us.'

'It is large, Sirs, this Vihâra. You can dwell in it, and we as well.'

Then, full of anger and displeasure, they repeated, 'Depart, Sirs; this Vihâra has fallen unto us.' And seizing them by the throat, they cast them out. And the others, being ejected, wept.

The Bhikkhus asked, 'Why, Sirs, do you weep?'

Then they told them; and the moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c., and told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, as they say, &c. ?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then he rebuked them; and when he had delivered a religious discourse, he said to the Bhikkhus:

'A Bhikkhu is not, O Bhikkhus, to be cast out of a Vihâra, the common property of the *Samgha*, in anger and vexation. Whosoever does so, shall

¹ Âgametha yâva. Compare the introductory story to the 46th *Pâṭṭiya*.

be dealt with according to the law¹. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to allot the lodging-places (common to the Saṃgha to those who have need of them)².'

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought, 'How then shall the lodging-places be allotted?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as an apportioner of lodging-places a Bhikkhu possessed of these five qualifications—one who does not walk in partiality, who does not walk in malice, who does not walk in stupidity, who does not walk in fear (and so on, as in Khandhaka IV, chapter 10, down to the end of the Kamma vâḥā).'

3. Now the apportioners of lodging-places thought, 'How then ought the lodging-places to be apportioned?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, in the first place to count the Bhikkhus, then to count the sleeping-places, then to apportion accordingly³.'

When apportioning according to the number of sleeping-places, some remained unallotted⁴.

¹ That is, under the 17th Pāṭittiya.

² *Senâsanam gâhetum*. Buddhaghosa has nothing on this idiom, but its meaning is sufficiently clear from the connection.

³ *Seyyaggena gâhetum*. Buddhaghosa has no special explanation of *agga* here, but in his explanation of the passage says that this is to be so done that each Bhikkhu receives room for a couch (*mañḥakattḥānam*). *Agga* must here be *agra*, to which Böhrling-Roth give, from Indian lexicographers, the subsidiary meaning of 'multitude.' So below in XII, 1, 1, the *Vaggiputtakas* divide money amongst themselves *bhikkhu-aggena*, 'according to the number of the Bhikkhus.' *Seyyâ* is here used in the same meaning as that in which *senâsana* is used throughout the rest of this chapter and the next. See VIII, 1, 4.

⁴ *Ussâdiyimsu*. Buddhaghosa says *ussârayimsu ti mañ-*

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apportion according to the number of apartments (Vihâras).’

When so apportioning, some apartments (Vihâras) remained unallotted.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apportion according to the number of buildings (Parivenas)¹.’

When so apportioning, some buildings (Parivenas) remained unallotted.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give a supplementary share to each Bhikkhu².’

When more than one share had been allotted, another Bhikkhu arrived.

‘In that case a share need not be allotted to him, if the Bhikkhus do not wish to do so³.’

Now at that time they allotted sleeping-places to a Bhikkhu who was then staying outside the boundary (of the district in which the building was situate)⁴.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

kaḷḷhānāni atirekāni ahesum. His reading is in a copy of his work in Burmese characters, and is supported, both here and in Pāṭiṭṭiya XLVI, 2, where the word recurs, by a Burmese copy of the text. The Sinhalese reading is the correct one, but one may compare the idiom *ganam*, or *parisam*, *ussāreti* at Mahāvagga VIII, 1, 22, and Gâtaka I, 419, 434. So at IX, 1, 3, 4, the reading *ussāreti* given in the text is corrected at p. 363 into *ussâdeti*, in accordance with the reading of the Sinhalese MS.

¹ The relation of the Vihâra to the Parivena is here curious. In the later language *parivena* means ‘cells.’ Here it evidently includes several vihâras.

² *Anubhâgan ti puna aparam pi bhâgam dâtum* (B.).

³ *Na akâmâ* is used here in a sense precisely parallel to that in which it occurs at Mahāvagga VII, 24, 4. See the passages quoted in our note there.

⁴ *Nissîme tthitassa.* See on this phrase above, Mahāvagga VII, 1, 5, and VIII, 2, 3. It is repeated below, VI, 17, 2.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to [do so]. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, after the lodging-places had been allotted, kept them to the exclusion of others for all time.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you to retain them for the three months of the rainy, but not for the dry season.’

4. Then the Bhikkhus thought, ‘What is (it now that constitutes) an allotment of lodging-places?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘There are these three allotments of lodging-places, O Bhikkhus,—the earlier, the later, and the intermediate. The earlier is to be held on the day after the full moon of Āsāḥa (June—July); the later, a month after that full moon¹; the intermediate (literally that which involves a giving up during the intervening time) is held on the day after the Pavāraṇā ceremony, with reference to the rainy season of the following year. These, O Bhikkhus, are the three allotments of lodging-places.’

Here ends the Second Portion for Recitation.

12.

1. Now the venerable Upananda the Sākyan, after having had a lodging allotted to him in

¹ These first two dates are the days on which the earlier and the later Vassa begins. See Mahāvagga III, 2.

Sāvatthi, went to a certain country-place where a community of the *Samgha* resided, and there also had a lodging allotted to him. Then the Bhikkhus there thought, 'Now this brother, Upananda the Sākyan, is a maker of strife, quarrelsome, a maker of disputes, given to idle talk, a raiser of legal questions in the *Samgha*¹. If he should spend the rainy season here, then shall we all dwell in discomfort. Come, let us question him.' And they asked the venerable Upananda the Sākyan :

'Have not you, friend Upananda, had a lodging allotted to you in Sāvatthi?'

'That is so, Sirs.'

'What then do you, friend Upananda, being one, yet take exclusive possession of two (lodging-places)?'

'Well, I do now, Sirs, set (the lodging) here free, and take the one there.'

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate murmured, &c., and they told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-*saṃgha*, and asked the venerable Upananda the Sākyan :

'Is it true, Upananda, that you, being one, have taken possession of two places?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked him, saying, 'How can you, O foolish one, do such a thing? What you took there, O foolish one, has been lost here; what you took here, has been lost there². Thus, O

¹ These are the acts which render a Bhikkhu liable to the *Tagganiya Kamma*. See *Kullavagga* I, 1, 1.

² That is, by taking a lodging here you ipso facto renounced

foolish one, you are deprived of both.' And when he had delivered a religious discourse, he said to the Bhikkhus :

'One man is not, O Bhikkhus, to take two lodging-places. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.'

13.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One spake in many a figure concerning the Vinaya, speaking in praise of the Vinaya, in praise of learning the Vinaya, and again and again in reference thereto in praise of the venerable Upâli. Then said the Bhikkhus : 'The Blessed One speaks (&c., down to) Upâli. Come, let us learn the Vinaya under the venerable Upâli.' And many Bhikkhus, senior and junior, and of medium standing, went to learn the Vinaya under the venerable Upâli. The venerable Upâli taught them standing, out of reverence for the senior Bhikkhus, and the senior Bhikkhus heard him standing, out of reverence for the law ; and thereby both the senior Bhikkhus grew weary, and the venerable Upâli.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a junior Bhikkhu, when giving instruction, to sit on a seat of equal height, or higher, out of reverence for the law ; and a senior Bhikkhu, when receiving instruction, to sit on a seat

your right to a lodging there, and by taking one there you ipso facto renounced your right to get one here.

of equal height, or lower, out of reverence for the law¹.'

2. Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus stood around Upâli, waiting for seats²; and they grew weary.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down together with brethren entitled to sit on seats of equal height.'

Then the Bhikkhus thought, 'How many of us are entitled to sit on seats of equal height?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit on the same seat with those who are within three years of one another in seniority.'

Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus, entitled to sit on the same seat, sat down on a couch, and broke the couch down; or sat down on a chair, and broke the chair down.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a couch, or a chair, for three persons.'

Even when three sat on the couch, or chair, it broke.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, two to sit on a couch or a chair.'

Now at that time Bhikkhus who were not entitled to seats of equal height, were afraid they would offend if they sat together on a long seat.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Compare the fifteen rules of a similar character, Sekhiyas 57-72, and especially No. 69.

² Onlookers apparently, not strictly learners. On the force of *pa'simāneti*, compare the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, Pārāgika I, 1, and Gāṭaka II, 423.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit together on a long seat with others not entitled to sit on seats of equal height, unless they are women, or eunuchs, or hermaphrodites.’

Then the Bhikkhus thought, ‘What is the limit of length which is included under the term “long seat?”’

‘I allow the term “long seat” to be used, O Bhikkhus, of any seat long enough to accommodate three persons.’

14.

1. Now at that time Visákhâ the mother of Migâra was anxious to have a storeyed building (pâsâda), with a verandah (âlinda) to it, supported on pillars with capitals of elephant heads¹, built for the use of the Saṃgha. Then the Bhikkhus thought, ‘Of things which appertain to a storeyed building, which has been permitted by the Blessed One, and which not²?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Hatthi-nakhakam, ‘supported on the frontal globes (kumbhe) of elephants,’ says Buddhaghosa.

² On the meaning of paribhoga here compare VI, 18, 1. The doubt here expressed is curious, as a storeyed building (pâsâda) is one of the five kinds of abodes (lenâni) specially sanctioned by Mahāvagga I, 30, 4, and Kullavagga VI, 1, 2; and a verandah (âlinda) has been also authorised by Kullavagga VI, 3, 5. No doubt the special point here is as to the carved pillars: but, even so, that this rule should be thus separated from the other rules as to buildings, in the commencement of this book (VI, 1-4), is a proof of the unsystematic way in which the Khandhakas have been put together. Even the final redaction which we have now before us contains much similar evidence of the gradual growth of these rules. See note 3 on the next paragraph.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of all appurtenances to a storeyed building.’

Now at that time the grandmother of Pasenadi of Kosala had died, and many unauthorised things had come into the hands of the *Saṃgha*, such as couches, divans (&c., as in chapter 8 above, and *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 4).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use the stuffed couches (*āsandi*) after having broken off the legs¹, and the divans (*pallaṅka*) after having removed the hair, and to comb out the cotton of the mattresses and make pillows of it², and to use all the rest as floor covering³.’

15.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who dwelt in a certain country residence, not far from *Sāvatti*, were worried by having constantly to provide sleeping accommodation for travelling Bhikkhus who came in (from country-places). And those Bhikkhus

¹ Compare the 87th *Pāṭittiya*.

² This rule has already been given in VI, 2, 6.

³ It is distinctly laid down without any reservation in *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 5 (in the paragraph erroneously numbered V, 10, 4 in vol. ii, p. 28, of the present work), that the use of any of these things is a *dukkata* offence. That this relaxation of that rule should be inserted only here, looks very much like an after-thought, even though the former passage merely refers to the use of these things as seats. This is more especially noteworthy from the fact mentioned in the last note.

The rules as to new rugs or mats to be used for sitting upon, are contained in the 11th to the 15th *Nissaggiya Pāṭittiyas*.

thought: '[This being so,] let us hand over all the sleeping accommodation which is the property of the *Samgha* to one (of us), and let us use it as belonging to him.' And they [did so¹].

Then the incoming Bhikkhus said to them: 'Prepare, Sirs, sleeping accommodation for us.'

'There are no beds, Sirs, belonging to the *Samgha*. We have given them all away to one of us.'

'What, Sirs? Have you then made away with property belonging to the *Samgha*?'

'That is so, Sirs.'

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c., and told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that Bhikkhus make away with *Samgha* property?'

'It is true, Lord.'

2. Then the Blessed One rebuked them, &c., and said to the Bhikkhus: 'These five things, O Bhikkhus, are untransferable; and are not to be disposed of either by the *Samgha*, or by a company of two or three Bhikkhus (a *Gana*), or by a single individual. And what are the five? A park (*Ârâma*), or the site for a park—this is the first untransferable thing, that cannot be disposed of by the *Samgha*, or by a *Gana*, or by an individual. If it be disposed of, such disposal is void; and whosoever has disposed of it, is guilty of a *thullakkaya*. A *Vihâra*, or the site for a *Vihâra*—this is the second, &c. (as before). A bed, or a chair, or a bolster, or a pillow—this is the third, &c. A brass vessel, or a brass jar, or a brass pot, or a brass vase, or a razor, or an axe, or a

¹ This is a direct infringement of the 82nd *Pâṭittiya*, which forbids property dedicated to the *Samgha* being diverted to the use of any individual.

hatchet, or a hoe, or a spade—this is the fourth, &c. Creepers, or bamboos, or *muṅga*, or *babbaga* grass, or common grass, or clay, or things made of wood, or crockery—this is the fifth, &c. (as before, down to) *thullaḥkaya*.'

16.

1. Now when the Blessed One had dwelt at *Sâvatthi* as long as he thought fit, he went on on his journey towards the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill with a great multitude of *Bhikkhus*—to wit, with about five hundred *Bhikkhus*, besides *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna*.

And the *Bhikkhus* who were followers of *Assagi* and *Punabbasu*¹ hearing the news, said one to another, 'Come, Sirs; let us divide all the sleeping accommodation belonging to the *Samgha*. *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna* are men of sinful desires, and are under the influence of sinful desires. We will not provide sleeping-places for them.' And they did so.

Now the Blessed One, proceeding on his journey, arrived at the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill. And he addressed a number of *Bhikkhus*, saying, 'Do you go, O *Bhikkhus*, to the followers of *Assagi* and *Punabbasu*, and say: "The Blessed One, Sirs, has arrived with a large number of *Bhikkhus*—to wit, with about five hundred *Bhikkhus*, besides *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna*. Make ready sleeping-places, Sirs, for the Blessed One, and for the *Bhikkhu-samgha*, and for *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna*."'

¹ On these *Bhikkhus* and their relations with *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna*, see above, *Kullavagga* I, 13-16.

‘Even so, Lord,’ said those Bhikkhus in assent to the Blessed One; and they did so.

‘There is no sleeping accommodation belonging to the *Samgha*. We have divided it all’ (was the reply). ‘The Blessed One, Sirs, is welcome: and he may stay in whatever Vihâra he chooses. But Sâriputta and Moggallâna are men of sinful desires, and under the influence thereof; for them we will provide no sleeping-places.’

2. ‘What then, Sirs? Have you divided sleeping accommodation that is the property of the *Samgha*?’

‘That is so, Sirs.’

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. (down to) The Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus:

‘These five things, O Bhikkhus, are unapportionable, and are not to be divided either by the *Samgha*, or by a *Gana*, or by an individual. If divided, the division is void; and whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *thullakkaya*. And what are the five (&c., as in VI, 15, 2)¹?’

17.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at the Kiâ Hill as long as he thought fit, he proceeded on his journey towards Â/avî; and in due course he arrived at Â/avî, and there, at Â/avî, the Blessed One stayed at the Aggâ/ava Shrine.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus of Â/avî² used to

¹ These expressions ‘untransferable’ (*avissaggiyâni*) and ‘unapportionable’ (*avebhaṅgiyâni*) have already occurred above at Mahāvagga VIII, 27, 5.

² The Bhikkhus of Â/avî are frequently mentioned in connection

give new building operations in charge (to one or other of their number)¹, such as the following²: when some clay or earth had merely to be put aside in heaps, when a wall had merely to be re-plastered, when a door had merely to be made, when the socket for a bolt had merely to be made, when some joinery-work had merely to be done to a window, when some whitewashing merely had to be done, or some black colouring laid on, or some red colouring³, or some roofing-work, or some joinery, or a bar had to be fixed to a door⁴, when breaches or decay had merely to be repaired⁵, or the flooring to be re-plastered⁶; and they assigned this office to one another for terms of twenty or thirty years, or

with offences in relation to the *navakammam*. See, for instance, *Pârâgika* III, 5, 30.

¹ For the rule authorising such giving in charge in general cases, see above, VI, 5.

² For most of the following technical terms in building, see our notes above on *Kullavagga* V, 11, and V, 1, 2.

³ See our note on this phrase above, V, 11, 6.

⁴ *Gandikâdhâna-mattenâ ti dvâra-bâhânam upari-kapo/gandika-yogana-mattena* (B.). *Gandî* is used in this sense at *Gâtaka* I, 237. Compare the use of *Dhamma-gandikâ*, 'block of execution,' at *Gâtaka* I, 150, II, 124. The word *gandikâ* occurs also at *Gâtaka* I, 474 (last line), in the sense of 'bunch:' but it is there probably a misprint; for Oldenberg, in the parallel passage at *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâkittiya* I, 1, reads *bhandike*. That the two words are easily confused in Burmese writing is shown by the fact that the Berlin (Burmese) copy of *Buddhaghosa* reads here also *bhandikâdhâna-mattenâ ti*, &c., and again afterwards *bhandika*.

⁵ See our note on this phrase above, VI, 5, 2.

⁶ *Paribhanda-karâna-mattenâ ti gomaya-paribhanda-kasâva-parikarâna-mattena* (B.). The very same expression is used in a wholly doubtful sense, and of some process of tailoring, in *Mahāvagga* VII, 1, 5.

for life ; or they gave in charge a completely finished Vihâra to a Bhikkhu for such time as should elapse till the smoke rose (from the funeral pyre on which his body should be burnt¹).

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. (as usual, down to) The Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus :

‘ You are not, O Bhikkhus, to confer the office of building overseer when clay has merely to be put aside in heaps . . . (&c., as before, down to) body shall be burnt. Whosoever shall so confer it, shall be guilty of a dukkata. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give a Vihâra not yet begun, or not yet finished², in charge as a new building. And with reference to the work on a small Vihâra, it may be given in charge as a navakamma for a period of five or six years, that on an *Addhayoga* for a period of seven or eight years, that on a large Vihâra or a Pâsâda for ten or twelve years.’

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus gave the whole of a Vihâra as a navakamma (to one Bhikkhu to superintend)—or two Vihâras to one Bhikkhu—or the Bhikkhu who had taken the work in charge got another (Bhikkhu to live there and take charge for him)—or the Bhikkhu who had taken in charge a

¹ Dhûmakâlikan ti idam yâv’ assa kîta-dhûmo na paññâyâtîti tâva ayam vihâro etass’ evâ ti evam dhûma-kâle apaloketvâ kata-pariyositam vihâram denti (B.). The word recurs below, applied to sikkhâpadam, in XI, 1, 9.

² Vippakatan ti ettha vippakato nâma yâva gopânasiyo na ârohani. Gopânasîsu pana âru/hâsu bahukato nâma hoti : tasmâ tato pañhâya na dâtabbo (B.). The use of bahukato is noteworthy, for in the only other passage where we have found the word (Mahāvagga VI, 36, 2), it has a totally different application. There is possibly a misreading in the one MS. available. (? pakato.)

building belonging to the *Samgha* kept exclusive possession of it—or the Bhikkhus gave work in charge to one not at that time within the boundary¹—or Bhikkhus who had once taken charge kept exclusive possession for all time.

They told [each of] these matters to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do [any one of these things]. Whosoever does, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa. And the Bhikkhu in charge may take one good sleeping-place into his exclusive possession for the three months of the rainy, but not during the dry season.’

3. Now at that time Bhikkhus who had taken charge of building operations left the place [or otherwise became incompetent in one or other of the twenty and three ways set out in the next paragraph²].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘In case that occurs, O Bhikkhus, as soon as he has taken charge, or before the building has been completed, let the office be given to another lest there should be loss to the *Samgha*. In case the building has been completed, O Bhikkhus, if he then leaves the place, it (the office and its privileges) is still his—if he then returns to the world, or dies, or admits that he is a *sāmaṇera*, or that he has abandoned the precepts, or that he has become guilty of an extreme offence, the *Samgha*

¹ See above, VI, 11, 3.

² See Mahāvagga II, 22, 3, and II, 36, 1–3. In the latter of these two passages the three cases are omitted. In Mahāvagga IX, 4, 2, and 8, the whole 23 are given.

becomes the owner¹—if he then admits that he is mad, or that his mind is unhinged, or that he is afflicted with bodily pain, or that he has been suspended for his refusal to acknowledge an offence, or to atone for an offence, or to renounce a sinful doctrine, it (the office and its privileges) is still his—if he then admits that he is a eunuch, or that he has furtively attached himself to the *Samgha*, or that he has gone over to the *Titthiyas*; or that he is an animal, or that he has murdered his mother, or his father, or an *Arahat*, or that he has violated a *Bhikkhuni*, or that he has caused a schism in the *Samgha*, or that he has shed (a Buddha's) blood, or that he is an hermaphrodite, then the *Samgha* becomes the owner.'

18.

1. Now at that time the *Bhikkhus* made use elsewhere of beds which were appurtenances² to the *Vihâra* of a certain lay-disciple (*upâsaka*).

Then that *upâsaka* murmured, &c.

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Things appurtenant to one place are not, O *Bhikkhus*, to be used in another. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*.'

Now at that time the *Bhikkhus*, fearing to offend if they took (things to sit upon) even into the

¹ That is, the *navakammiko* loses his privileges (his lien on the best sleeping-place, &c.).

² *Vihâra-paribhogam*. 'Meant for use only in that *Vihâra*.' Compare above, VI, 14, 1.

Uposatha Hall, or the meeting-place, sat on the ground; and their legs and robes got soiled.

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take things away for a certain time only¹.'

Now at that time a large Vihâra belonging to the Samgha went to ruin². The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, did not take the bedding in it away.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take away things in order to save them from destruction.'

19.

1. Now at that time there was a very valuable rug, and a very valuable piece of cloth, among the bedding furniture belonging to the Samgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to barter either of these things in order to increase the stock of legally permissible furniture⁴.'

Now at that time the Samgha had received a

¹ *Tâvakâlikam*. The word occurs in *Gâtaka* I, 121, 393 (on which see Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 170, and 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 241), in Buddhaghosa's notes on *Mahâvagga* VII, 5, 1 (above, II, 154, note 7), in the *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâṭṭiya* XXV, 2, and in *Kullavagga* X, 16, 1.

² *Samghassa vihâro udriyati*. The whole phrase has already occurred at *Mahâvagga* III, 8.

³ Because such things were forbidden by *Mahâvagga* V, 10, 4, though *kambala* is not there specially mentioned.

⁴ *Phâtikammatthâyâ ti vaddhikammatthâyâ ti*. *Vaddhikammatthâyâ phâtikammam k' ettha samakam vâ atirekam vâ agghanakam mañka-pi/hâdi-senâsanam eva va/tati* (B.).

bear-skin, and a *kakkali*¹ rug, and a *kolaka* cloth².

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use them as mats to wipe your feet on³.’

20.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus walked over the mats used for sleeping upon with unwashed or wet feet, or with their sandals on; and the matting was soiled.

They told these matters to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*⁴.’

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus spat on the newly prepared floor⁵, and the colour was spoilt.

¹ According to VI, 2, 2, and VI, 3, 5, this could also be used as a screen or curtain over the space in a wall left for a window.

² According to Mahāvagga VIII, 18, this might be used to wipe faces with; and according to Kullavagga V, 9, 4, VI, 19, to place crockery or furniture on. The word *kola* means simply cotton cloth, but it is clear from these passages that *kolaka* has some special connotation.

³ Not to sit upon.

⁴ With this should be compared the other rule in Mahāvagga V, 6, 1, according to which the Bhikkhus were to wear sandals when getting upon bedsteads or chairs, lest these should become soiled. The two passages are parallel in wording throughout.

⁵ *Parikammakatāya*. The floors were of earth, not of wood, and were restored from time to time by fresh clay or dry cowdung being laid down, and then covered with a whitewash, in which sometimes black or red (*geruka*) was mixed. See above, V, 11, 6; VI, 3, 1; 17, 1; 27. From the parallel passage at Mahāvagga I, 25, 15, and Kullavagga VIII, 3, 1, it would seem that the red colouring was used rather for walls, and the black one for floors.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a spittoon.’

Now at that time the legs of the bedsteads and chairs made scratches on the newly prepared floor.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover it up with floor-cloth.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus leant up against the newly prepared walls¹, and the colouring was spoilt.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a board to lean up against².’

The board scratched the floor at the bottom, and ruined the wall at the top.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover it at the top and bottom with cloth.’

Now at that time, fearing to offend, they would not lie down on places over which it was permissible to walk with washen feet³.

¹ The walls were no doubt usually made with ‘wattle and daub;’ that is, sticks with clay between the interstices. This was treated from time to time like the flooring (see last note).

² *Apasena-phalakam*. This article of furniture is mentioned, with the spittoon, in *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15, 16, and in the parallel passage at *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 3. We have rendered it in the *Mahāvagga* by ‘board to recline on.’ Compare the use of *apasayam* in *Buddhaghosa’s* note on *Kullavagga* VI, 2, 4 (above, p. 153, note 3) of an arm-chair or sofa.

³ *Dhotapādakā ti dhotapādakā hutvā dhotēhi pādehi akkamitabbaṃhāne nipaggiṭum kukkukāyanti. Dhotapādake ti pi pāṭho. Dhotēhi pādehi akkamitabbaṃhānass’ eva etam adhivaṭṭanam* (B.).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to lie down in such a place when you have spread something over it.’

21.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Âḷavi as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Râgagaha. And proceeding straight on, he arrived in due course at Râgagaha. And there, at Râgagaha, the Blessed One stayed at the Veḷuvana in the Kalandaka Nivâpa.

Now at that time there was a scarcity of food at Râgagaha¹. The people were unable to provide food for the (whole) *Samgha*; and they were desirous of providing food² (to be sent to the Vihâra) for the use of a special Bhikkhu (designated by the donor)³, or for special Bhikkhus invited (by the donor in his own house)⁴, or for (single Bhikkhus) appointed by ticket (issued by the *Samgha*)⁵, or of providing food during a fortnight⁶, or on Uposatha

¹ Other special rules for times of scarcity will be found at Mahāvagga VI, 17, 7; 18, 4; 19, 2; 20, 4 (repealed for times of plenty in VI, 32). Compare also Pârâgika IV, 1, 1.

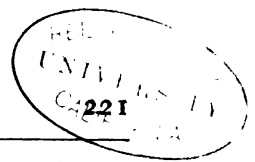
² The above modes of receiving food (instead of collecting in a bowl morsels of food given in alms) are the dispensations allowed by Mahāvagga I, 30, 4.

³ Uddesa-bhattacham *kâtum*. Compare the story of Upananda at Mahāvagga VI, 19, 1.

⁴ Nimantanam *kâtum*. The word is only used in this special technical sense. Compare the whole story of Kulla-panthaka at Gâtaka I, 116, and especially the last line.

⁵ Salâka-bhattacham *kâtum*. See especially above, Kullavagga IV, 9; IV, 10.

⁶ Pakkhikam *kâtum*. Both Childers sub voce and Frankfurter



days (that is, on the last days of each fortnight) or on the first days of each fortnight.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, each of three ways of obtaining food.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus having received good food for themselves, gave over the worse food (which they had also received) to the other Bhikkhus.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as apportioner of rations¹ a Bhikkhu who is possessed of the following five qualifications—(&c., as in IV, 9, down to the end of the *Kammavākā*).’

Now the Bhikkhus who were apportioners of rations, thought: ‘How then are the rations to be apportioned?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apportion them by arranging the food in small heaps, and fastening tickets or marks upon them².’

2. Now at that time the *Samgha* had no dis-

(‘Pali Handbook,’ p. 165), in interpreting the passage at *Mahāvagga* I, 30, 4, take this to mean a feast given on the eighth day of the month. But *paksha* is the half-month. The expression much more probably means, therefore, to provide food either during the whole of a half-month for one or more specially invited Bhikkhus, or for a larger number on any one day of the half-month to be chosen by the *Samgha*.

¹ Compare above, *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 1.

² *Buddhaghosa* says, *Salākāya vā paṭikāya vā upanibandhitvā opuññhitvā uddisitun ti vātanato rukkhasāramayāya salākāya vā veḷuvilivatālapamādinayāya paṭikāya vā asukassa nāma salākabhattachan ti evaṃ akkharāni upanibandhitvā paṭṭhiyam vā kīvarabhoge vā katvā sabbā salākāyo omuññhitvā [sic] punappunam heṭṭhā-vasena āloetvā . . . dātabbā.*

tributor of lodging-places—no overseer of stores—no receiver of robes—no distributor of robes, of congey, or of fruits—and no distributor of dry foods, and through not being distributed it went bad.

They told each of these matters¹ to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as distributor of lodging-places, &c., a Bhikkhu who has (&c., as in § 1, down to the end of the *Kammavākā*, inserting throughout the appropriate variations in the fifth qualification).

3. Now at that time articles of trifling value had accumulated in the storehouse of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as disposer of trifles a Bhikkhu who has (&c., as before, down to the end of the *Kammavākā*). Each separate needle, and pair of scissors, and pair of sandals, and girdle, and pair of braces, and filtering cloth, and regulation strainer², and plait³, and half-plait³, and gusset³, and half-gusset³, and binding⁴, and braiding⁴, is to be given away. If the *Samgha* has any ghee, or oil, or honey, or molasses, he is to give it away for personal consumption only, and if it be wanted, he is to give it a second and a third time⁵.’

¹ There is another officer (*âsana-paññâpaka*) mentioned at *Kullavagga* XII, 2, 7, whose omission from the list here is worthy of notice.

² *Dhamma-karako*. See V, 13, 1.

³ On these words, see *Mahāvagga* VIII, 12, 2.

⁴ On these two words, see *Mahāvagga* VIII, 1, 5.

⁵ These things were to be used only as medicines, according to *Mahāvagga* VI, 1, 1–5, where butter is also added. That would be under the charge of the distributor of dry foods (§ 2), as if kept it would go bad. According to VI, 15, 10, none of these five

Now at that time the *Samgha* had no receiver of under-garments¹, or of bowls,—no superintendent of those who kept the grounds in order (the *Ârâ-mikas*), and the *Ârâ-mikas* not being looked after, the necessary work was not done,—no superintendent of *sâmaneras*, and the *sâmaneras* not being looked after did not perform their duties.

They told each of these matters to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as receiver of under-garments, &c., a Bhikkhu who has (&c., as before, down to the end of the *Kammavâkâ*).’

End of the Sixth Khandhaka, on Sleeping Arrangements, &c.

kinds of medicine were to be kept for a period exceeding seven days, but that was a rule that was not very probable to be strictly followed.

¹ *Sâ/iya*; no doubt the same as is spelt elsewhere *sâ/ikâ* or *sâ/akâ*, and is used for such purposes as bathing in.

SEVENTH KHANDHAKA.

DISSENSIONS IN THE ORDER.

1¹.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Anupiyâ². Anupiyâ is a town belonging to the Mallas³. Now at that time the most distinguished of the young men of the Sâkyan clan had renounced the world in imitation of the Blessed One.

Now there were two brothers, Mahânâma the Sâkyan, and Anuruddha the Sâkyan. Anuruddha the Sâkyan was delicately nurtured; and he had three storeyed residences, one for the cold season, one for the hot season, and one for the season of the rains⁴. During the four months spent in the

¹ With the whole of the following story compare the, in many respects, fuller account given by the commentator on the Dhammapada (Fausböll, pp. 139 and following).

² This was the spot where Gotama spent the first week after his renunciation of the world, before he went on to Râgagaha (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' I, 87). Professor Fausböll there (*Gâtaka* I, 65) reads *Anûpiyam*, but all his MSS. have the *û* short. It is noteworthy that in our text the locative is formed as if the word were feminine, though the neuter form is used for the nominative.

³ The more usual mode of adding this description in similar passages at the commencement of all the Suttas would lead us to expect here *Mallânam nigame*.

⁴ Compare Mahâvagga I, 7, 1, where the same thing is said of Yasa.

residence for the season of the rains, he was waited upon by women performing music¹, and came not down from the upper storey of his residence.

Then Mahânâma the Sâkyan thought : ' Now the most distinguished of the young men of the Sâkya clan have already renounced the world in imitation of the Blessed One, but from our own family no one has gone forth from the household life into the houseless state. Let therefore either I, or Anuruddha, renounce the world.' And he went to Anuruddha the Sâkyan, and said [so to him, adding], ' Either therefore do you go forth, or I will do so.'

' I am delicate. It is impossible for me to go forth from the household life into the houseless state. Do you do so.'

2. ' But come now, O beloved Anuruddha, I will tell you what is incident to the household life. First, you have to get your fields ploughed. When that is done, you have to get them sown. When that is done, you have to get the water led down over them. When that is done, you have to get the water led off again. When that is done, you have to get the weeds pulled up². When that is done, you have to get the crop reaped. When that is done, you have to get the crop carried away. When that is done, you have to get it arranged.

¹ Nippurisehi turiyehi. That Childers's rendering, ' without men, without people,' is inadequate is clear from the context at the passage which he quotes from *Gâtaka* I, 53.

² *Niḍḍâpeti*. Buddhaghosa says, ' Pull up the weeds' (*tināṇi*). The word occurs also at *Gâtaka* I, 215, where there is a similar list of farming operations, which, though smaller, contains one or two items not given here.

into bundles. When that is done, you have to get it trodden out¹. When that is done, you have to get the straw picked out. When that is done, you have to get all the chaff removed. When that is done, you have to get it winnowed. When that is done, you have to get the harvest garnered². When that is done, you have to do just the same the next year, and the same all over again the year after that.

‘The work is never over: one sees not the end of one’s labours. O! when shall our work be over? When shall we see the end of our labours? When shall we, still possessing and retaining the pleasures of our five senses, yet dwell at rest? Yes! the work, beloved Anuruddha, is never over; no end appears to our labours. Even when our fathers and forefathers had completed their time³, even then was their work unfinished.’

‘Then do you take thought for the household duties. I will go forth from the household life into the houseless state.’

And Anuruddha the Sâkya went to his mother, and said to her: ‘I want, mother, to go forth from the household life into the houseless state. Grant me thy permission to do so.’

And when he had thus spoken, his mother replied

¹ Maddâpeti. There is mention of threshing (prati-han) already in the Vedas. See the passages collected by Zimmer, ‘Altindisches Leben,’ p. 238. But treading out is even still a very common, if not the more usual, process throughout India and Ceylon.

² Atiharâpeti. See Milinda Pañha, p. 66. The simple verb occurs also in a similar connection in the Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga in the introductory story to Pâṭṭiya VII.

³ That is, had died.

to Anuruddha the Sâkyan, and said: 'You two, O beloved Anuruddha, are my two only sons, near and dear to me, in whom I find no evil. Through death I shall some day, against my will, be separated from you; but how can I be willing, whilst you are still alive, that you should go forth from the household life into the houseless state?'

[And a second time Anuruddha the Sâkyan made the same request, and received the same reply. And a third time Anuruddha the Sâkyan made the same request to his mother.]

3. Now at that time Bhaddiya the Sâkya Râga held rule over the Sâkyas; and he was a friend of Anuruddha the Sâkyan's. And the mother of Anuruddha the Sâkyan, thinking that that being so, the Râga would not be able to renounce the world, said to her son: 'If, beloved Anuruddha, Bhaddiya the Sâkyan Râga will renounce the world, thou also mayest go forth into the houseless state.'

Then Anuruddha the Sâkyan went to Bhaddiya the Sâkyan Râga, and said to him: 'My renunciation of the world, dear friend, is being obstructed by thee.'

'Then let that obstruction, dear friend, be removed. Even with thee will I¹—renounce thou the world according to thy wish.'

'Come, dear friend, let us both renounce the world together!'

¹ *Aham tayâ.* Buddhaghosa explains that the Râga is beginning to say that he will go with his friend. But a desire for the glory of sovereignty comes over his heart, and he leaves the sentence unfinished. (The Pâli is given in the notes on the text, p. 323.)

‘I am not capable, dear friend, of giving up the household life. Whatsoever else you can ask of me, that I will do¹. Do you go forth (alone).’

‘My mother, dear friend, has told me that if thou dost so, I may. And thou hast even now declared “If thy renunciation be obstructed by me, then let that obstruction be removed. Even with thee will I—renounce thou the world, according to thy wish.” Come, then, dear friend, let us both renounce the world.’

Now at that time men were speakers of truth, and keepers of their word which they had pledged. And Bhaddiya the Sākya Rāga said to Anuruddha the Sākyan: ‘Wait, my friend, for seven years. At the end of seven years we will renounce the world together.’

‘Seven years are too long, dear friend. I am not able to wait for seven years.’

[And the same offer was made successively of six years and so on down to one year, of seven months and so on down to one month, and even of a fortnight, and still there was ever the same reply. At last the Rāga said,]

‘Wait, my friend, for seven days, whilst I hand over the kingdom to my sons and my brothers.’

‘Seven days is not too long. I will wait thus far’ (was the reply).

4. So Bhaddiya the Sākya Rāga, and Anuruddha, and Ānanda, and Bhagu, and Kimbila, and Devadatta—just as they had so often previously gone

¹ Tyāham. See Dr. Morris’s remarks on this elision in his introduction to the *Kariyā Piṭaka* (Pāli Text Society, 1882), where he makes it equal to tad aham. This seems to us open to question, at least in this passage, where it may possibly stand for te aham.

out to the pleasure-ground with fourfold array—even so did they now go out with fourfold array, and Upâli the barber went with them, making seven in all.

And when they had gone some distance, they sent their retinue back, and crossed over into the neighbouring district, and took off their fine things, and wrapped them in their robes, and made a bundle of them, and said to Upâli the barber: ‘Do you now, good Upâli, turn back. These things will be sufficient for you to live upon.’

But as he was going back, Upâli the barber thought: ‘The Sâkyas are fierce. They will think that these young men have been brought by me to destruction, and they will slay me. But since now these young men of the Sâkya clan can go forth from the household life into the houseless state, why indeed should not I?’ And he let down the bundle (from his back), and hung the bundle on a tree, saying, ‘Let whoso finds it, take it, as a gift,’ and returned to the place where the young Sâkyans were.

And the Sâkya youths saw him coming from afar, and on seeing, they said to him: ‘What have you come back for, good Upâli?’

Then he told them [what he had thought, and what he had done with the bundle, and why he was returned].

‘Thou hast done well, good Upâli (was the reply), in that thou didst not return; for the Sâkyas are fierce, and might have killed thee.’

And they took Upâli the barber with them to the place where the Blessed One was. And on arriving there, they bowed down before the Blessed One, and

took their seats on one side. And so seated they said to the Blessed One : ' We Sâkyas, Lord, are haughty. And this Upâli the barber has long been an attendant, Lord, upon us. May the Blessed One admit him to the Order before us, so that we may render him respect and reverence, and bow down with outstretched hands before him (as our senior), and thus shall the Sâkya pride be humbled in us Sâkyans¹.'

Then the Blessed One received first Upâli the barber, and afterwards those young men of the Sâkya clan, into the ranks of the Order. And the venerable Bhaddiya, before that rainy season was over, became master of the Threefold Wisdom², and the venerable Anuruddha acquired the Heavenly Vision³, and the venerable Ânanda realised the effect of having entered upon the Stream⁴, and Devadatta attained to that kind of Iddhi which is attainable even by those who have not entered upon the Excellent Way⁵.

¹ This reputation of the Sâkya family for pride is referred to in *Gâtaka* I, 88, 89.

² *Tisso viggâ*, see Rh. D.'s remarks at pp. 161, 162 of 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli' (S. B. E., vol. xi). They are probably here the three *viggas* referred to in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, 1, 6-8, as the second of those is the Heavenly Vision, here mentioned in the next clause.

³ *Dibbañakkhu*, a full description of the details of which will be found in the stock paragraph translated by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli' (S. B. E., vol. xi, pp. 216-218).

⁴ *Sotâpatti-phala*; that is, he became free from the delusion of self (*sakkâyadiññi*), from doubt (*vitikikkhâ*), and from dependence upon ceremonies or works (*silabbata-pârâmaṣa*). See Rh. D.'s manual, 'Buddhism,' pp. 108-110.

⁵ *Pothugganikâ iddhi*. What this may be is unknown to us. A fourfold Iddhi is described in detail in the stock passage

5¹. Now at that time the venerable Bhaddiya, who had retired into the forest to the foot of a tree, into solitude, gave utterance over and over again to this ecstatic exclamation: 'O happiness! O happiness!' And a number of Bhikkhus went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and took their seats on one side. And, so seated, they [told the Blessed One of this], and added, 'For a certainty, Lord, the venerable Bhaddiya is not contented as he lives the life of purity; but rather it is when calling to mind the happiness of his former sovereignty that he gives vent to this saying.'

Then the Blessed One addressed a certain Bhikkhu, and said: 'Do you go, O Bhikkhu, and in my name call Bhaddiya the Bhikkhu, saying, "The Teacher, venerable Bhaddiya, is calling for you."'

'Even so, Lord,' said that Bhikkhu, in assent to the Blessed One. And he went to Bhaddiya, and called him [in those words].

6. 'Very well,' said the venerable Bhaddiya, in

translated by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' S. B. E., vol. xi, p. 214, and the fourfold Iddhi of the ideal king in the similar passage, loc. cit., pp. 259-261. The Iddhi here referred to may be the former of these two, though that list does not include the power ascribed to Devadatta in the next chapter. At *Gâtaka* I, 140, the expression of our text here is replaced by *ghâna*, though the account there is otherwise the same.

It is worthy of notice that Devadatta, though a Bhikkhu, is not honoured with the standing epithet, 'venerable,' always used of the other members of the Order, even when they are represented to have been of bad character.

¹ The following incident, with a summary of the preceding sections, forms the introductory story to the 10th *Gâtaka* (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' i. pp. 190-193). The legend may have first arisen as an explanation of the name Bhaddiya, which means 'the fortunate one.'

assent to that Bhikkhu ; and he came to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, the Blessed One said to the venerable Bhaddiya :

‘ Is it true, as they say, that you Bhaddiya, when retired into the forest to the foot of a tree, into solitude, have given utterance over and over again to this ecstatic exclamation, “ O happiness ! O happiness ! ” What circumstance was it, O Bhaddiya, that you had in your mind when you acted thus ? ’

‘ Formerly, Lord, when I was a king, I had a guard completely provided both within and without my private apartments, both within and without the town, and within the (borders of my) country. Yet though, Lord, I was thus guarded and protected, I was fearful, anxious, distrustful, and alarmed. But now, Lord, even when in the forest, at the foot of a tree, in solitude, I am without fear or anxiety, trustful and not alarmed ; I dwell at ease, subdued¹, secure², with mind as peaceful as an antelope’s³. It was when calling this fact to mind, Lord, that I gave utterance over and over again to that cry, “ O happiness ! O happiness ! ” ’

Then the Blessed One, on hearing that, gave utterance at that time to this song :

¹ Pannalomo. See our note 2 on Kullavagga I, 6, 1 (above, vol. ii, p. 339).

² Paradavutto. This is the reading of the Sinhalese MS., and is the correct one. See Oldenberg’s note at p. 363 of the edition of the text. Our translation is conjectural.

³ Migabhûtena ketasâ. The meaning of miga in this phrase is not certain ; and the figure may be drawn from the careless mind of any animal in its natural state. We have not noticed the idiom elsewhere ; but compare the converse figure, bhanta-miga-sappa/ibhâgo sâsane anabhirato, at Gâtaka I, 303, 6.

‘The man who harbours no harsh thoughts within
him,
Who cares not whether things are thus or thus,
His state of joy, freedom from grief or care,
The very gods obtain not to behold!’

2.

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed at Anupiyâ as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Kosambî. And journeying straight on he arrived in due course at Kosambî, and there, at Kosambî, he stayed at the Ghosita Ârâma.

Now the following thought occurred to Devadatta, when he had retired into solitude, and was plunged in meditation: ‘Whom now¹ can I so gain over that, he being well pleased with me, much gain and honour may result to me? And it occurred to him, ‘Now this prince Agâtasattu is young, and has a lucky future before him. Let me then gain him over; and he being well pleased with me, much gain and honour will result.’

Then Devadatta folded up his sleeping-mat, and set out, fully bowled and robed, for Râgagaha; and in due course he arrived at Râgagaha. Then he laid aside his own form, and took upon himself the form of a child clad in a girdle of snakes, and appeared on the lap of prince Agâtasattu². Then was

¹ In the text, for kin nu read kam nu.

² This taking upon oneself another shape is not one of the powers of Iddhi included in the first list referred to at note 5, p. 230.

prince Agâtasattu terrified, and startled, and anxious, and alarmed.

And Devadatta said to prince Agâtasattu, 'Are you afraid of me, O prince?'

'Yes, I am. Who are you?'

'I am Devadatta.'

'If you, Sir, are really the worthy Devadatta, be good enough to appear in your own shape.'

Then Devadatta, laying aside the form of the child, appeared there before prince Agâtasattu with his inner and outer robes on, and with his bowl in his hand. And prince Agâtasattu was well pleased with Devadatta by reason of this marvel of Iddhi, and morning and evening he used to go in five hundred chariots to wait upon him, and food was brought and laid before him in five hundred dishes.

Then there arose in Devadatta's mind, possessed and vanquished by gain and hospitality and fame¹, some such thought as this: 'It is I who ought to lead the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.' And as the idea rose up within him, (that moment) was Devadatta deprived of that his power of Iddhi.

2. Now at that time a Koliyan, by name Kakudha, who had been (as Bhikkhu) the attendant on Moggallâna, had just died, and had appeared again in a certain spiritual body², possessed of a personality as large as two or three of the common rice-fields of a Mâgadha village, and yet so constituted³ that he was

¹ Compare Mahāvagga V, 1, 22, on this expression. Also below, § 5.

² *Aññataram manomayam kāyam upapanno*. Perhaps 'in a mode of existence in which his body was changeable at will.' (See Childers, sub voce *manomayo*.)

³ *Attabhâvo*. See IX, 1, 3.

not in the way either of himself or of others¹. And this celestial being, Kakudha, went to the venerable Moggallâna, and bowed down before him, and took his stand on one side. And so standing, he told the venerable Moggallâna [of the thought that had arisen in Devadatta's mind, and of the result thereof]. And when he had told him, he bowed down before the venerable Moggallâna, and keeping him on his right side as he passed him, he vanished away.

And the venerable Moggallâna went to the place where the Blessed One was, and told him [the whole matter]².

'What then, Moggallâna, have you so penetrated the mind of that celestial being Kakudha, that you know that whatsoever he speaks, that will be accordingly, and not otherwise³?'

'I have, Lord.'

'Keep that saying, Moggallâna, secret; keep that saying secret. Even now that foolish man will himself make himself known.

3⁴. 'There are, Moggallâna, these five kinds of teachers now existing in the world. What are the five?

'In the first place, Moggallâna, there is one kind of teacher whose conduct not being pure, he yet

¹ Vyâbâdheti. He could occupy the same space as other beings without incommoding them. The word occurs in the same sense in the passage quoted from Buddhaghosa in Rh. D.'s note 1 on the Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 10, but originally occurring in the Ânguttara Nikâya.

² The last paragraph is here repeated in the text.

³ On the use here of *ketasâ keta parikkâ*, compare Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta I, 16, 17.

⁴ The following two sections are repeated below, VII, 3, 10, to all the Bhikkhus.

gives out that he is a person of pure conduct, one whose conduct is pure, and innocent, and without stain. His disciples know that that is so, but they think, "If we announce the fact to the laity, he will not like it. And how can we conduct ourselves towards him in a way that is displeasing to him? And besides he is honoured with gifts of the requisite clothing, food, lodging, and medicine for the sick. He will sooner or later become known by that which he himself will do." Such a teacher, Moggallâna, do his disciples protect in respect of his own conduct. And being as he is, he expects¹ to be protected by his disciples in respect of his own conduct.

4. 'Again, Moggallâna,' &c. [as before, putting successively 'mode of livelihood,' 'preaching of the Dhamma,' 'system of exposition,' &c., 'insight arising from knowledge,' for 'conduct']. 'These, Moggallâna, are the five kinds of teachers now existing in the world. But I being pure in conduct, mode of livelihood, preaching of the Dhamma, system of exposition, and insight arising from knowledge, give out that I am so, that I am pure, innocent, and without stain in all these things. And neither do my disciples protect me in respect of my own conduct, nor do I expect them to do so.'

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Kosambî as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Râgagaha. And journeying straight on, he arrived in due course at Râgagaha; and there, at Râgagaha, he stayed at the Veluvana in the Kalandaka Nivâpa.

¹ *Pakkâsimsati*. Perhaps this word here means 'he requires, needs.'

And a number of Bhikkhus went to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took their seats on one side. And when so seated, they said to the Blessed One: 'Prince Agâtasattu is in the habit of going morning and evening with five hundred carts to wait upon Devadatta, and food is brought and laid before him in five hundred dishes.'

'Envy not, O Bhikkhus, the gain and hospitality and fame of Devadatta. So long, O Bhikkhus, as Agâtasattu [so waits upon him and gives him alms] so long may we expect Devadatta not to prosper, but to decline in virtuous qualities¹. Just, O Bhikkhus, as if you were to burst a gall (bladder)² before the nose of a fierce dog, the dog would thereby become so much the fiercer, just so long, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before). To his own hurt, O Bhikkhus, has this gain, hospitality, and fame come to Devadatta, to his own destruction. Just, O Bhikkhus, as a plantain, or a bamboo, or a reed gives fruit to its own hurt and its own destruction³, just so to his own hurt (&c., as before). Just as a young she-mule conceives to her own hurt and her own destruction⁴, just so, O Bhikkhus, to his own hurt has this gain, &c., come to Devadatta.

'Its fruit destroys the plantain-tree ; its fruit the bamboo and the reed.

¹ This phrase runs in the same mould as the one so constantly repeated at the commencement of the Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta (I, §§ 4-11).

² *Pittam bhindeyyum*. Literally, 'should break a gall.'

³ These three plants die after producing fruit.

⁴ Because she would die if she did. On *assatarî*, compare above, VI, 4, 3, and our note there.

‘Honour destroys the evil man, just as its foal destroys the young she-mule.’

Here endeth the First Portion for Recitation.

3.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was seated preaching the Dhamma, and surrounded by a great multitude, including the king and his retinue. And Devadatta rose from his seat, and arranging his upper robe over one shoulder, stretched out his joined hands to the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One :

‘The Blessed One, Lord, is now grown aged, he is old and stricken in years, he has accomplished a long journey, and his term of life is nearly run¹. Let the Blessed One now dwell at ease in the enjoyment of happiness reached even in this world. Let the Blessed One give up the Bhikkhu-saṃgha to me, I will be its leader.’

‘Thou hast said enough, Devadatta. Desire not to be the leader of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.’

[And a second time Devadatta made the same request, and received the same reply. And a third time Devadatta made the same request.]

‘I would not give over the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, Devadatta, even to Sâriputta and Moggallâna.

¹ This string of epithets recurs in *Pârâgika* I, 1, 2, of old and venerable Brâhmans.

How much less, then, to so vile and evil-living a person as you¹.

Then Devadatta thought : ' Before the king and his retinue the Blessed One denies me, calling me "evil-living," and exalts Sâriputta and Moggallâna.' And, angry and displeased, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, he departed thence.

This was the first time that Devadatta bore malice against the Blessed One.

2. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus, ' Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, carry out against Devadatta the Act of Proclamation² in Râgagaha, to the effect that whereas the nature of Devadatta used to be of one kind it is now of another kind, and that whatsoever he shall do, either bodily or verbally, in that neither shall the Buddha be recognised, nor the Dhamma, nor the *Samgha*, but only Devadatta.

' And thus, O Bhikkhus, shall the Act be carried out. Some discreet and able Bhikkhu (&c.,

¹ In the text read *khevassa khe/âpakassa*. On the first word, compare V, 2, 8. For the second the Dhammapada commentator (Fausböll, p. 143) reads, as does the Sinhalese MS. in our passage, *khe/âsika*. Buddhaghosa, explaining it, says, ' In this passage (we should recollect) that those who obtain the requisites (of a Bhikkhu) by an evil mode of life are said by the Noble Ones to be like unto spittle. The Blessed One calls him *khe/âpaka* (to express that) he eats, (that is, 'gains a living) in sin like that.' (For the Pâli, see the edition of the text, p. 323, where the comma after *khe/asa* *disâ* should be before it.)

² *Pakâsaniya-kamma*. This is not one of the regular official acts of the *Samgha*, as described in *Kullavagga* I, and is only mentioned in this passage. It is not referred to by the Dhammapada commentator.

in the same form as in I, 1, 4, down to the end of the Kammavâḥā.)'

And the Blessed One said to the venerable Sâriputta, 'Do you then, Sâriputta, proclaim Devadatta throughout Râgagaha.'

'In former times, Lord, I have sung the praises of Devadatta in Râgagaha, saying, "Great is the power (Iddhi) of the son of Godhi! Great is the might of the son of Godhi!" How can I now proclaim him throughout Râgagaha?'

'Was it not truth that you spoke, Sâriputta, when you [so] sang his praises?'

'Yea, Lord!'

'Even so, Sâriputta, do you now, speaking the truth, proclaim Devadatta throughout Râgagaha.'

'Even so, Lord,' said Sâriputta, in assent to the Blessed One.

3. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'Let then the *Samgha* appoint Sâriputta to the office of proclaiming Devadatta throughout Râgagaha to the effect (&c., as before, § 2). And thus, O Bhikkhus, should he be appointed. First, Sâriputta should be asked, &c. (as usual in official appointments¹, down to the end of the Kammavâḥā).'

Then Sâriputta, being so appointed, entered Râgagaha with a number of Bhikkhus, and proclaimed Devadatta accordingly. And thereupon those people who were unbelievers, and without devotion or insight, spake thus: 'They are jealous, these Sakyaputtiya Samanas! They are jealous of the gain and hospitality that fall to Devadatta!' But those who were believers, full of devotion, able, and gifted with in-

¹ See, for instance, I, 22, 2.

sight, spake thus: 'This cannot be any ordinary affair¹, in that the Blessed One has had Devadatta proclaimed throughout Rāgagaha!'

4. And Devadatta went to Agātasattu the prince, and said to him: 'In former days, prince, people were long-lived, but now their term of life is short. It is quite possible, therefore, that you may complete your time while you are still a prince. So do you, prince, kill your father, and become the Rāga; and I will kill the Blessed One, and become the Buddha.'

And prince Agātasattu thought, 'This worthy Devadatta has great powers and might; he will know (what is right).' And fastening a dagger² against his thigh, he entered with violence and at an unusual hour³, though fearful, anxious, excited, and alarmed, the royal chamber. And when the ministers who were in attendance in the private chamber saw that, they seized him. And when, on searching him, they found the dagger fastened on his thigh, they asked him:

'What were you going to do, O prince?'

'I wanted to kill my father.'

'Who incited you to this?'

'The worthy Devadatta.'

Then some of the ministers advised 'The prince should be slain, and Devadatta, and all the Bhikkhus.' Others of them advised 'The Bhikkhus ought not to be slain, for they have done no wrong;

¹ Na orakam bhavissati. See Mahāvagga I, 9, 1, and Kullavagga VI, 4, 10, and our note on the latter passage.

² Potthanikam. This word has already occurred at Mahāvagga VI, 23, 3.

³ Divādivassa. See the use of this word at Gāṭaka II, 1.

but only the prince and Devadatta.' Others of them again said, 'Neither should the prince be slain, nor Devadatta, nor the Bhikkhus. But the king should be told of this, and we should do as the king shall command.'

5. So these ministers, taking the prince with them, went to the Râga of Magadha, to Seniya Bimbisâra, and told him what had happened.

'What advice, my friends, did the ministers give?'

[When they had told him all (as before) he said]: 'What, my friends, can the Buddha, or the Saṃgha, or the Dhamma have to do with this? Has not the Blessed One had a proclamation already made throughout Râgagaha concerning Devadatta, to the effect that whereas his nature used to be of one kind, it is now of another; and that whatsoever he shall do, either bodily or verbally, in that shall neither the Buddha, nor the Dhamma, nor the Saṃgha be required, but only Devadatta?'

Then those ministers who had advised that the prince and Devadatta and all the Bhikkhus should be slain, them he made incapable (of ever again holding office). And those ministers who had advised that the prince should be slain, and Devadatta, them he degraded to lower offices. But those ministers who had advised that neither should the prince be slain, nor Devadatta, nor the Bhikkhus, but that the king should be informed of it, and his command be followed, them he advanced to high positions.

And the Râga of Magadha, Seniya Bimbisâra, said to prince Agâtasattu: 'Why did you want to kill me, O prince?'

‘I wanted a kingdom, O king!’

‘If you then want a kingdom, O prince, let this kingdom be thine!’ And he handed over the kingdom to Agâtasattu the prince¹.

6. Then Devadatta went to prince² Agâtasattu, and said, ‘Give such orders, O king, to your men that I may deprive the Samana Gotama of life.’ And Agâtasattu the prince gave orders to his men: ‘Whatsoever the worthy Devadatta tells you, that do!’

Then to one man Devadatta gave command: ‘Go, my friend, the Samana Gotama is staying at such and such a place. Kill him, and come back by this path.’ Then on that path he placed other two men, telling them, ‘Whatever man you see coming alone along this path, kill him, and return by that path.’ Then on that path he placed other four men [and so on up to sixteen men].

7. And that man took his sword and shield, and hung his bow and quiver at his back, and went to the place where the Blessed One was, and when at some little distance from the Blessed One, being

¹ The early literature already mentions that Agâtasattu eventually killed his father. (See, for instance, *Sâmañña-phala Sutta*, p. 154.) Bigandet I, 261 (3rd edition) adds that the mode adopted was by starving him to death in prison.

² The Buddhist writers being so especially careful in their accurate use of titles, it is particularly noteworthy that Agâtasattu is here called prince (*kumâra*) and not king (*râga*). It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that this paragraph stood originally in some other connection; and that the events it describes must then have been supposed to have taken place before Agâtasattu actually became king. That the Dhammapada commentator says here (Fausböll, p. 143) *tasmim* (that is, Agâtasattu) *ragge patitthite*, is no evidence the other way; for that account is either taken from this, or depends ultimately upon it.

terrified, anxious, excited, and alarmed, he stood stark still and stiff¹.

On the Blessed One seeing him so, he said to the man : ' Come hither, friend, don't be afraid.'

Then that man laid aside his sword and his shield, took off his bow and his quiver, and went up to the Blessed One ; and falling at his feet, he said to the Blessed One : ' Transgression, Lord, has overcome me even according to my folly, my stupidity, and my unrighteousness, in that I have come hither with evil and with murderous intent. May the Blessed One accept the confession I make of my sin in its sinfulness, to the end that in future I may restrain myself therefrom !'

' Verily, my friend, transgression has overcome thee [&c., down to] intent. But since you, my friend, look upon your sin as sin, and duly make amends for it, we do accept (your confession of) it. For this, O friend, is progress in the discipline of the Noble One, that he who has seen his sin to be sin makes amends for it as is meet, and becomes able in future to restrain himself therefrom².'

Then the Blessed One discoursed to that man in due order, that is to say (&c., as usual in conversions³, down to) May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as one who, from this day forth as long as life endures, has taken his refuge in him.

And the Blessed One said to the man : ' Do not, my friend, leave me by that path. Go by this path,' and so dismissed him by another way.

¹ Patthaddha; that is, prastabdhā. See Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pārāgika I, 10, 17, 21.

² This confession and acceptance are in a standing form, which occurs, for instance, at Mahāvagga IX, 1, 9 ; Kullavagga V, 20, 5.

³ See, for instance, Kullavagga VI, 4, 5.

8. But the two men thought, 'Where now can that man be who was to come alone? He is delaying long.' And as they were going to meet him, they caught sight of the Blessed One sitting at the foot of a certain tree. On seeing him they went up to the place where he was, and saluted him, and took their seats on one side. To them also the Blessed One discoursed, [and they were converted as the other man had been, and he sent them back by another way. And the same thing occurred as to the four, and the eight, and the sixteen men ¹.]

9. And the one man returned to Devadatta, and said to him: 'I cannot, Lord, deprive the Blessed One of life. Great is the power (Iddhi ²) and might of the Blessed One.'

'That will do, friend. You need not do so. I will slay the Blessed One myself.'

Now at that time the Blessed One was walking up and down (meditating) in the shade below ³ the mountain called the Vulture's Peak. And Devadatta climbed up the Vulture's Peak, and hurled down a mighty rock with the intention of depriving the Blessed One of life. But two mountain peaks came together and stopped that rock, and only a splinter ⁴ falling from it made the foot of the Blessed One to bleed ⁵.

¹ The last two paragraphs of § 7 are repeated in full in the text in each case.

² The Iddhi here must be the power of religious persuasion.

³ *Pakkhâyâyam*. See Mahāvagga V, 1, 5, and Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta II, 31 (p. 22 of the text).

⁴ Papatikā. In the text, by a misprint, this and the preceding word have been joined together.

⁵ Pâde ruhiraṃ uppâdesi, where ruhira is equal to lohita.

Then the Blessed One, looking upwards, said to Devadatta : 'Great, O foolish one, is the demerit you have brought forth for yourself¹, in that with evil and murderous intent you have caused the blood of the Tathâgata to flow.'

And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus : 'This is the first time that Devadatta has heaped up (against himself) a Karma which will work out its effect in the immediate future², in that with evil and murderous intent he has caused the blood of the Tathâgata to flow.'

10. And the Bhikkhus having heard that Devadatta was compassing the death of the Blessed One, walked round and round the Vihâra, making recitation in high and loud tones, for a protection and guard to the Blessed One. On hearing that noise the Blessed One asked the venerable Ānanda what it was. And when Ānanda [told him], the Blessed One said : 'Then, Ānanda, call the Bhikkhus in my

It is so used at *Gâtaka* II, 275, in the *Milinda Pañha*, p. 125, and in the account of the present incident in the *Dhammapada* commentary (p. 144). In *Mahāvagga* I, 67, where it is said that one who has shed (a Buddha's) blood cannot be received into the Order, the expression is *lohitaṃ uppâdeti*: and in numerous passages elsewhere it is added that such a *lohittuppâdako* becomes ipso facto discharged from one or other of the duties and privileges of a member of the Order, just as if he had thrown off the robes.

¹ *Pasûtaṃ*. By a misprint the text has *pasutaṃ*. Compare the end of § 16 below.

² *Ānantarika-kammaṃ*. That is, that will work out its effect, (not in the next birth, as is the case of all other Karma,) but immediately, in the present life. There are five such deeds (see Childers, sub voce *pañhā*, and *Milinda Pañha*, p. 25). The Bodisats, according to *Gâtaka* I, 45 (verse 256), are free from such sins.

name, saying, "The Teacher sends for the venerable ones."

And he [did so], and they came, and saluted the Blessed One, and took their seats on one side. And when they were so seated, the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'This, O Bhikkhus, is an impossible thing, and one that cannot occur, that one should deprive a Tathâgata of life by violence. The Tathâgatas, O Bhikkhus, are extinguished (in death) in due and natural course.

'There are, O Bhikkhus, these five kinds of teachers now living in the world (&c., as in VII, 2, 3, 4, down to the end). And this, O Bhikkhus, is an impossible thing, and one that cannot occur, that a Tathâgata should be slain by any act set on foot by any one besides himself. The Tathâgatas, O Bhikkhus, are extinguished (in death) in due course (of nature). Go, therefore, O Bhikkhus, each one to his Vihâra, for the Tathâgatas require no protection.'

11. Now at that time there was at Râgagaha an elephant named Nâlâgiri, fierce, and a manslayer. And Devadatta went into Râgagaha, and to the elephant stables, and said to the elephant-keepers¹: 'I, my friends, am a relative of the râga's, and am able to advance a man occupying a low position to a high position, and to order increase of rations or of pay. Therefore, my friends, when the Samana Gotama shall have arrived at this carriage-road², then loose the elephant Nâlâgiri, and let him go down the road.'

¹ Hatthi-bhande. See the note on Mahâvagga VI, 37, 2.

² Rakkham; that is, rathyâm. Compare Gâtaka I, 346, and the Old Commentary on the Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga, Pâṭittiya VII.

‘Even so, Sir,’ said those elephant-keepers in assent to Devadatta.

And when the Blessed One early in the morning had dressed himself, he entered Râgagaha duly bowled and robed, and with a number of Bhikkhus, for alms; and he entered upon that road. On seeing him the elephant-keepers loosed Nâlâgiri, and let it go down the road. And the elephant saw the Blessed One coming from the distance; and as soon as it saw him, it rushed towards the Blessed One with uplifted trunk, and with its tail and ears erect.

When those Bhikkhus saw the elephant Nâlâgiri coming in the distance, they said to the Blessed One: ‘This elephant, Lord, Nâlâgiri, is fierce, and a manslayer, and it has got into this road. Let the Blessed One, Lord, turn back: let the Happy One turn back.’

‘Come on, O Bhikkhus. Be not alarmed. There is, O Bhikkhus, no possibility [&c., as in last section, down to the end].’

[And a second and a third time the Bhikkhus made the same appeal, and received the same reply.]

12. Then at that time the people climbed up on to the upper storeys of the houses, and on to the balconies, and on to the roofs. And those of them who were unbelievers and without faith or insight, said, ‘Truly the countenance of the great Samana is beautiful; but the elephant will do him a hurt¹.’ But those who were believers, full of

¹ The setting of this paragraph is parallel to § 3 above in this chapter; the speech of the unbelievers is the same as that of the *Gasilas* at Mahâvagga I, 15, 4.

devotion, able, and gifted with insight, said, 'Twill be long e'er the elephant can fight a fight with the elephant (of men) !'

And the Blessed One caused the sense of his love to pervade the elephant Nālâgiri¹; and the elephant, touched by the sense of his love, put down his trunk, and went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and stood still before him. And the Blessed One, stroking the elephant's forehead with his right hand, addressed him in these stanzas :

'Touch not, O elephant, the elephant of men; for sad, O elephant, is such attack²,

'For no bliss is there, O elephant, when he is passed from hence, for him who strikes the elephant of men.

'Be not then mad, and neither be thou careless³, for the careless enter not into a state of bliss,

'Rather do thou thyself so act, that to a state of bliss thou mayest go.'

And Nālâgiri the elephant took up with his trunk the dust from off the feet of the Blessed One, and sprinkled it over its head, and retired, bowing backwards the while it gazed upon the Blessed One.

And Nālâgiri the elephant returned to the elephant stables, and stood in its appointed place, and

¹ Mettena kittena phari; literally, 'he suffused him with loving heart.' Compare Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' i. p. 112.

² In nâgamâsado the m is inserted for euphony. See the instances given by Kuhn, 'Beiträge zur Pâli-grammatik,' p. 63. Many others might be added; siva-m-añgase, Gâtaka. vol. i, verse 27; samana-m-aḥala, Childers sub voce, &c. Compare the curious use of âsâdeti at Kullavagga I, 27.

³ A play on the words is here lost in English (mâ mado mâ ka pamâdo).

became once more the tame Nālāgiri. And at that time the people sung these verses :

‘They can be tamed by sticks, and goads, and whips,

‘But the great Sage has tamed this elephant without a weapon or a stick.’

13. The people were angry, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How wicked is this Devadatta, and how wretched¹, in that he can go about to slay the Samāna Gotama, who is so mighty and so powerful.’ And the gain and honour of Devadatta fell off, while that of the Blessed One increased.

² Now at that time, when the gain and honour of Devadatta had fallen off, he went, surrounded by Bhikkhus, to people’s houses, appealing for alms³.

The people were angry, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can the Sakyaputtiya Samānas live on food that they ask for at people’s houses? Who is not fond of well-cooked food? Who does not like sweet things?’

The Bhikkhus heard (&c., down to) the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: ‘Therefore do I lay down this rule, O Bhikkhus, for the Bhikkhus that

¹ Alakkhiko ti ettha na lakkhetṭi alakkhiko na gānāṭṭi attho. Apākata-kammaṃ karomīti na gānāṭṭi na lakkhitabbo ti alakkhaṇo passitabbo ti attho (B.). We venture to differ from both of these explanations, and to follow rather the derivation of the word, and the meaning of the corresponding Sanskrit term *alakṣhmīka*.

² From here down to the ‘decision’ is identical with the introductory story in the Sutta-vibhaṅga to the 32nd Pāṭṭiya,—a rule the previous existence of which is implied in the decision given here.

³ Viññāpeti is continually used in the Sutta-vibhaṅga in this sense, and even occurs already in the Pātimokkha, Pāṭṭiya 39.

(not more than) three shall enjoy an alms (together) at people's houses—and this for the sake of three reasons; (to wit) for the restraint of the evil-minded, and for the ease of the good¹, lest those who have evil desires should, in reliance upon a particular party (among the Bhikkhus), break up the *Samgha*², and (lastly) out of compassion for the laity³. (A Bhikkhu) who shall enjoy an alms in parties of more than three, shall be dealt with according to law⁴.

14⁵. Now Devadatta went to the place where Kokâlika, and Katamoraka-tissaka, and the son of Khandâ-devî and Samudda-datta were, and said to them, 'Come, Sirs, let us stir up a division in the Samana Gotama's *Samgha*, and in the body of his adherents⁶.'

When he had thus spoken, Kokâlika said to Devadatta, 'The Samana Gotama, Sir, is mighty and powerful. How can we [do such a thing]?'

'Come, Sirs, let us go to the Samana Gotama, and make the following five demands, saying,

¹ This whole phrase recurs in Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pârâgika I, 5, 11, and in the Ânguttara Nikâya II, 17, 2. In the latter passage Dr. Morris reads *dummaññûnam*; see his note at pp. 127, 128. But the Sanskrit Buddhist vocabulary Vyutpatti (teste Bôhtlingk-Roth, s. v. *mañku*) authorises the use of *dummañku*.

² So the Ânguttara, loc. cit., has, in the same connection, *gihînam anukampâya pâpikkhânam pakkhupakkhedâya*.

³ See last note. The idea is here, of course, lest any particular layman should be burdened by providing for many Bhikkhus.

⁴ That is, under the 32nd Pâkittiya, on which rule the Sutta-vibhaṅga explains the phrase *gana-bhogana*.

⁵ Sections 14, 15, and the greater part of 16 recur, word for word, as the introductory story to the 10th *Samghâdisesa*.

⁶ In *kakka-bhedam* the first word no doubt connotes 'kingdom, lordship,' as in *dhamma-kakka*, *kakkavatti*, &c.

"The Blessed One, Lord, has declared in many a figure the advantages of the man who wishes for little, who is easy to satisfy in the matter of support and nourishment, who has eradicated evil from his mind, has quelled his passions, and is full of faith, of reverence, and of the exercise of zeal¹. The following five things, Lord, conduce to such a condition². It would be good, Lord, if the Bhikkhus should be, their lives long, dwellers in the woods—if whosoever goes to the neighbourhood of a village should thereby commit an offence. It would be good if they should, their lives long, beg for alms—if whosoever should accept an invitation, should thereby commit an offence. It would be good if they should clothe themselves, their lives long, in cast-off rags—if whosoever should accept a gift of robes from a layman³, should thereby commit an offence. It would be good if they should dwell, their lives long, under the trees⁴—if whosoever should (sleep) under a roof, should thereby commit an offence. It would be good if they should, their lives long, abstain from fish⁵—if whosoever should

¹ This is part of the standing 'religious discourse' so often ascribed to the Buddha in the Vinaya texts, and given at full in the *Kullavagga* I, 1-3.

² It was on precisely the same reasoning that a certain Bhikkhu in *Mahāvagga* VIII, 28, 1, endeavoured to get the Buddha to convert to the rejection of all clothing.

³ At *Mahāvagga* VIII, 1, 35, it is laid down that a Bhikkhu may either dress in cast-off rags, or accept robes from a layman, according as he likes.

⁴ This dwelling under trees is expressly forbidden, as regards the season of the rains, in *Mahāvagga* III, 12, 5.

⁵ The rule of the Order is merely that no one may knowingly eat fish which he has seen or heard or suspected to have been caught for that purpose. See *Mahāvagga* VI, 31, 14.

eat fish, should thereby commit an offence." The Samana Gotama will not grant these things. Then will we gain over the people by means thereof.'

'Yes; it may be possible so to stir up divisions in the Samgha, and in the party of the Samana Gotama. For the people believe in rough measures.'

15. And Devadatta went to the Blessed One, surrounded by his friends, and made these demands [in the words just set out].

'No, Devadatta. Whosoever wishes to do so, let him dwell in the woods; whosoever wishes to do so, let him dwell in the neighbourhood of a village. Whosoever wishes to do so, let him beg for alms; whosoever wishes to do so, let him accept invitations from the laity. Whosoever wishes to do so, let him dress in rags; whosoever wishes to do so, let him receive gifts of robes from laymen. Sleeping under trees has been allowed by me, Devadatta, for eight months in the year; and the eating of fish that is pure in the three points—to wit, that the eater has not seen, or heard, or suspected that it has been caught for that purpose.'

And Devadatta, pleased and delighted that the Blessed One had refused the five demands, arose from his seat, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence with his friends. And he entered into Rāgagaha, and urged his view upon the people by means thereof, saying, 'Such and such things did we ask, Sirs, of the Samana Gotama. He would not allow them, but we live in accordance with them.'

16. Then those of the people who were unbelievers, and without reverence or insight, said, 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas have eradicated evil

from their minds, and have quelled their passions, while on the other hand the Samana Gotama is luxurious, and his mind dwells on abundance¹. But those of the people who were believers, and full of reverence and insight, were indignant, became vexed, and murmured, saying, 'How can Devadatta go about to stir up division in the Samgha of the Blessed One, and in the party that is subject to him.'

The Bhikkhus, hearing them so murmuring, told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Devadatta, as they say, that thou goest about to stir up division in the Samgha, and in the body of my adherents?'

'It is true, Lord.'

'(Thou hast gone far) enough, Devadatta. Let not a division in the Samgha seem good to thee²; —grievous is such division. Whosoever, O Devadatta, breaks up the Samgha, when it is at peace, he gives birth to a fault (the effect of) which endures for a kalpa³, and for a kalpa is he boiled in niraya. But whosoever, O Devadatta, makes peace in the Samgha, when it has been divided, he gives birth to the highest merit, and for a kalpa is he happy in heaven⁴. Thou hast gone far enough,

¹ Bâhulliko bâhullâya keteti. Both these expressions occur above in Mahāvagga VI, 15, 9, 10, and elsewhere (see, for instance, the introductory stories to Gâtaka, Nos. 6 and 32) as the standing expression for the opposite of the state of mind in which a good Bhikkhu ought to live.

² Mâ te rukki samghabhedo. For the connotation of this phrase, compare below, VII, 4, 4.

³ Kappa//hikam kibbisam. At Gâtaka I, 172, 213, 215, Prof. Fausbøll reads kappa//hiya. In saying that the fault itself (kibbisam) is to endure for a kalpa, the meaning of course is that its effects on the Karma will endure so long.

⁴ Either the text has here preserved (as in other cases elsewhere)

Devadatta. Let not a division in the *Samgha*, O Devadatta, seem good to thee. Grievous, O Devadatta, is such division.'

17. Now the venerable Ānanda, having dressed himself early in the morning, went duly bowled and robed into Rāgagaha for alms. And Devadatta saw the venerable Ānanda proceeding through Rāgagaha for alms. On seeing that he went up to the venerable Ānanda, and said to him: 'At once, from this day forth, friend Ānanda, I intend to perform Uposatha, and to carry out the formal proceedings of the Order, without either the Blessed One or the Bhikkhu-samgha.'

And when the venerable Ānanda had gone through Rāgagaha for alms, and had returned from his rounds, and had finished his meal, he went to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, he told the Blessed One [what Devadatta had said, and added], 'This very day, Lord, Devadatta will break up the *Samgha*.'

Then the Blessed One, when he heard that, gave utterance at that time to this expression of strong emotion:

'Easy is a good act to the good, a good act is hard to the wicked;

'Easy is evil to the evil, but evil is hard for the Noble Ones to do.'

Here ends the Second Portion for Recitation.

the fragments of earlier verses, or the poetical forms of the verses below at VII, 5, 4, have crept into the prose here, where we should otherwise expect sagge and niraye.

4.

1. Now Devadatta on that day, which was Upo-satha day, arose from his seat, and gave out voting-tickets¹, saying, 'We went, Sirs, to the Samana Gotama and asked for the Five Points, saying— (&c., as above in VII, 3, 14 and 15). These the Samana Gotama will not allow; but we live in accordance therewith. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the Five Things, let him take a ticket.'

Now at that time there were five hundred Bhikkhus, Vesâliyans, and belonging to the Vaggian clan², who had but recently joined the Order, and were ignorant of what he had in hand³. These took the voting-tickets, believing [the Five Points to be according to] the Dhamma, and the Vinaya, and the teaching of the Master. And Devadatta, having thus created a division in the Samgha, went out to the hill Gayâ-slsa, taking those five hundred Bhikkhus with him.

Then Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took their seats on one side. And when they were so seated, Sâriputta said to the Blessed One: 'Deva-

¹ It may be noticed that Devadatta here takes upon himself the office of a *salâka-gâhâpako* without having been appointed to it in the manner required by the rule laid down in *Kullavagga* IV, 9 and 10. On the process to be followed when voting with tickets, see IV, 4, 26.

² So it is the Vaggians from Vesâlî who are represented, below XII, 1, 1, to have put forward those Ten Points which gave rise to the Council and the schism at Vesâlî a hundred years after the Buddha's death.

³ *Apakataññuno*.

datta, Lord, has gone forth to Gayâ-sîsa, taking five hundred Bhikkhus with him.'

'Verily, Sâriputta and Moggallâna, there must be a feeling of kindness towards those young Bhikkhus among you both. Go therefore, both of you, before they have fallen into entire destruction.'

'Even so, Lord,' said Sâriputta and Moggallâna, in assent to the Blessed One. And rising from their seats, they bowed down before him, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they set out for Gayâ-sîsa.

Then at that time a certain Bhikkhu, standing not far from the Blessed One, began to weep. And the Blessed One said to him: 'Why, O Bhikkhu, dost thou weep?'

'Those, Lord, who are the Blessed One's chief disciples, Sâriputta and Moggallâna, even they have gone to Devadatta's side, approving the Dhamma of Devadatta.'

'That, O Bhikkhu, would be impossible, that Sâriputta and Moggallâna should approve his teaching. They are gone only to gain those Bhikkhus over again¹.

2. Now at that time Devadatta, surrounded by a great number of adherents, was seated, preaching the Dhamma. And when he saw from afar Sâriputta and Moggallâna coming towards him, he said to the Bhikkhus: 'See, O Bhikkhus, how well preached must be my doctrine, in that even the two chief disciples of the Samana Gotama—Sâriputta

¹ Bhikkhu-sa^ññattiyâ. The phrase occurs above at IV, 14, 26, and below XII, 2, 8, and corresponds to the expression *ganam sa^ññâpeti* (above, VII, 3, 14), used of Devadatta's trying to gain the people over to his views.

and Moggallâna—are coming to join me, being pleased with my Dhamma.'

When he had thus spoken Kokâlika said to Devadatta: 'O venerable Devadatta, trust not Sâriputta and Moggallâna, for they are inclined towards evil, and under the influence of evil desires.'

'Nay, my friend, let us bid them welcome since they take pleasure in my teaching (Dhamma).'

And Devadatta invited Sâriputta to share his own seat, saying, 'Come, friend Sâriputta. Sit thou here!'

'Nay (there is no need of that),' said Sâriputta; and taking another seat, he sat down on one side. And Devadatta instructed and incited and aroused and gladdened the Bhikkhus far into the night with religious discourse; and then made request to Sâriputta, saying, 'The assembly, friend Sâriputta, is still alert and sleepless. Will you, friend Sâriputta, be so good as to think of some religious discourse to address to the Bhikkhus¹? My back is tired, and I would stretch myself a little.'

'Even so, friend,' said the venerable Sâriputta, in assent to Devadatta. And Devadatta spread his waist-cloth folded in four on the ground, and lay down on his right side. And in a moment even sleep overcame him who was tired, and had lost his presence of mind and his self-consciousness².

3. Then the venerable Sâriputta taught and exhorted the Bhikkhus in a religious discourse touching the marvels of preaching, and the venerable

¹ Pa/ibhātu tam bhikkhūnam dhammī kathā. See our note above on Mahāvagga V, 13, 9.

² Compare Mahāvagga VIII, 16 = Sutta-vibhaṅga, Saṃghādisesa I, 2, 1.

Moggallâna taught and exhorted the Bhikkhus in a religious discourse touching the marvels of Iddhi. And whilst they were being so taught and exhorted those Bhikkhus obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth ¹—(that is, the knowledge that) whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution. Then the venerable Sâriputta addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Let us go, my friends, to the Blessed One's side. Whosoever approves of his doctrine (Dhamma), let him come.'

And Sâriputta and Moggallâna went back to the Veḷuvana, taking those five hundred Bhikkhus with them. But Kokâlika awoke Devadatta, and said: 'Arise, friend Devadatta! Your Bhikkhus have been led away by Sâriputta and Moggallâna. Did I not tell you, Devadatta, not to trust Sâriputta and Moggallâna, in that they were inclined towards evil, and were under the influence of evil desires?'

Then hot blood came forth from Devadatta's mouth ².

4. But Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and took their seats on one side. And when they were so seated, Sâriputta said to the Blessed One:

'It were well, Lord, that Bhikkhus who have turned aside to schism should be received afresh into the higher grade of the Order.'

'Nay, Sâriputta, let not the reordination of schis-

¹ This expression is the standing one in conversions; see, for instance, *Mahāvagga* I, 7, 6; *Kullavagga* VI, 4, 5, VII, 3, 6.

² The later legends preserved in Spence Hardy and Bigandet say that Devadatta died on the spot.

matical Bhikkhus seem good to thee. But rather cause such Bhikkhus to confess that they have committed a *thullaṅkāya* offence. And how, Sâriputta, did Devadatta treat you ?'

'When Devadatta, Lord, had instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened the Bhikkhus far into the night with religious discourse, he then made request to me, saying, "The assembly, friend Sâriputta, is still alert and sleepless. Will you, friend Sâriputta, think of some religious discourse to address to the Bhikkhus? My back is tired, and I would stretch myself a little." This, Lord, was the way in which Devadatta behaved to me.'

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Once upon a time, O Bhikkhus, there was a great pond in a forest region. Some elephants dwelt beside it; and they, plunging into the pond, plucked with their trunks the edible stalks of the lotus plants, washed them till they were quite clean¹, masticated them² without any dirt, and so eat them up. And that produced in them both beauty and strength, and by reason thereof they neither went down into death, nor into any sorrow like unto death. Now among those great elephants, O Bhikkhus, there were young elephant calves, who also, in imitation of those others, plunged into that pond, and plucked with their trunks the edible stalks of the lotus plants; but they did not wash them till they were clean, but masticated them, dirt and all, and so eat them up. And that produced in them

¹ The last three lines have occurred word for word in Mahāvagga VI, 20, 2.

² *Samkhāditvā*. Compare the use of this word at Gâtaka I, 507.

neither beauty nor strength ; and by reason thereof they went down into death, and into sorrows like unto death. Just so, O Bhikkhus, will Devadatta die who, poor creature, is emulating me.

‘Like the elephant calf who eateth mud in imitation of the great beast¹

That shakes the earth, and eats the lotus plant, and watches through the night among the waters’—

So will he, poor creature, die that emulateth me.’

6. ‘A Bhikkhu who is possessed of eight qualifications is worthy, O Bhikkhus, to do the work of an emissary. And what are the eight ? The Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, must be able to hear and to make others listen, able to learn, able to bear in mind, able to discern and to make others discern, skilful to deal with friends and foes, and no maker of quarrels. These are the eight qualifications of which when a Bhikkhu is possessed, he is worthy, O Bhikkhus, to do the work of an emissary.

‘Sâriputta, O Bhikkhus, being possessed of eight qualifications, is worthy to do the work of an emissary. What are the eight (&c., as in last paragraph)?

‘He who on entering a company that is violent of speech,

¹ Mahâ-varâha. At Abhidhânappadîpikâ, verse 1115, varâha is said to mean ‘elephant’ as well as ‘boar ;’ and so here Buddhaghosa says Mahâ-varâhassa mahâ-nâgassa. As this explanation possibly rests only on such passages as the present, we have chosen an ambiguous rendering.

² Nadîsu gaggato ti. Ettha so kira hatthi-nâgo sâyanhasamayam tam nadî-nâmakam pokkharanîm ogâhetvâ kilanto sabbarattim vitinâmesi gâlikam karoti. Tena vuttam nadîsu gaggato ti (B.).

Fears not, forgoes no word, disguises not his message,

Is unambiguous in what he says, and being questioned angers not,

Of such is surely the Bhikkhu worthy to go on a mission¹.

7. 'Devadatta, O Bhikkhus, being overcome, his mind being taken up by eight evil conditions², is irretrievably (doomed to) remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe³. And what are the eight? He is overcome, his mind is taken up by gain, by want of gain, by fame, by want of fame, by honour, by want of honour, by his having wicked desires, and by his having wicked friends. These, O Bhikkhus, are the eight evil conditions by which Devadatta being overcome, and his mind being taken up, he is irretrievably (doomed to) remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe.

'It would be well, O Bhikkhus, that Bhikkhus should continue in complete ascendancy over any gain or loss, any fame or the reverse, any honour or

¹ On these lines compare some similar expressions at Mahāvagga X, 6, 3.

² Asaddhamma. It is very difficult to find a proper rendering for this expression. Dhamma here means, no doubt, 'quality,' 'condition' (as it does in the title of the Sanskrit work *Saddharma-pundarika*, unhappily rendered by Burnouf, 'Lotus de la bonne loi'). But the details of the various particulars suggest rather the rendering 'surrounding occurrences' or 'matters,' for they are objective, external, and not (or only incidentally and secondarily) subjective, internal.

³ Âpâyiko nerayiko. 'Liable to re-birth in apâya and in niraya.' Of these the former includes the latter, and also the states of being an animal, a disembodied ghost (peta), or an asura. Hell, though a convenient, is a misleading translation of the latter of the two words, for the reasons given by Rh. D. on Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta I, 23. All the expressions used here recur below at VII, 5, 4.

dishonour, any evil longing or evil friendship, that may accrue to them. And for what reason¹? For as much, O Bhikkhus, that bad influences (*âsavas*) arise, full of vexation and distress², to one who is not continuing in complete ascendancy over each of these eight things, but to one, who is so continuing, such influences arise not. This is the reason, O Bhikkhus, why it would be well (&c., as before). Let us then, O Bhikkhus, continue in complete ascendancy over any gain or loss, any fame or the reverse, any honour or dishonour, any evil longing or evil friendship, that may accrue to us. And thus, O Bhikkhus, should you train yourselves.

‘There are three evil conditions, O Bhikkhus, by which Devadatta being overcome, and his mind being taken up, he is irretrievably doomed to remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe. And what are the three? His having wicked desires, and his having wicked friends, and his having come to a stop on his way (to Nirvâna or Arahatsip) because he had already attained to some lesser thing³. These are the three (&c., as before).’

¹ Kim (read kam) *atthavasam paṭikkā*. So also above, *Mahāvagga* VIII, 15, 7; *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 6, and in the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* V, 28, and *Dhammapada*, verse 289. The whole of the previous sentence is here repeated in the text.

² *Vighāta-pariāhā*. This is a standing epithet of the *Âsavas*, recurring, for instance, many times in the *Sabbāsava Sutta*, §§ 18–37 (Rh. D.’s ‘*Buddhist Suttas*,’ pp. 302 and following). The word ‘influence,’ here chosen as a rendering for *âsava*, is suggested by Dr. Morris as being similar, both in its derivation and in the history of its meaning, to the Pāli one. The principal objection against it is that it has never acquired the bad connotation of *âsava*, and requires, therefore, to be supplemented by some epithet.

³ *Oramattakena visesādhigamena antarā vosānam āpādi*. On this phrase, which recurs in full in the *Mahā-parinib-*

8. "Verily! let no wicked desire whatever arise
within you!

Know rather from this what is the outcome
thereof.

'Known was he as wise, reputed to be trained;
Aglow with glory did Devadatta stand' (thus have
I heard).

He gave himself to vanity, to attacking¹ the Ta-
thâgata:

He fell into the Avîki hell, guarded fourfold and
terrible².

The injurer of the good, of the man who does no
wrong,

Him sin pervades, the man of cruel heart, and void
of love.

Though one should think the ocean to befoul with
but one poison pot,

Yet could he not befoul it, for awful³ is the sea,
and great;

Just so though one should injure the Tathâgata by
words,—

bâna Sutta I, 7, see Buddhaghosa's note there, quoted by Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 7. The 'lesser thing' here referred to is doubtless the pothugganikâ iddhi mentioned above in § 4.

¹ *Anukinno âsaggaṇam*. On the former of these two words the passages at Dipavamsa I, 18, and Gâtaka I, 20 (verse 126), and below, VII, 5, 2 = Mahāvagga X, 5, 4, may be referred to. The latter seems to bear the same relation to âsâdana, 'attack,' as vikubbana does to vikarana. Buddhaghosa's notes (text, p. 325) presuppose different readings of both words.

² 'Guarded fourfold' is *katudvâram*, that is, 'having gates and the ramparts (through which they pass) on all four sides.' On the general sentiment of these stanzas, and especially of this line, compare the Kokâliya Sutta in the Sutta Nipâta (III, 10).

³ *Bhasmâ* is explained by Buddhaghosa as equal to *bhayâ-nako*.

That perfect one, that peaceful heart,—against him
the words would not avail.

Let the wise Bhikkhu make a friend of, and resort
to him

By following whose way he will come to the end of
griefs!"

5.

1. Now the venerable Upâli went up to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One: 'The expressions, Lord, "disunion in the *Samgha*," and "schism in the *Samgha*," are used¹. How much, Lord, goes to make disunion and not schism in the *Samgha*, and how much goes to make both disunion and schism in the *Samgha*?'

'If one is on one side, Upâli, and two on the other side, and a fourth makes a formal proposition, and gives them voting-tickets, saying, "This is according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master. Take this (ticket) and give your sanction to this (opinion)"—then this, Upâli, is disunion in the *Samgha*, and not schism.

'If, Upâli, two are on one side, and other two are on the other side, and a fifth . . . (and so on up to) and an eighth tell them something (&c., as before)—then this, Upâli, is disunion in the *Samgha*, and not schism.

'If, Upâli, four are on one side, and other four

¹ *Samgha-râgi* and *samgha-bhedo*. See Mahāvagga X, 1, 6, where other expressions, not here referred to, are also used.

are on the other side, and a ninth tell them (&c., as before)—then this, Upâli, is both disunion in the *Samgha*, and it is schism¹.

‘(A separation) of nine, Upâli, or of more than nine, is both disunion in the *Samgha*, and it is schism.

‘A Bhikkhuni, Upâli, cannot make (one of the requisite number to cause) a schism, though she may help to produce a schism—nor a woman novice, nor a *Sâmaṇera*, male or female, nor a layman, nor a laywoman. It is only a Bhikkhu who is in full possession of all his privileges, and belongs to the same communion, and is domiciled in the same district² who can make (one of the number requisite to form) a schism.’

2. ‘There is the expression, Lord, “schism in the *Samgha*.” How much, Lord, does it require to constitute a schism in the *Samgha*?’

‘They put forth³, Upâli, what is not Dhamma as Dhamma (1), or what is Dhamma as not-Dhamma (2), or what is not Vinaya as Vinaya (3), or what is Vinaya as not Vinaya (4), or what has not been taught and spoken by the Tathâgata as taught and spoken by him (5), or what has been taught and spoken by the Tathâgata as not taught

¹ That is, stated shortly, it requires the breaking up of a body of at the least nine Bhikkhus to make a schism.

² *Pakatatto samâna-samvâsako samâna-sîmâya hito*. On the two last of these expressions, see our notes on Mahâvagga IX, 4, 8. The first is there wrongly rendered, and should be translated as it is here; see the frequent passages in which the word occurs (e.g. Kullavagga I, 5, 1; I, 6, 1; I, 27, 1; II, 1, &c., where we have rendered it shortly ‘a regular Bhikkhu’).

³ The first ten of the following list recur word for word in the *Âṅguttara Nikâya* I, 11, 1–20 (*Adhammâdi-vagga*), and the whole eighteen above in the Mahâvagga X, 5, 4, 5.

and spoken by him (6), or what has not been practised by the Tathâgata as practised by him (7), or what has been practised by the Tathâgata as not practised by him (8), or what has not been ordained by the Tathâgata as ordained by him (9), or what has been ordained by the Tathâgata as not ordained by him (10), or what is no offence as an offence (11), or what is an offence as no offence (12), or what is a slight offence to be a grievous offence (13), or what is a grievous offence to be a slight offence (14), or what is (a rule regarding) an offence to which there is an atonement as without atonement (15), or what is (a rule regarding) an offence to which there is no atonement as admitting of atonement (16), or what is a grave offence as not a grave offence (17), or what is not a grave offence as a grave offence (18). In these Eighteen Points they hinder and mislead (their followers)¹, and perform independently Uposatha, and Pavâranâ, and (official) acts of the Samgha. So much, Upâli, does it require to constitute a schism in the Samgha.'

3. 'There is the expression, Lord, "concord in the Samgha." What, Lord, does it require to constitute concord in the Samgha?'

'They put forth, Upâli, what is not Dhamma as not Dhamma' (and so on through the Eighteen Points down to the end).

²4. 'To what (result of Karma), Lord, does that

¹ Both the exact Pâli form and the interpretation of these terms are uncertain. Buddhaghosa's notes will be found at p. 325 of H. O.'s edition of the text, and most probably we should there read *parisam* in both cases.

² On the whole of the following section, compare above, VII, 3, 16, where much of the phraseology recurs.

man give rise who brings about a schism in the *Samgha* when it is in concord ?'

'He gives rise, Upâli, to a fault (the result of which) endures for a Kalpa, and for a Kalpa is he boiled in Niraya.'

"He who breaks up the *Samgha* is (doomed) to remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe¹.

He who delights in party (strife), and adheres not to the Dhamma, is cut off from Arahatsip :

Having broken up the *Samgha* when it was at peace he is boiled for a Kalpa in Niraya."

'To what (result of Karma), Lord, does that man give rise who brings about reconciliation in the *Samgha* when it has been split up ?'

'He gives rise, Upâli, to the highest merit, and for a Kalpa is he happy in heaven.

"Blessed is concord in the *Samgha*, and the support of those who are at peace!

He who delights in peace, adhering to the Dhamma, is not cut off from Arahatsip :

On reconciling the *Samgha*, when it was at strife, he is happy for a Kalpa in heaven."

5. 'Can it be, Lord, that one who breaks up the *Samgha* is irretrievably (doomed) to remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe ?'

'Yes, Upâli, that can be.'

'Can it be, Lord, that one who breaks up the *Samgha* is not doomed to be reborn in states either of suffering or of woe ; that he is not doomed to remain so in such states for a Kalpa ; and that he (his position) is not irretrievable ?'

'Yes, Upâli, that can be.'

¹ On this line see our note above on VII, 4, 7.

‘Who then, Lord, [comes under the first head?]

‘In case, Upâli, a Bhikkhu gives out what is not Dhamma as Dhamma, directing his opinion and his approval and his pleasure and his intention¹ (to what he says and does); and in belief that the doctrine (he propounds) is against the Dhamma, and that the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma²; and makes publication thereof³, giving out tickets, and saying, “Take this (voting-ticket): approve this (opinion)⁴. This is Dhamma; this is Vinaya; this is the teaching of the Master,”—a man, Upâli, who thus divides the *Samgha*, is irretrievably doomed to remain for a *Kalpa* in states of suffering and woe.’

[The above paragraph is then repeated in full, reading successively for ‘in belief that the doctrine (he propounds) is against the Dhamma, and the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma,’ each of the following clauses :—

(b) . . . in belief that the doctrine is against the Dhamma, but that the schism resulting therefrom would be in accordance with the Dhamma . . .

¹ *Vinidhâya diṭṭhim, vinidhâya khantim, vinidhâya rukim, vinidhâya bhâvam*. These expressions all recur in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Pâkittiya* I, 2, 2 and following sections, where the question at issue is whether an erroneous statement is, or is not, a conscious lie. The meaning of the whole is clear, though each of the words is used in a rather uncommon sense. On *khanti*, compare *diṭṭhe sute khantim akubbamâno* (of the *Arahat*) at *Sutta Nipâta* IV, 13, 3, and the standing use of the verb *khamati*, at the end of the *Kammavâtthas*.

² *Bhede adhamma-diṭṭhi*; literally, ‘in the schism (there will be) doctrine that is against the Dhamma.’

³ *Anussâveti*, which is here equivalent to the technical ‘publication’ required in the English law of libel and slander.

⁴ See the note above on VII, 4, 1.

(c) . . . in belief that the doctrine is against the Dhamma, but in uncertainty whether the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma or not . . .

(d) . . . in belief that the doctrine is in accordance with the Dhamma, but that the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma . . .

(e) . . . in belief that the doctrine is in accordance with the Dhamma, but in uncertainty whether the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma or not . . .

(f) . . . in uncertainty whether the doctrine is against the Dhamma or not, but in the belief that the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma . . .

(g) . . . in uncertainty whether the doctrine is against the Dhamma or not, and in the belief that the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma . . .

(h) . . . in uncertainty whether the doctrine would be against the Dhamma, and in uncertainty whether the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma or not . . .]

[The whole paragraph is then again repeated, reading successively for 'gives out that which is not Dhamma as Dhamma' each of the Eighteen Points given in full in VII, 5, 2.]

6. 'Who then, Lord, is one who breaks up the *Samgha*, and yet is not doomed to be reborn in states either of suffering or of woe; is not doomed to remain in such states for a *Kalpa*; and is not so doomed that his position is irretrievable?'

'In case, Upâli, a *Bhikkhu* gives out what is not Dhamma as Dhamma [and so on successively

through the whole Eighteen Points] without directing his opinion and his approval and his pleasure and his intention thereto, and in the belief that the doctrine he propounds is in accordance with the Dhamma, and that the schism resulting therefrom would be so too¹.

Here ends the Third Portion for Recitation.

Here ends the Seventh Khandhaka, on Divisions
in the *Samgha*.

¹ The sum of the last two sections seems to come to this, that practically such a schism as would have the awful effects set out above in § 4 would be impossible in Buddhism. For not only is a formal putting forward and voting on the false doctrine essential to schism as distinct from mere disagreement, but the offending Bhikkhu must also be quite aware that the doctrine so put forth is wrong, or at least doubtful, and also that the schism resulting from his action will be, or will probably be, disastrous to the Dhamma. In other words, the schism must be brought about by deliberately putting forward a doctrine known to be false, or at least doubtful, or with the express intention or hope of thereby injuring the cause of the Dhamma (that is, of the Truth).

THE EIGHTH KHANDHAKA.

REGULATIONS AS TO THE DUTIES OF THE BHIKKHUS TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Sâvatthi, in Anâtha Pindîka's Ârâma.

Now at that time incoming Bhikkhus entered the Ârâma with their sandals on¹, or with sunshades held up over them², or with their heads muffled up³, or with their upper robe carried in a bundle on their heads⁴; and they washed their feet in the drinking-water; and they did not salute resident Bhikkhus senior to them, nor ask them where they (the incomers) should sleep.

And a certain incoming Bhikkhu undid the bolt⁵ of an unoccupied room (Vihâra), and opened the door⁶, and so entered by force; and a snake fell

¹ That this was a sign of disrespect is clear from Mahâvagga V, 12, and the 61st and 62nd Sekhîyas.

² See our discussion of the sunshade question in the note on Kullavagga V, 23, 2.

³ *Ogunthitâ*. See the 23rd and the 67th Sekhîyas.

⁴ *Sîse katvâ*. Compare VIII, 6, 3.

⁵ *Ghaṭikâ*. This word is discussed at Kullavagga V, 14, 3.

⁶ Such an act has been already guarded against by the rule laid down at the end of Kullavagga V, 9, 5, where the same expression is made use of.

on to his back from the lintel above¹, and he was terrified, and made an outcry².

The Bhikkhus, running up, asked him why he did so. He told them that matter. Then those Bhikkhus who were moderate in their desires were vexed and indignant, and murmured, saying, 'How can incoming Bhikkhus enter the *Ārāma* . . . ? (&c., as before, down to) . . . where they should sleep³.'

They told the matter to the Blessed One (&c., as usual, I, 1, 2, 3, down to) he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said, 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for incoming Bhikkhus, according to which they ought to behave.

2. 'An incoming Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, when he knows he is about to enter an *Ārāma*, ought to take off his sandals, turn them upside down⁴, beat them (to get the dust) off, take them (up again) in his

¹ *Upari-piṭṭhito*. On *piṭṭha* (which we should possibly read here), as the lintel of a door, see our note above at *Kullavagga* V, 14, 3. It recurs immediately below, VIII, 1, 3.

² *Vissaraṃ akāsi*. As Childers, sub voce, expresses doubt as to the meaning of this word, it may be well to note that this phrase occurs above, *Kullavagga* V, 10, 2 and VI, 3, 4, and also in the *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*, *Pāṭṭiya* LX, and always in the sense here given. The meaning of the allied idiom, *vissaro me bhavissati*, might be just doubtful as used in a peculiar connection at *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*, *Pārāgika* I, 1, and *Samghādisesa* III, 3, were it not clear from *ibid.*, *Pāṭṭiya* LXXXVI, that it means simply 'there will be an outcry against me.'

³ The form of this speech bears very clear testimony to the artificial way in which these introductory stories are put together, for the speech does not arise out of the story. Similar instances are not infrequent. See VIII, 5, 1.

⁴ *Niṣaṃ katvā*. So also at VIII, 6, 2. The word is used below and at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 11 and 15 of a bedstead and chair, and below, VIII, 4, 4, of a bowl when it is being washed.

hand, put down his sunshade, uncover his head, arrange his upper robe on his back¹, and then carefully and slowly enter the Ârâma.

‘When he enters the Ârâma he ought to notice where the resident Bhikkhus are gone to; and whithersoever they are gone—whether to the service hall, or to the portico (*mandapa*), or to the foot of a tree—thither he ought to go, and laying his bowl on one side, and his robe on one side, he ought to take a suitable seat, and sit down.

‘He ought to ask as to the drinking-water, and the water for washing², which is appropriated to the one use, and which to the other. If he has need of drinking-water, he ought to fetch it and drink. If he has need of water for washing, he ought to fetch it, and wash his feet. In washing his feet he ought to pour the water over them with one hand, and wash them with the other; he ought not to pour the water over them and wash them with one and the same hand.

‘He ought to ask for the cloths with which sandals are cleaned, and clean his sandals. In cleaning his sandals he ought first to wipe them with a dry cloth, and afterwards with a wet cloth: and then he ought to wash the cloths, and lay them on one side³.

¹ See the note below on VIII, 8, 2.

² On these expressions, compare the note above on *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 4 (at the end), and *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 5 = *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 19.

³ These cloths (*kolakam*) are not specially permitted anywhere in the *Khandhakas*, as cloths for wiping the face and feet are in *Mahāvagga* VIII, 18, and *Kullavagga* VI, 19, respectively. The word is used for ‘duster’ below, VIII, 1, 3, and for ‘tinder’ at *Milinda Pañha*, p. 53.

‘If the resident Bhikkhu be senior, he ought to be saluted; if junior, he ought to be made to salute (the incomer). The incomer ought to ask as to the lodging-place, which has fallen (to his lot)¹, and whether it is occupied or unoccupied. He ought to ask as to lawful and unlawful resorts², and as to what families have been officially declared to be in want³.

‘He ought to ask as to the retiring-places, (where they are), and as to the drinking-water, and as to the water for washing, and as to the staves for walking with, and as to the place for the conferences of the *Samgha*, (and as to) the time at which he ought to enter (it) and at which he ought to leave it.

3. ‘If the Vihâra be unoccupied, he ought to knock at the door, then to wait a minute, then to undo the bolt, and open the door, and then, still standing outside, to look within.

‘If that Vihâra is covered with dust⁴, or the beds or chairs are piled one upon another, and the bedding put in a heap on the top of them⁵,—then if

¹ See the rules as to the division of lodging-places according to the number of applicants at *Kullavagga* VI, 21, 2, and especially VI, 11, 3.

² *Gokâro agokâro*. There were some places or families to which the Bhikkhus of a particular residence were not allowed to resort for alms. See the rule as to ‘turning down the bowl’ with respect to a person at *Kullavagga* V, 20.

³ *Sekha-sammatâni kulâni*. See the note on the 3rd *Pâṇi-desaniya*.

⁴ All the following expressions have occurred together at *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 4, where an example is given of the course of proceeding here laid down. And they are repeated below, VIII, 2, 2.

⁵ *Uklâpo*. Compare *Kullavagga* VI, 3, 9, and below, § 5.

⁶ This was the way in which a Bhikkhu, on going away from it,

he can do so he ought to clean up the Vihâra.
¹ And when cleaning the Vihâra, he ought to take the floor matting out and put it down on one side, and the supports of the bedsteads², and the bolsters³ and pillows, and the mat which is used as a seat. Putting the bedsteads and chairs down on to the ground, and carefully avoiding scratching (the floor with them) or knocking them up against (the door-posts), he ought to take them outside the door, and put them down on one side. The spittoon and the board to lean up against⁴ ought to be taken out, and put down on one side⁵.

‘If the Vihâra is covered with cobwebs, they should first be removed with a cloth⁶. The case-ments should be dusted, especially in the corners and joints.

‘If the wall which had been plastered and red-washed, or the floor which had been laid (with earth) and black-washed⁷, has become dirty in the corners⁸, they should be wiped down with a

was to leave his Vihâra. See below, VIII, 3, 2, and on the details of the terms used, see our note below on VIII, 1, 4.

¹ The rest of this section is repeated in full below, VIII, 7, 2.

² *Paṭipāḍakâ*. Doubtless the same as forms part of the *âhaṅkā-mañṅka* mentioned in the 18th *Pâṭṭiya* and above, VI, 2, 5.

³ *Bhisi*. See the note on *Mahāvagga* VIII, 13.

⁴ *Apassena-phalakam*. See the note on *Kullavagga* VI, 20, 2.

⁵ All the expressions in this sentence and the next are the same as those used in a similar connection at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15.

⁶ *Ullokâ*. See the note at *Kullavagga* VI, 2, 7, according to which our rendering at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15 should be corrected.

⁷ On this mode of preparing walls and floors, see the notes above on *Kullavagga* VI, 20.

⁸ *Kannakitâ*. See our note above on *Kullavagga* V, 11, 3.

duster¹ that has been first wetted and wrung out. If the floor has not been so prepared, it should be sprinkled over with water and swept², lest the Vihâra should be spoilt³ by dust. The sweepings should be gathered together, and cast aside.

The translation of our present passage at Mahâvagga I, 25, 15, must be corrected accordingly.

¹ Kolaka. See the note on this word in last section.

² Sammagga ti to sweep (not to scrub), as is apparent from Mahâvagga VI, 34, 1.

³ Ūhaññi. So also at Mahâvagga I, 25, 15. At Mahâvagga I, 49, 4, we should have rendered 'defiled their beds' instead of 'threw their bedding about,' correcting uhananti of the text there into ūhadanti. Ūhan (originally 'to throw up,' 'raise,' &c.) seems, like samūhan, to have acquired the meaning of to destroy, injure, spoil. From this meaning of spoiling, ūhan evidently came to be used for, or confounded in the MS. with, ūhad, 'to defile (with excrement).' So the phrase 'ūhananti pi ummihanti pi' (at Mahâvagga I, 49, 4) exactly corresponds in meaning to 'omuttenti pi ūhadayanti pi' in Dhammapada, p. 283. There are other passages showing the same confusion. (1) The gerund, ūhaṅka, which occurs in Gâtaka II, p. 71 ('idâni kho (ahan) tam ūhaṅka'), is explained by the commentator to mean 'vaṅkan te sise katva.' (2) ūhanti, in Gâtaka II, p. 73 ('aggihuttañ ka ūhanti, tena bhinnâ kamandalūti'), must mean the same and be = ūhadeti. For the monkey here referred to is said to have been guilty of the following dirty trick:—'kundikâ bhindati, aggisâlâya vaṅkam karoti.' (3) mutteti ohaneti at Kariyâ Piṭaka II, 5, 4, represents uḅḅâra-pasâvam katvâ at Gâtaka II, 385. In the first of these passages uhaṅka may well be a copyist's blunder, arising from the similarity of the words, for uhagga. Dr. Morris, to whom we owe the comparison of these passages and the suggested emendation of Mahâvagga I, 49, 4, is rather of opinion that the words were confounded by the writers. For it is not an uncommon thing to find two words, not very remote in form or meaning, confounded together. It is well known that the English word livelihood properly and originally meant 'liveliness,' and has only afterwards replaced the earlier livelode, to which the sense of livelihood properly belongs. And something of this kind

4. 'The floor coverings¹ should be dried in the sun, cleaned, beaten to get the dust out, taken back, and spread out again in the place to which they belonged². The supports of the bed should be dried in the sun, dusted, taken back, and put in the place to which they belonged. The bed (*mañña*) and the chairs (*pīḥa*) should be aired in the sun, cleaned, beaten to get the dust out, turned upside down, taken back, carefully avoiding scratching them against the floor, or knocking them up against the door-posts, and then put in the place to which they belonged³. The bolsters and pillows, and the

must have occurred, he thinks, in Pāli in the use of *ūhan* for *ūhad*. The past participle *ūhata* occurs at *Kullavagga* VIII, 10, 3.

¹ *Bhummattharaṇaṃ*; usually, no doubt, matting of various kinds, but occasionally also skins or rugs of the kinds specially allowed by VI, 14, 2.

² *Yathābhāgaṃ*. The use of this word here constitutes the only variation between our passage and that in the *Mahāvagga* I, 25 = below, VIII, 7, 2, where it is replaced by *yathā//hāne* or *yathāpaññattam*.

³ This passage throws a welcome light on the meaning of *mañña* and *pīḥa*: for as they were to be beaten to get the dust out, it is clear that they were upholstered. The *mañña*, or bed, must have been a wooden framework, stuffed (probably with cotton), covered at the top with cotton cloth, and made underneath and at the sides of wood. It had no legs fixed to it, but was supported on movable tressels—the *paṭipādakā*. When using it, the sleeper covered it with a mat, or a cotton sheet, and had over him a coverlet of some kind; and these articles, which he would also use if he slept on the ground, constituted, together with the bolster and pillows, the *senāsanaṃ* or bedding,—that is, in the more special and limited use of that term (as, for instance, above, § 3, and perhaps below, 7, 1). In its larger sense the same word is used, putting the part for the whole, for the whole sleeping apparatus, and is nearly equivalent to *seyyāyo* (so, for instance, in VI, 11 and 12, and below, VIII, 2, 1; 6, 2; and perhaps VIII, 7, 1; whereas the latter term is used in the same connection at VI, 6,

mats used as seats, should be aired in the sun, cleaned, beaten to get the dust out, taken back, and put in the place to which they belonged. The spittoon, and the board for leaning up against, should be put in the sun, dusted, taken back, and put in the place to which they belonged.

¹5. '(Then the incoming Bhikkhu) should put away his bowl and his robe. In putting away his bowl, he should hold it in one hand while he feels under the bed or the chair with the other, and then put it away; and he should not put it on a part of the floor which has been left bare. In putting away his robe, he should hold it in one hand while he feels along the bamboo or the rope used for hanging robes on with the other; and then hang it up with the border turned away from him, and the fold turned towards him.

²' If the winds, bearing dust with them ³, blow from the East, West, North, or South, the window spaces⁴ on the side in question should be closed up (with shutters or lattices). If it is cold weather, the lattices should be opened by day, and closed by

and VI, 11, 3). Sayana, in VI, 8, is a generic term including bed, couch, sofa, and divan, but probably with special reference to these three latter things used in the day-time.

¹ The following paragraph occurs, word for word, at Mahāvagga I, 25, 11, and below, VIII, 7, 2.

² The following paragraph is the same as Mahāvagga I, 25, 18.

³ Saragā vātā. These are the well-known hot winds (like the sand-bearing simoom that blows from North Africa over Italy), against which modern residents endeavour to protect themselves by the use of 'tats.'

⁴ There were, of course, no windows in our modern sense, but only spaces left in the wall to admit light and air, and covered by lattices of three kinds allowed by VI, 2, 2.

night: if it is hot weather, they should be closed by day, and opened by night.

¹ 'If the cell, or the store-room, or the refectory, or the room where the fire is kept, or the privy, is covered with dust, it should be swept out. If there is no drinking-water, or water for washing, they should be provided. If there is no water in the rinsing-pot², water should be poured into it.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct for incoming Bhikkhus, according to which they ought to behave.'

2.

1. Now at that time resident Bhikkhus, on seeing incoming Bhikkhus, did not prepare seats for them, nor provide water and footstools and towels for them to wash their feet, nor go to meet them and take charge of their bowls and their robes, nor ask them whether they wanted drinking-water³, nor salute such of the incoming Bhikkhus as were their seniors, nor make beds ready for them.

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c., and told the matter to the Blessed One, &c., (down to) he said to the Bhikkhus: 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus,

¹ The following paragraph is the same as Mahāvagga I, 25, 19, and part of it is repeated below, VIII, 10, 3.

² *Āḷamana-kumbhi*. This formed part of the sanitary apparatus for use in the privy. See above, Mahāvagga V, 8, 3, and below, Kullavagga VIII, 9 and 10.

³ All the above expressions are used at the opening of Mahāvagga IX.

do I establish a rule of conduct for resident Bhikkhus, according to which they ought to behave.

2. 'A resident Bhikkhu, on seeing an incoming Bhikkhu, who is senior to him, ought to make ready a seat for him, provide water and a footstool and a towel for him to wash his feet, go to meet him, and take charge of his robe and his bowl, ask him if he wants water to drink, and if he can (bring himself to do so), he ought to wipe his sandals. In wiping the sandals, they should be first wiped with a dry cloth, then with a wet one, and the cloths ought then to be washed, and put aside.

¹ 'An incoming Bhikkhu ought to be saluted. A bed should be laid for him, saying, "This bed is for you." He should be informed whether (the bedroom) is occupied or not, what are lawful and what are unlawful resorts, and what families have been officially declared to be in want. He should be told where the retiring-places are, and the drinking and washing water, and the staves, and the place for the conferences of the *Samgha*, and what is the time when he ought to enter, and ought to leave (it).

3. 'If (the incoming Bhikkhu) be junior to him, then (the resident Bhikkhu), keeping his seat, should tell him where he is to put his bowl and his robe away, and on which mat he is to sit down. The incoming Bhikkhu should be informed where the drinking and washing water are, and the cloths to clean sandals with; he should be allowed to salute the resident Bhikkhu : and he should be told

¹ This paragraph corresponds to the last paragraph of VIII, 1, 2.

where his bed is, saying, "That bed is for you." He should be informed whether (that bedroom) is occupied or not (and so on, as in last paragraph, down to the end).

'This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct for resident Bhikkhus, according to which they ought to behave.'

3.

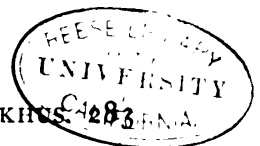
1. Now at that time Bhikkhus, about to leave, started without setting the wooden articles and crockery in order, leaving doors and lattices open, and without giving the sleeping-places in charge to any one. The wooden articles and crockery were spoilt, and the sleeping-places were unprotected.

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. told the Blessed One, &c. (down to) He said to the Bhikkhus: 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for Bhikkhus about to leave, according to which they ought to behave.

2. 'A Bhikkhu about to leave should, O Bhikkhus, put the wooden articles and earthenware in order, close the doorways and lattices, give the sleeping-places in charge¹ (to some one, and only) then set out. If there be no Bhikkhu remaining, a Sâmanera should be put in charge. If there be no Sâmanera remaining, the attendant who keeps the grounds in order² should be put in charge. If

¹ Senâsanam âpukkhâ. Compare the Old Commentary on the 14th and 15th Pâkittiyas. The lengthening of the last vowel in âpukkhâ is noteworthy.

² Ârāmiko. In Mahāvagga VI, 15, the king wishing to present a man for this purpose, it is there laid down that the Bhikkhus



there be neither Bhikkhu, nor Sâmañera, nor Ârâmika, the bed frame should be laid on four stones¹, the other bed frames put on the top of it, the chairs should be put one on the top of the other, the bedding piled in a bundle on the top, the wooden articles and the earthenware should be put away in order, and the doorways and lattices should be closed², and then should be set out.

3. 'If the Vihâra leaks, it should be repaired if he can, or he should exert himself to get the Vihâra roofed. If he should thus succeed, it is good. If not, he should put the bed frame on four stones in that part of the Vihâra which does not leak, and then put the other bed frame (&c., as in last paragraph, to the end). If the whole of the Vihâra leaks, he should if he can take all the bedding to the village, or should exert himself to get it taken there. If he should succeed, it is good. If not, he should lay a bed frame on four stones in the open air, put the others on the top of it, put the chairs one on another, pile the bedding on the top, lay the wooden and earthenware utensils in order by them, and cover the whole up with grass or leaves, so that at least the principal articles of furniture might remain (uninjured)³; and (only) then go away.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct for

may accept him ; and at *Kullavagga* VI, 21, 3, a superintendent of such slaves is mentioned as one of the officials of the Order.

¹ This is the usual method still adopted by native servants as a safeguard against white ants, who would eat up into the legs of furniture left standing on the ground.

² This arrangement is referred to above at VIII, 1, 3.

³ *Ângâni pi seseyyum*. See Buddhaghosa's note as appended to the edition of the text (p. 325).

Bhikkhus about to leave, according to which they should behave themselves.'

4.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus did not give thanks in the place where a meal was served. People murmured, &c.; the Bhikkhus heard, &c.; the Blessed One on that occasion, &c.¹ said to the Bhikkhus:

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the giving of thanks.'

Then the Bhikkhus thought, 'By whom should the thanks be given?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the elder Bhikkhu (present) to give thanks in the place where a meal is served.'

Now at that time (the turn to provide) the *Samgha* with a meal had fallen to a certain company²; and the venerable Sâriputta was the senior (Bhikkhu in that) *Samgha*. The Bhikkhus, thinking, 'The Blessed One has permitted the senior Bhikkhu to return thanks in the place where a meal is served,' went away, leaving the venerable Sâriputta alone. And the venerable Sâriputta gave thanks to those people, and then came away alone.

The Blessed One saw the venerable Sâriputta coming from the distance; and on seeing him, he said to him: 'Did the meal, then, Sâriputta, pass off well³?'

¹ For the passages here implied, see I, 1, 2, 3.

² *Aññatarassa pûgassa*. This sentence has already occurred at V, 5, 2.

³ On this use of *iddho*, compare *ovâdo iddho* in the *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâkittiya* LVI.

‘The meal, Lord, passed off well. But the Bhikkhus went away and left me alone.’

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, having delivered a religious discourse, said to them :

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, four or five of the Bhikkhus, who are senior or next to the seniors, to wait.’

Now at that time a certain elder waited in the dining hall, though he wanted to retire, and through holding himself back, he fainted and fell.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, if necessity should arise, to leave the hall after informing the Bhikkhu sitting immediately next¹ (to the one who wants to go).’

2. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus went to the place where a meal was to be served with their under-garments or their robes improperly put on, and not decently attired; and turning aside², they pushed on in front of the senior Bhikkhus; and they encroached on (the space intended for) the senior Bhikkhus³ when taking their seats, and they compelled the junior Bhikkhus to give up their seats to them; and spreading out their upper robes

¹ *Anantarikam bhikkhum*. See the note on this phrase at VI, 10, 1. *Ānantarikam* in the text (with long ā) is a misprint.

² *Vokkamma*, which is not, as Childers supposes, equal to *okkamma* with euphonic *v*, but to *vyavakramya* or *vyutkramya*.

³ *Anupakhagga*: which is here used, not in the sense it has at IV, 14, 1, but in the sense in which it is used in the 16th and 43rd *Pāṭitīyas*, in both which passages it is explained by the Old Commentary by *anupavisitvā*. This clause and the next occur also at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 13.

(as mats)¹ they took their seats in the space between the houses².

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. . . . told the Blessed One, &c. . . . he said to the Bhikkhus :

‘ Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for the Bhikkhus at a meal, which they are to observe thereat.

³ 3. ‘ When time has been called in the Ârâma, a Bhikkhu should put on his waistcloth so as to cover himself all round from above the navel to below the knees, tie his belt round his waist, fold⁴ his upper robes and put them on, fasten the block on⁵, wash (his hands), take his alms-bowl, and then slowly and carefully proceed to the village. He is not to turn aside (from the direct route) and push on in front of senior Bhikkhus⁶. He is to go amidst the houses properly clad, with (his limbs) under control, with downcast eye, with (his robes) not tucked up, not laughing, or speaking loudly, not swaying his body or his arms or his head about, not with his arms akimbo, or his robe pulled over his head, and without walking on his heels. And he is to take his

¹ *Samghâṭim* ottharivâ. This use of the *Samghâṭi* is referred to at *Gâtaka* I, 212, and above, I, 13, 2.

² *Antaraghare*. See *Sekhiyas* 3-26, repeated in the next section. It is perhaps doubtful whether this word may not mean here (as in *Sekhiya* 27 = below, § 6) the inner courtyard of a house which is surrounded by buildings; but we follow the interpretation we have adopted, loc. cit.

³ The following section repeats the *Sekhiyas*, Nos. 3-26, where see further notes. Much of it recurs below in VIII, 5, 2.

⁴ *Sagunam* katvâ. Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 9.

⁵ *Ganthikam*. See the note on V, 29, 3. It was to prevent the robe being blown up by the wind. The word occurs again in VIII, 5, 2.

⁶ The following sentence is repeated, word for word, below, § 6.

seat amidst the houses properly clad (&c., all as before, down to) not with his arms akimbo, or his robes pulled over his head, and without lolling, and without encroaching on (the space intended for) the senior Bhikkhus, or ejecting the junior Bhikkhus from the seats, or spreading his upper robe out (as a mat).

4. 'When the water is being given out (before the meal), he is to hold his bowl with both hands, receive the water (in it), lower the bowl carefully down to the ground so as to avoid scratching the floor, and then wash it. If there be (a person there) whose duty it is to take away the water (which has been so used), (the Bhikkhu) should lower (his bowl on to the ground) and pour the water into the waste tub¹ without splashing the person in question, nor the Bhikkhus near, nor (his own) robes. If there be no such person, he should lower his bowl on to the earth and pour the water away, without splashing the Bhikkhus near or (his own) robes.

'When the boiled rice is being given out, he should hold his bowl with both hands, and receive the rice in it. Room should be left for the curry. If there is ghee, or oil, or delicacies², the senior Bhikkhu should say: "Get an equal quantity for all." The alms (given) are to be accepted with mind alert, paying attention to the bowl, with equal curry, and equally heaped up³. And the senior

¹ *Paṭiggahe*. See the note on V, 10, 3. *Avakkāra-pāṭi*, at Mahāvagga IV, 1, 2 = *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 3, seems to have very nearly the same meaning. The whole of this paragraph is repeated below, § 6.

² *Uttaribhaṅgam*. See the note on VI, 4, 1.

³ On the expressions in this sentence, compare the notes on *Sekhiyas* 27-32.

Bhikkhu is not to begin to eat until the boiled rice has been served out to all.

¹5. 'The alms given are to be eaten with mind alert, paying attention to the bowl, with equal curry, and equally heaped up; without pressing down from the top; without covering up the curry or the condiment with the rice, desiring to make it nicer; and without asking for either rice or curry for the Bhikkhu's own particular use, unless he be sick. Others' bowls are not to be looked at with envious thoughts. The food is not to be rolled up (by the fingers) into balls that are too large, but into round mouthfuls. The door of the mouth is not to be opened till the ball is brought close to it. When eating, the whole hand is not to be put into the mouth. He is not to talk with his mouth full, nor to toss the food into his mouth as he eats, nor to nibble at the balls of food, nor to stuff his cheeks out as he eats, nor to shake (particles of food off) his hands, nor to scatter lumps of rice about, nor to put out his tongue, nor to smack his lips, nor to make a hissing sound as he eats, nor to lick his fingers, or his bowl, or his lips. And the jar containing drinking-water is not to be taken hold of with hands soiled with food.

6. 'The senior Bhikkhu is not to accept water (to rinse out his bowl with) until all Bhikkhus have finished eating. When water is being given out (after the meal . . . &c., as in the first paragraph of § 4, down to the end). The water that has been used for washing the bowl is not to be thrown with the rinsings in it into the inner court².

¹ This paragraph repeats Sekhiyas 31-55, where see our notes.

² This is the 57th Sekhiya.

‘In returning, the junior Bhikkhus are to go back first, and the senior Bhikkhus after them. Each Bhikkhu is to pass amidst the houses properly clad (&c., as above, § 3, down to) without walking on his heels.

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct that I establish for Bhikkhus at a meal, which they are to observe thereat.’

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

5.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhus who were going on their rounds for alms did so with their under garments or their robes improperly put on, and not decently attired, and they entered dwellings without deliberation, and left them without deliberation, and they entered dwellings roughly, and left them roughly, and they stood at too great a distance or too near, and they stood too long or turned back too soon.

And a certain Bhikkhu, on his round for alms, entered a dwelling without noticing where he was going to, and taking (a doorway) for a house-door he passed into an inner chamber. A woman was lying asleep naked on her back in that chamber; and when the Bhikkhu saw her he went out again, perceiving that that was no house-door, but a chamber. Now the husband of that woman, seeing his wife in that position in the chamber, thought: ‘My wife has been defiled by that Bhikkhu.’ And he seized him, and beat him.

But the woman, being woke up by the noise, said to the man, 'Why, Sir, are you beating this Bhikkhu?'

'You have been defiled by this Bhikkhu.'

'Not so, Sir. This Bhikkhu has done nothing' (said she), and had the Bhikkhu set free.

Then the Bhikkhu, on going to the Ârâma, told the matter to the Bhikkhus murmured told the Blessed One he said to the Bhikkhus :

'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for Bhikkhus going their rounds for alms, which they are to observe therein.

2. 'A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who intends to go his round for alms, should put on his waistcloth (&c., as in chapter 4, § 3, sentences 1 and 3, down to the end).

'When he enters a dwelling, he should take notice (where he goes, saying to himself), "By this way will I go in, and by this way will I come out." He should not go in, nor come out, roughly. He should not stand too far off, nor too near, nor too long; and he should not turn back too easily.

'As he stands still he should notice where (the people in the house) seem willing or not willing to give (him food). If she lays aside her work, or rises from her seat, or wipes a spoon, or wipes or puts ready a dish, he should stand still, perceiving that she seems willing to give.

'When food is being given to him, he should lift up his robe (*Samghâtî*) with his left hand so as to disclose his bowl¹, take the bowl in both his hands,

¹ The bowl is always carried by the left hand under the robe. On *pañameti*, see the note at V, 9, 5.

and receive the food into it. And he should not look into the face of the woman who is giving the food.

‘He should take notice whether she seems willing or not to give curry. If she wipes a spoon, or wipes or puts aside a dish, he should stand still, perceiving that she seems willing to give.

‘After the food has been given, he should cover up the bowl with his robe, and turn back slowly and carefully. He should pass through the houses (on his way back) properly clad . . . (&c., as in § 3, sentence 3, down to the end).

¹ 3. ‘He who comes back first from the village, from his round for alms, should make seats ready, and place the water and footstools and towels ready there for washing feet, and clean the waste-tub² and put it ready, and put ready water to drink and water for washing.

‘He who comes back last from the village, from his round for alms, may eat if there be any food left (from the meal of the other Bhikkhus), if he desires to do so. If he does not desire to do so, he should throw away the leavings on the (ground at a place) which is free from grass, or pour them away into water in which there are no living things. He should put away the water, footstools, and towels used for washing feet, clean the waste-tub and put it away, put away the drinking-water and the water

¹ The following section is, word for word, parallel to Mahāvagga IV, 1, 2-4.

² Avakkâra-pâtî. We have had paṭiggaha used just above (VIII, 4, 4) in a very similar sense and connection. The present word occurs also at Mahāvagga IV, 1, 2.

for washing, and sweep the room where the meal was eaten.

‘Whosoever sees a pot for drinking-water or for washing-water, or a chamber utensil empty and void, should put it in its proper place. If he is not able to do so single-handed, he should call some one else, and they should put it away with their united effort, and silence should not be broken on that account¹.

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct which I establish for Bhikkhus going their rounds for alms, which they are to observe therein.’

6.

1. Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus dwelt in the woods; and they provided neither drinking-water, nor water for washing, nor fire, nor drill sticks nor tinder (for starting a fire)²; nor did they know the stations of the constellations, nor the divisions of the (ten) ‘directions’ (of the sky).

Thieves went there and said to the Bhikkhus, ‘Have you, Sirs, got drinking-water?’

¹ *Vâkam bhindati*. To break silence by speaking. See Mahāvagga IV, 1, 3, where it makes good sense.

² *Arāṇi-sahitaṃ*, on which Buddhaghosa merely says *arāṇi-sahite sati aggim kâṭum pi vaṭṭati*. In the *Gâtaka Commentary* (I, 212, ed. Fausbøll) we have the phrase *arāṇi-sahitaṃ nîharitvâ aggim karonti*. At p. 34 of the *Assalâyana Sutta* (ed. Fischel) we hear of there being an upper and lower stick to the *arāṇi*; and at p. 53 of the *Milinda Pañha* (ed. Trenckner) we find the same upper and lower sticks, the thong by which to turn the latter, and the piece of rag for tinder mentioned as the constituent parts of this ancient means of producing fire. The expression in the text is probably a collective term for the whole of these.

‘No, friends, we have not.’

‘Have you, Sirs, got water for washing?’

‘No, friends, we have not.’

‘Have you, Sirs, got fire?’

‘No, friends, we have not.’

‘Have you, Sirs, got sticks and tinder for producing fire?’

‘No, friends, we have not.’

‘With what (constellation is the moon now in conjunction?)’

‘That, friends, we do not know.’

‘Which direction is this?’

‘That, friends, we do not know.’

[On hearing these answers]¹, the thieves said, ‘These are thieves. These men are no Bhikkhus.’ And they beat them, and went away.

The Bhikkhus told this matter to the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, after delivering a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus :

‘Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for Bhikkhus dwelling in the woods, according to which they are to behave themselves therein.

2. ‘A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who is dwelling in the woods, should rise betimes, place his bowl in the bag², hang it over his shoulder, arrange his upper robe over his back (over both shoulders)³, get on

¹ They are all repeated in the text.

² Thavikâ. This is possibly one of the bags referred to in the permission granted by Mahāvagga VIII, 20, but it was only to be used when the bowl had to be carried a long distance, and not when passing through a village. (See the beginning of the next section.)

³ K’ivaram khandhe katvâ: either in contradistinction to

his sandals, put the utensils of wood and earthenware in order, close the doorway and lattice, and then leave his lodging-place.

‘When he perceives that he is about to enter a village, he should take off his sandals, turn them upside down¹, beat them to get the dust out, put them into a bag, hang it over his shoulder, put on his waistcloth [and so on as laid down for a Bhikkhu entering the village for alms above, VIII, 5, 2, paragraph 1, to the end].

3. ‘On leaving a village he should put the bowl into its bag, hang it over his shoulder, roll his robes up, put them on his head², get on his sandals, and then go.

‘A Bhikkhu living in the woods, O Bhikkhus, should keep drinking-water, and water for washing, and fire, and drill sticks and tinder, and walking staves ready. He should learn the stations (of the moon) in the constellations, either in the whole or in part, and he should know the directions of the sky.

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct that I lay down for Bhikkhus dwelling in the woods, according to which they should behave themselves therein.’

7.

1. Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus carried on robe-making in the open air. The *Khaggaya* Bhikkhus beat their bedding to get

ekamsam kīvaram katvā (on which question there is a great division among modern Buddhists. Compare Rh. D.’s note on the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 47), or possibly ‘put it in a roll on his back.’

¹ On this expression, see above, VIII, 1, 2.

² See *Mahāvagga* VIII, 13, 1.

the dust out in the open space¹ to windward of them, and covered the Bhikkhus (who were at work) with dust.

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. . . . told the Blessed One, &c. . . . and he said to the Bhikkhus:

‘Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for the Bhikkhus in respect of lodging-places, according to which they are to behave themselves in respect thereof.

2. ‘In whatever Vihâra he is staying, if that Vihâra is dirty, he should, if he can, make it clean. When cleaning the Vihâra, he should first take out his bowl and his robe and the mat used for sitting upon, and the bolster and pillows, and put them down on one side. Taking the bed-frame down (from its stand), he should carry it out [and so on as in VIII, 1, 2, down to the end]².

‘He should not beat the bedding to get the dust out close to the Bhikkhus, or to the Vihâra, or to the drinking-water, or to the water for washing, or in the open space (in front of the Vihâra) to windward of it or the Bhikkhus, but to leeward.

¹ *Āṅgana*. This is not ‘courtyard,’ as Childers renders it, but a part of the *Ārāma*, immediately in front of the hut or Vihâra, which is kept as an open space, and daily swept. The Sinhalese name for it is *midula*; there those who sleep in the hut spend the greater part of the day, and not even grass is allowed to grow upon it. The term is a very common one, and its meaning is not doubtful. Compare the *Gâtaka* book, I, 124, 151, 421; II, 249, 250, 345. *Ekaṅganam bhavati*, at *ibid.* I, 53, 12, is to become one open space, as *ekaṅganam karoti* at II, 357, is to clear a forest, and turn it into an open space.

² The order is slightly different, but all the details are the same. The only addition is that in speaking of taking out the floor coverings, he is directed to notice where they lay.

3. 'The floor coverings should be dried in the sun [and so on as in VIII, 1, 4, and 5, to the end, reading "in the place where it stood (or lay)" for "in the place to which it belongs"].

4. 'If he is dwelling in the same Vihâra with an older (Bhikkhu), no recitation should be given, nor examination held, nor exhortation made, nor Dhamma spoken¹ (to a pupil), without leave being asked of the senior. Nor should a lamp be lighted or extinguished, nor the lattices opened or closed, without his leave.

'If he is walking up and down on the same Kaṅkama with an older (Bhikkhu), then he should turn back at the spot where his senior turns back; and he should not touch his senior even with the corner of his robe.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct that I lay down for the Bhikkhus in respect of lodging-places, according to which they are to behave themselves therein.'

8.

1. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus, on being hindered by the senior Bhikkhus in (their use of) the hot bath-room, out of spite piled up a quantity of sticks (in the fireplace), set fire to them, closed up the doorway, and sat down in the doorway. The Bhikkhus, scorched by the heat, and not being allowed a way out, fell down in a faint.

The sober Bhikkhus murmured, &c. . . . told the Blessed One, &c. . . . He said to the Bhik-

¹ All the preceding expressions have occurred at Mahāvagga I, 26, 1; see also 32, 1, and 38, 6.

khus, 'No one, O Bhikkhus, is to [do so]. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭṭha.

2. 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for the Bhikkhus, in respect of the hot bath-room¹, according to which they ought to behave themselves therein.

'Whosoever first enters the bath-room, if ashes have accumulated (in the fireplace) should throw the ashes out. If the hot bath-room, or its prepared flooring, or the cell, or the ante-chamber of the bath, or the cooling-room, or the hall are dirty, they should be swept. The chunam should be pounded, the clay moistened with water, and water poured into the water-jar.

'When entering the hot bath-room, the face should be smeared over with clay, and the person well covered up in front and behind before entering. A seat is not to be taken so as to hustle the senior Bhikkhus, and junior Bhikkhus are not to be ousted from their seats. If possible, shampooing is to be performed for the senior Bhikkhus in the hot bath-room.

'When leaving the hot bath-room, the chair (that has been used to sit on before the fire) should be carried off, and the person well covered up before and behind before leaving. If possible, shampooing is to be performed for the senior Bhikkhus in the water also.

'A bath is not to be taken in front of the senior Bhikkhus, nor above them. One who has bathed

¹ *Gantāghara*, not simply bath-room, but room in which hot or steam baths were taken. Most of the following expressions occur in *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 12, or above at V, 14, 3.

and is getting up out (of the water) is to make way for one who is getting down into the water.

‘Whoso comes last out of the hot bath-room is to wash it, if it be dirty; to wash the vessel in which the clay is kept, to put the chairs used in the hot bath-room in order, to extinguish the fire, to close up the doorway, and then come out.

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct which I lay down for the Bhikkhus, in respect of the hot bath-room, according to which they are to behave themselves therein.’

9 and 10.

[These chapters deal with the manner of using the privies, and other sanitary arrangements described in V, 35, where see our note.]

11, 12, 13, and 14.

[These chapters simply repeat, word for word, Mahāvagga I, 25, 14-24; I, 26, 1-11; I, 32, 3; and I, 33 respectively.]

Here ends the Eighth Khandhaka, containing
the Rules for Conduct.

NINTH KHANDHAKA.

ON EXCLUSION FROM THE PÂTIMOKKHA CEREMONY.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Sāvattthi, in the Eastern Ārâma, the mansion of the mother of Migâra. And at that time, it being Uposatha Day, the Blessed One was seated in the midst of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. And the venerable Ānanda, when the night was far spent, when the first watch was passing away, arose from his seat, arranged his robe over one shoulder, and stretching out his joined hands towards the Blessed One, said to the Blessed One :

‘The night, Lord, is far spent. The first watch is passing away. For a long time has the Bhikkhu-saṃgha been seated here. Let my lord the Blessed One recite to the Bhikkhus the Pâtimokkha.’

When he had thus spoken, the Blessed One remained silent. And a second time, when the second watch was passing away [he made the same request with the same result]. And a third time, when the third watch had begun, and the dawn was breaking¹ [he made the same request].

‘The assembly, Ānanda, is not pure².’

¹ Nandimukhiyâ rattiya ti aruṇadhata-kâle pîti-mukhâ viya ratti khâyati ten’ âha nandimukhiyâ ti (B.). See also our note on this at Mahāvagga VIII, 13, 1.

² That is, there is some one present who is disqualified by some

2. Then the venerable Mahā Moggallāna thought, 'What individual can the Blessed One be referring to in that he says, "The assembly, Ānanda, is not pure."' And the venerable Mahā Moggallāna considered the whole Bhikkhu-saṃgha, penetrating their minds with his. Then the venerable Mahā Moggallāna perceived who was that individual,—evil in conduct, wicked in character, of impure and doubtful¹ behaviour, not a Samāna though he had taken the vows of one, not a religious student though he had taken the vows of one, foul within, full of cravings, a worthless creature,—who had taken his seat amongst the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. On perceiving which it was, he went up to that individual, and said to him, 'Arise, Sir! The Blessed One has found you out. There can be no communion² between you and the Bhikkhus!'

When he had thus spoken, that man kept silence. And a second and a third time the venerable Mahā Moggallāna addressed to him [the same words, and with the same result]. Then the venerable Mahā Moggallāna took that man by the arm and made him go out beyond the porch³, and bolted the door,

fault from taking part in the proceedings, which would therefore be invalid.

¹ *Samkassara*. See the passages quoted by Dr. Morris in the introduction to his edition of the *Anguttara* (pp. viii, ix), though we cannot accept his conclusions. We may add that the Tibetan rendering of *Dhammapada* 312, given in Rockhill's '*Udāna-varga*,' p. 49, from which we might expect some help, throws no light on the exact meaning of the word, the translator contenting himself with an ambiguous phrase.

² *Samvāso*. See *Mahāvagga*, I, 79, 2, and *Kullavagga*.

³ On these expressions, see the notes above, V, 14, 3, in accordance with which we should read here, in the text *sūṭhi*, for *sūṭi*.

and went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and said to him, 'Lord, I have made that man go out. The assembly is now undefiled. May my lord the Blessed One recite the Pâtimokkha to the Bhikkhus.'

'How astonishing and curious a thing it is, Moggallâna, that that foolish fellow should have waited up to the very point when he had to be taken by the arm.'

3. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'There are, O Bhikkhus, in the great ocean, then, eight astonishing and curious qualities, by the constant perception of which the mighty creatures take delight in the great ocean. And what are the eight?

'The great ocean, O Bhikkhus, gets gradually deeper, slope following on slope, hollow succeeding hollow, and the fall is not precipitously abrupt¹. This is the first [of such qualities]².

'Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean remains of the same nature³, and passes not beyond the shore. This is the second [of such qualities].

'Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean will not brook association with a dead corpse. Whatsoever dead corpse there be in the sea, that will it—and quickly—draw to the shore, and cast it out on the dry ground⁴. This is the third [of such qualities].

'Again, O Bhikkhus, all the great rivers—that is to say, the Gaṅgâ, the Yamunâ, the Akravattî, the

¹ Na âyataken' eva. See Kullavagga V, 3, 1, and V, 17, 2.

² Paragraph 1 is here, and in the succeeding paragraphs, repeated in full.

³ *Thita-dhammo*, 'has characteristics which are stable.'

⁴ For *ussâreti* read *ussâdeti*. See our note on VI, 11, 3.

Sarabhû, and the Maht—they, when they have fallen into the great ocean, renounce their names and lineage, and are reckoned thenceforth as the great ocean. This is the fourth [of such qualities].

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, though all the streams in the world flow on till they reach the great ocean, and all the waters of the sky fall into it, yet does it not thereby seem to be the more empty or more full. This is the fifth [of such qualities].

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt. This is the sixth [of such qualities].

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean is full of gems, of gems of various kinds; among which are these gems—that is to say, the pearl, the diamond, the catseye, the chank, rock, coral, silver, gold, the ruby, and the cornelian¹. This is the seventh [of such qualities].

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean is the dwelling-place of mighty beings, among which are these—that is to say, the Timi, the Timiṅgala, the Timitiṅgala, the Asuras, the Nâgas, and the Gandhabbas. There are in the great ocean creatures so constituted that they stretch from one to five hundred leagues². This is the eighth [of such qualities].

4. ‘And just in the same way, O Bhikkhus, there are in this doctrine and discipline eight marvellous and wonderful qualities, by the constant perception

¹ On these gems, compare Rh. D.’s note on the Mahâ-sudassana Sutta I, 4, in ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,’ pp. 249, 250.

² On this belief, compare above, VII, 2, 2, of land creatures, where the same term, attabhâva, is used.

of which the Bhikkhus take delight in this doctrine and discipline. What are the eight ?

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean gets gradually deeper, slope following on slope, hollow succeeding hollow, and the fall is not precipitately abrupt—just so, O Bhikkhus, in this doctrine and discipline is the training a gradual one, work following on work, and step succeeding step ; and there is no sudden attainment to the insight (of Arahats¹)¹. This is the first [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean remains of the same nature, and passes not beyond the shore—just so, O Bhikkhus, is the body of precepts which I have established for those who are hearers of my word, and which they, their lives long, do not pass beyond. This is the second [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean will not brook association with a dead corpse ; but whatsoever dead corpse there be in the sea that will it—and quickly—draw to the shore, and cast it out upon the dry land—just so, O Bhikkhus, if there be any individual evil in conduct, wicked in character, of impure and doubtful behaviour, not a Samana though he have taken the vows of one, not a religious student though he have taken the vows of one, foul within, full of cravings, a worthless creature ; with him will the Samgha brook no association, but quickly, on its meeting together, will it cast him out. And what though that man should himself be seated in the midst of the Bhikkhusamgha, verily, both is he afar off from the Samgha,

¹ Aññâ-pa¹ivedho. On the use of aññâ, standing alone, in this sense, see the note above on Mahâvagga V, 1, 19.

and the *Samgha* from him. This is the third [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great rivers—that is to say, the Gaṅgâ, the Yamunâ, the Akiravattî, the Sarabhû, and the Mahtî—when they have fallen into the great ocean, renounce their name and lineage and are thenceforth reckoned as the great ocean—just so, O Bhikkhus, do these four castes—the Khattiyas, the Brahmans, the Vessas, and the Suddas—when they have gone forth from the world under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathâgata, renounce their names and lineage, and enter into the number of the Sakyaputtiya Samanas. This is the fourth [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as though all the streams in the world flow on till they reach the great ocean, and all the waters of the sky fall into it, yet does it not seem thereby to be either more empty or more full—just so, O Bhikkhus, though many Bhikkhus pass entirely away in that kind of passing away which leaves not a trace behind, yet does not [the *Samgha*] thereby seem to be either more empty or more full. This is the fifth [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt—just so, O Bhikkhus, has this doctrine and discipline only one flavour, the flavour of emancipation. This is the sixth [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean is full of gems, of gems of various kinds—that is to say, the pearl, the diamond, the catseye, the chank, rock, coral, silver, gold, the ruby, and the cornelian—just so, O Bhikkhus, is this doctrine and discipline full of gems, of gems of various kinds, among which are

these gems,—that is to say, the four Earnest Meditations, the fourfold Great Struggle, the four Roads to Iddhi, the five Moral Powers, the five Moral Senses, the seven kinds of Wisdom, and the noble eightfold Path. This is the seventh [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean is the dwelling-place of mighty beings, among which are the Timi, the Timiṅgala, the Timitimiṅgala, the Asuras, the Nāgas, and the Gandhabbas; just as there are in the great ocean creatures so constituted that they stretch from one to five hundred leagues—just so, O Bhikkhus, is this doctrine and discipline the resort of mighty beings, among whom are he who has entered the First Path (the converted man, the Sotâpanno) and he who has realised the fruit thereof, he who has entered the Second Path (the Sakadâgâmin) and he who has realised the fruit thereof, he who has entered the Third Path (the Anâgâmin) and he who has realised the fruit thereof, the Arahât, and he who has realised the fruit of Arahâtship. This is the eighth [of such qualities].

‘These, O Bhikkhus, are the eight marvellous and wonderful qualities in this doctrine and discipline by the constant perception of which the Bhikkhus take delight therein.’

And the Blessed One, on perceiving that matter, gave forth at that time this ecstatic utterance :

‘The rain falls heavily on that which is covered, not upon that which is revealed.

‘Reveal, therefore, what thou hast concealed, and the rain shall touch thee not¹.’

¹ This enigmatical saying amounts apparently to this: ‘As a usual thing, no doubt, the rain falls not on that which is covered

2.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ‘ Now henceforth I, O Bhikkhus, will not hold Uposatha, nor recite the Pâtimokkha ; let you yourselves, O Bhikkhus, henceforth hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha. It is, O Bhikkhus, an impossible thing and an inexpedient that the Tathâgata should hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha before an assembly which is not pure. And the Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, is not to be listened to by one who has committed an offence. Whosoever shall so listen to it, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, for whomsoever shall listen to the Pâtimokkha at a time when he is guilty, to interdict for him the Pâtimokkha¹.

‘ And thus, O Bhikkhus, is it to be interdicted. On the day of Uposatha, on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month, and at a time when that individual is present, thus shall it be proposed in the midst of the Saṃgha :

“ Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. Such and such an individual is guilty of an offence. For him

with a roof ; but in morals it is precisely where there is already a fault concealed, unconfessed, that new faults rain in upon him who adds deceit to his fault.’ Buddhaghosa says, *Khaṇnam ativasatīti āpattim āpaggitvā paṭikkhādentō aññam navam āpattim āpaggatīti idam etam sandhāya vuttam. Vivaṭam nātivassatīti āpattim āpaggitvā vivaranto aññam n’ āpaggatīti idam etam sandhāya vuttam.*

¹ Pâtimokkham *thapetum* : exactly analogous to *pavāraṇam thapetum* at Mahāvagga IV, 16, 2. H. O. has already pointed out (in his ‘ Buddha,’ p. 381, note 2) that we have evidently here a later innovation. The whole frame of the Pâtimokkha shows that it was at first intended that a guilty Bhikkhu should confess his offence during the recitation, if he had not done so before.

do I interdict the Pâtimokkha to the effect that it shall not be recited when he is present. The Pâtimokkha is accordingly interdicted.”’

3.

1. Now at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus thinking, ‘No one knows that we are guilty,’ listened to the Pâtimokkha. The Thera Bhikkhus, who understood the thoughts of other men, told the Bhikkhus, saying, ‘Such and such a one, Sirs, and such and such a one, *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, thinking, “No one knows that we are guilty,” are listening to the Pâtimokkha.’

When the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus heard that, they, thinking ‘the good Bhikkhus will (otherwise) first interdict the Pâtimokkha to us,’ interdicted the Pâtimokkha to the Bhikkhus who were pure and innocent before (they had time to do so to them), and this without ground and without cause.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate murmured, &c., . . . (as usual, down to) told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus have [acted thus]?’

‘It is true, Lord!’

Then he rebuked them, and when he had delivered a religious discourse, he said: ‘The Pâtimokkha is not, O Bhikkhus, to be interdicted to pure and innocent Bhikkhus without ground and without cause. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.

2. ‘There is one kind of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, which is illegal, and one

which is legal. There are two . . . , three . . . , four (&c., up to) ten kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal, and one, two (&c., up to) ten which are legal.

3. 'Which is the one kind of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which is illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a breach of morality without ground. This is the one kind, &c.

'And which is the one kind of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which is legal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a breach of morality with good ground. This is the one kind, &c.

'And which are the two kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a breach of morality, or for an offence against conduct, and each of them without ground. These are the two kinds, &c.

'And which are the two kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are legal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a breach of morality, and for an offence against conduct, and each of them with good ground. These are the two kinds, &c.

'And which are the three kinds, &c.? [as the last two, adding "offence against doctrine."]

'And which are the four kinds, &c.? [as the last, adding "offence against the right mode of livelihood."]

'And which are the five kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a Pârâgika, or for a Samghâdisesa, or for a Pâkittiya, or for a Pâtidesantiya, or for a Dukkaṭa, and each of them without ground. These are the five kinds, &c.

'And which are the five kinds of inhibition of the

Pâtimokkha which are legal? [Same as the last, "with good ground."]

'And which are the six kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for an offence against morality conduct doctrine¹ without ground, the offence being one of omission—when one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for an offence against morality conduct doctrine without ground, the offence being one of commission². These are the six, &c.

'And which are the six kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are legal? [Same as the last, "with good ground."]

'And which are the seven kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a Pârâgika, or for a Samghâdisesa, or for a Thullaṅkaya, or for a Pâḷittiya, or for a Pâṭidesantya, or for a Dukkata, or for a Dubbhâsita, and each of them without ground. These are the seven kinds, &c.

'And which are the seven kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are legal? [Same as the last, "with good ground."]

'And which are the eight kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? [The same as the six, adding "offence against the right means of livelihood."]

¹ The paragraph is repeated in the section full for each of these cases.

² Kata akatâ katâkatâ we have rendered here and below as offence of omission—of commission—of both, as seems imperatively demanded by the context. Buddhaghosa, however, says, Akatâyâ ti tena puggalena sâ vipatti katâ vâ hotu akatâ vâ pâtimokkha-/hapanakassa saññâ amûlika-vasena amûlikâ hoti. Katâkatâyâ ti katañ ka akatañ ka ubhayam gahetvâ vuttam.

‘And which are the nine kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal . . . legal? [The same as the six, adding for each kind of offence, “the offence being one both of omission and of commission.”]

‘And which are the ten kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When (a Bhikkhu) who has been guilty of a Pârâgika is not seated in that assembly¹,—when no discussion is still going on (in the assembly) as to a Pârâgika offence (supposed to have been committed by a Bhikkhu then present),—when (a Bhikkhu) who has abandoned the precepts² is not seated in that assembly,—when no discussion is still going on (in the assembly) in respect of (a Bhikkhu then present having been charged with) abandoning the precepts,—when (the person charged) submits himself to the legally prescribed concord (of the assembly)³,—when (the person charged) does not withdraw his acceptance of the legally prescribed concord (of the assembly)⁴,—when no discussion is still going on (in the assembly) in respect of the withdrawal of (any member's) acceptance of the legally (prescribed) concord (of the assembly),—when (the Bhikkhu charged) has not been suspected of an offence against morality, nor seen (to have committed one), nor heard (to have committed one)— . . . of an offence against conduct — . . . of an

¹ This and the following phrase are further enlarged upon in § 4 and the following sections.

² See our note on Mahāvagga II, 22, 3.

³ See Mahāvagga X, 5, 13, &c.

⁴ Paṭṭhādiyati. Buddhaghosa says here, paṭṭhādiyati ti puna kâtabbam kammam paṭṭhādiyati. Tena ukkoṇake pāṭṭiyam āpaggati.

offence against doctrine. . . . These are the ten kinds, &c.

‘And which are the ten kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are legal? [The same as the last, positive instead of negative.]

4. ‘And how (can it be legally said that) a Bhikkhu who has been guilty of a Pârâgika offence is seated in the assembly?

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu sees that (another) Bhikkhu is incurring a Pârâgika offence by those means, marks, and signs by which the incurring of a Pârâgika offence is brought about. Or in case a Bhikkhu does not himself see that (another) Bhikkhu is incurring a Pârâgika offence, but another Bhikkhu inform the (first-mentioned) Bhikkhu, saying, “Such and such a Bhikkhu, Sir, has been guilty of a Pârâgika offence.” Or in case a Bhikkhu does not himself see that another Bhikkhu is incurring a Pârâgika offence, but that one himself inform the (first-mentioned) Bhikkhu, saying, “I, Sir, have been guilty of a Pârâgika offence.”

‘(In either of these cases), O Bhikkhus, if he seem to do so, the Bhikkhu may, on the ground of what he has seen and heard and suspected, bring forward the following resolution on an Uposatha day, on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month, at a time when that individual is present in the midst of the Samgha: “Let the venerable Samgha hear me. Such and such an individual has been guilty of a Pârâgika offence. I interdict for him the Pâtimokkha, to the effect that the Pâtimokkha ought not to be recited at a time when he is present.” That is a legal inhibition of the Pâtimokkha.

‘If, when the Pâtimokkha has been inhibited for

that Bhikkhu, the assembly should rise on account of any one or other of the Ten Dangers¹—danger arising from the king, or from thieves, or from fire, or from water, or from human beings, or from non-human beings, or from beasts of prey, or from creeping things, or danger of life, or danger against chastity—the Bhikkhu may, if he desire to do so, bring forward the following resolution, either in that circle of residence or in another circle of residence, at a time when that individual is present in the midst of the assembly: “Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. A discussion had commenced with regard to a *Pârâgika* offence of such and such a person, but that matter was not decided. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* decide that matter.” If he thus succeed, it is well. If not, then on an *Uposatha* day, on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month, at a time when that individual is present in the midst of the *Samgha*, let him bring forward the following resolution: “Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. A discussion had commenced with regard to a *Pârâgika* offence of such and such a person, but that matter was not decided. I interdict the *Pâtimokkha* for him to the effect that the *Pâtimokkha* ought not to be recited at a time when he is present.” That is a legal inhibition of the *Pâtimokkha*.

5. ‘And how (can it be legally said that a Bhikkhu) who has abandoned the precepts is seated in the assembly?’

[The same as last, reading ‘abandoned the precepts,’ &c., for ‘*Pârâgika* offence,’ &c.]

6. ‘And how (can it be legally said that the person

¹ See the rule laid down in *Mahāvagga* II, 15, 4.

charged) does not submit himself to the legally (prescribed) concord (of the assembly)?'

[Same as last, reading 'not submit himself to the legally (prescribed) concord of the assembly,' &c., instead of 'abandon the precepts,' &c.]

7. 'And how (can it be legally said that the person charged) withdraws his acceptance of the legally (established) concord (of the assembly)?'

[Same as last, reading 'withdraws his acceptance,' &c., for 'does not submit,' &c.]

8. 'And how can it be legally said that the person charged has been seen or heard or suspected of having committed an offence against morality an offence against conduct an offence against doctrine?'

[Same as § 4, reading 'offence against morality,' &c., for 'Pârâgika offence.']

These are the ten kinds of the inhibition of Pâtimokkha which are legal.

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

4.

1. Now the venerable Upâli¹ went up to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One :

'When a Bhikkhu, Lord, intends to take upon himself the conduct (of any matter that has to be

¹ No doubt in his rôle of a chief of the Vinaya-dharas, as in Mahāvagga IX, 6, &c.

decided)¹, under what conditions should he take the conduct thereof upon himself²?’

‘A Bhikkhu, Upâli, who intends to take upon himself the conduct of any matter, should take such conduct upon himself under five conditions.

‘(In the first place.) A Bhikkhu, Upâli, who intends to take the conduct of any matter upon himself, should thus consider: “The conduct of this matter which I intend to take upon myself, is it now the right time for the taking charge of the conduct thereof, or is it not?” If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it is not the right time, he should not, Upâli, take charge of it.

‘(Secondly.) If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it is the right time, he should, Upâli, further consider thus: “The conduct of this matter which I intend to take upon myself, is it just, or is it not?” If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it would not be just, he should not take charge of it.

‘(Thirdly.) If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it would be just, he should, Upâli, further consider thus: “The conduct of this matter which I intend to take upon myself, would it tend to advantage, or would it not?” If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it would not tend to advantage, he should not, Upâli, take charge of it.

‘(Fourthly.) If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it would tend to

¹ As, for instance, in the last chapter (§§ 4 and following) the Bhikkhu who lays the matter before the Saṃgha.

² Attâdânam âdīyati, in our explanation of which we follow Buddhaghosa.

profit, he should, Upâli, further consider thus : "While I am taking the conduct of this matter upon myself, shall I find that the Bhikkhus who are my intimates and associates are on my side in accordance with the Dhamma and the Vinaya, or shall I not?" If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that he will not, he should not, Upâli, take charge of it.

'(Fifthly.) If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that he will find them so, he should further, Upâli, consider thus : "Whilst I am taking the conduct of this matter upon myself, will the Samgha, as a result thereof, fall into strife, quarrel, contention, or dispute, or will there arise a split in the Samgha, disunion in the Samgha, diversity of position in the Samgha, diversity of action in the Samgha¹?" If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that that will happen, he should not take charge of it. But if that Bhikkhu, Upâli, thus considering, should come to the conclusion that that will not happen, he should take charge of it. The taking charge of a matter, Upâli, subject to these five conditions, will not give cause to subsequent remorse.'

5.

1. 'When, Lord, a Bhikkhu who takes upon himself to warn another, is about to do so, of how many qualities should he consider whether they are within himself before he does so?'

(a) 'A Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli,

¹ This list has occurred above, Mahāvagga X, 1, 6; X, 5, 13; Kullavagga VII, 5, 1.

when he is about to do so, consider thus : “ Am I pure in the conduct of my body ; pure therein without a flaw, without a fleck ? Is this quality found in me, or is it not ? ” If, Upâli, the Bhikkhu is not so, there will be some who will say to him : “ Come, now, let your reverence continue still to train yourself in matters relating to the body ! ”— thus will they say.

(b) ‘ And further, a Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli, when he is about to do so, consider thus : “ Am I pure in the conduct of my speech ; pure therein without a flaw, without a fleck ? Is this quality found in me, or is it not ? ” If, Upâli, the Bhikkhu is not so, there will be some who will say to him : “ Come, now, let your reverence continue still to train yourself in matters relating to speech ! ”— thus will they say.

(c) ‘ And further, a Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli, consider thus : “ Is a kindly mind ever present in me, one without anger against those who are my companions in the religious life ? Is this quality found in me, or is it not ? ” If, Upâli, such a mind is not in that Bhikkhu, there will be some who will say to him : “ Come, now, let your reverence continue still to cultivate a friendly feeling towards those who are your companions in the religious life ! ”— thus will they say.

(d) ‘ And further, a Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli, consider thus : “ Am I a man versed in the tradition, a custodian of the tradition, a storehouse of the tradition ? Whatsoever truths, lovely in their origin, lovely in their progress, lovely in their consummation, magnify the higher life, both in the spirit and in the letter, and in all its points, in

all its perfectness,—in such truths am I well versed, of such am I full, are such laid up in my words, dwelt on in my heart, penetrated throughout through right insight¹? Is this quality found in me, or is it not?” If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, is not such a man, there will be some who will say to him: “Come, now, let your reverence continue still to learn the faith!”—thus will they say.

(e) ‘And further, a Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli, consider thus: “Have both the Pâtimokkhas been completely handed down to me in their full extent; have I well divided them, well established them, well investigated them, both Rule by Rule², and in every detail? Is this quality found in me, or is it not?” If, Upâli, that is not so, then when he is asked, “Where has this, Sir, been declared by the Blessed One?” he will not be able to explain³, and there will be some who will say to him: “Come, now, let your reverence continue still to learn the Vinaya!”—thus will they say.

‘These are the five qualities, Upâli, of which a Bhikkhu about to warn another should consider before he does so, whether they are within himself or not.’

2. ‘When, Lord, a Bhikkhu who takes upon himself to warn another, is about to do so, how many qualities should he call up (establish) within himself before he does so?’

¹ On the whole of this and of the next paragraph, which have occurred already above at IV, 14, 19, see our notes there.

² That is, ‘Sutta by Sutta.’ On the whole stock phrase, compare our remarks in p. xviii of the Introduction; and above, Mahāvagga I, 36, 14; Kullavagga IV, 14, 19.

³ Read *na sampāyati*, in accordance with H.O.’s note at p. 364 of the text.

‘A Bhikkhu, Upâli, who is about to warn another, should call up within himself five qualities before he does so, (saying to himself): “At the right time will I speak, not at the wrong time. In truth will I speak, and not in falsehood. Gently will I speak, and not in harshness. To profit will I speak, and not senselessly. In kindly spirit will I speak, and not in anger¹.”

‘These, Upâli, are the five,’ &c.

3. ‘In how many ways, Lord, is repentance to be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has wrongfully warned another Bhikkhu?’

‘In five ways, Upâli, is repentance to be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has wrongfully warned another Bhikkhu, (that is to say, by saying to him): “At the wrong time did you warn him, Sir, not at the right time: wherein is need of repentance. Untruthfully did you warn him, Sir, and not according to fact: wherein is need of repentance. In harshness did you warn him, Sir, and not gently: wherein is need of repentance. Senselessly did you warn him, Sir, and not in a way redounding to profit: wherein is need of repentance. In anger did you warn him, Sir, and not in kindly spirit: wherein is need of repentance.”

‘In these five ways, Upâli, should repentance be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has wrongfully warned another Bhikkhu. And why? That no other Bhikkhu may think that warning is to be given not according to fact.’

4. ‘In how many ways, Lord, is it to be brought

¹ On these phrases, compare the *Kûla Silam*, translated by Rh. D. in ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 190.

about that repentance shall not be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has been wrongfully warned ?'

'In five ways, Upâli, (that is to say, by saying to him): "At the wrong time, Sir, were you warned, and not at the right time : there is no need of repentance,"' [&c., as in § 3, paragraph 2, with similar alterations.]

5. 'In how many ways, Lord, is the contrary of repentance to be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has rightfully warned another Bhikkhu ?'

[The answer is the exact contrary of § 3.]

6. [This section is the contrary of § 5.]

7. 'When, Lord, a Bhikkhu who warns another Bhikkhu, is about to do so, how many things should he call to mind before he does so ?'

'Five things, Upâli—to wit : mercy, seeking the good of others, compassion, the giving up of offences, and deference towards the Vinaya. These are the five,' &c.

'And a Bhikkhu, Lord, who is warned, in how many qualities should he keep himself firm ?'

'In two things, Upâli—to wit : in truth and in freedom from anger.'

Here ends the Ninth Khandhaka, on the
Interdiction of the Pâtimokkha.

TENTH KHANDHAKA.

ON THE DUTIES OF BHIKKHUNÍS.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying among the Sákya in Kapilavatthu, in the Nigrodhârâma. And Mahâ-pagâpatî the Gotamî went to the place where the Blessed One was, and on arriving there, bowed down before the Blessed One, and remained standing on one side. And so standing she spake thus to the Blessed One :

‘It would be well, Lord, if women should be allowed to renounce their homes and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathâgata.’

‘Enough, O Gotamî! Let it not please thee that women should be allowed to do so.’

[And a second and a third time did Mahâ-pagâpatî the Gotamî make the same request in the same words, and receive the same reply.]

Then Mahâ-pagâpatî the Gotamî sad and sorrowful for that the Blessed One would not permit women to enter the homeless state, bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, departed thence weeping and in tears.

2. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Kapilavatthu as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Vesâlt; and travelling

straight on he in due course arrived thereat. And there at Vesālī the Blessed One stayed, in the Mahāvana, in the Kūṭāgāra Hall.

And Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī cut off her hair, and put on orange-coloured robes, and set out, with a number of women of the Sākya clan, towards Vesālī; and in due course she arrived at Vesālī, at the Mahāvana, at the Kūṭāgāra Hall. And Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī, with swollen feet and covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears, took her stand outside under the entrance porch.

And the venerable Ānanda saw her so standing there, and on seeing her so, he said to Mahā-pagāpatī: 'Why standest thou there, outside the porch, with swollen feet and covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears?'

'Inasmuch, O Ānanda, as the Lord, the Blessed One, does not permit women to renounce their homes and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata.'

3. Then did the venerable Ānanda go up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bow down before the Blessed One, and take his seat on one side. And, so sitting, the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One:

'Behold, Lord, Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī is standing outside under the entrance porch, with swollen feet and covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears, inasmuch as the Blessed One does not permit women to renounce their homes and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One. It were well, Lord, if women were to have permission granted to them to do as she desires.'

‘Enough, Ānanda! Let it not please thee that women should be allowed to do so.’

[And a second and a third time did Ānanda make the same request, in the same words, and receive the same reply.]

Then the venerable Ānanda thought: ‘The Blessed One does not give his permission, let me now ask the Blessed One on another ground.’ And the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One:

‘Are women, Lord, capable—when they have gone forth from the household life and entered the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One—are they capable of realising the fruit of conversion, or of the second Path, or of the third Path, or of Arahatsip?’

‘They are capable, Ānanda.’

‘If then, Lord, they are capable thereof, since Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī has proved herself of great service to the Blessed One, when as aunt and nurse she nourished him and gave him milk, and on the death of his mother suckled the Blessed One at her own breast, it were well, Lord, that women should have permission to go forth from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata¹.’

4. ‘If then, Ānanda, Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī take upon herself the Eight Chief Rules², let that be reckoned to her as her initiation.’

³[They are these]: (1) ‘A Bhikkhunī, even if of

¹ Ānanda’s conduct in this matter was afterwards charged against him as a dukkaṭa. See below, XI, 1, 10.

² The *Aṭṭha Garudhammā*, on which see further our note above on the 21st Pāṭiṭṭiya, and below, X, 9.

³ The whole of the following eight paragraphs recur in the

a hundred years standing, shall make salutation to, shall rise up in the presence of, shall bow down before, and shall perform all proper duties towards a Bhikkhu, if only just initiated. This is a rule to be revered and revered, honoured and observed, and her life long never to be transgressed.

(2) 'A Bhikkhunī is not to spend the rainy season (of Was) in a district¹ in which there is no Bhikkhu. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(3) 'Every half month a Bhikkhunī is to await from the Bhikkhu-saṃgha two things, the asking as to (the date of) the Uposatha ceremony², and the (time when the Bhikkhu) will come to give the Exhortation³. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(4) 'After keeping the rainy season (of Was), the Bhikkhunī is to hold Pavāraṇā (to enquire whether any fault can be laid to her charge) before both Saṃghas—as well that of Bhikkhus as that of Bhikkhunīs—with respect to three matters, namely, what has been seen, and what has been heard, and what has been suspected⁴. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

Sutta Vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya XXI, 3, 1. It is very instructive to notice the curious blunders which the Tibetan writers (translated by Rockhill in his 'Life of the Buddha,' pp. 62, 63) make in the rendering of the difficult technical terms in these Eight Rules.

¹ Āvāsa. Compare *Kullavagga* I, 18, 1, VI, 15, 1, VIII, 1, 2. This rule is the 56th Bhikkhunī Pāṭiṭṭiya.

² The Bhikkhunīs are to ask two or three days beforehand whether the Uposatha is to be held on the 14th or 15th day of the month, says Buddhaghosa here. Compare also the 59th Bhikkhunī Pāṭiṭṭiya, where the whole passage recurs.

³ Compare the 21st Pāṭiṭṭiya, and our note there.

⁴ See *Mahāvagga* IV, 1, 13, 14. This rule is the same as the 57th Bhikkhunī Pāṭiṭṭiya. The mode of carrying out this rule is explained in detail below, X, 19.

(5) 'A Bhikkhunī who has been guilty of a serious offence is to undergo the Mānatta discipline towards both the Saṃghas (Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis). This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(6) 'When a Bhikkhunī, as novice, has been trained for two years in the Six Rules¹, she is to ask leave for the upasampadā initiation from both Saṃghas (as well that of Bhikkhus as that of Bhikkhunis²). This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(7) 'A Bhikkhunī is on no pretext to revile or abuse a Bhikkhu³. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(8) 'From henceforth official admonition⁴ by Bhikkhunis of Bhikkhus is forbidden, whereas the official admonition of Bhikkhunis by Bhikkhus is not forbidden. This is a rule never to be transgressed. .

'If, Ānanda, Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī take upon herself these Eight Chief Rules, let that be reckoned to her as her initiation.'

5. Then the venerable Ānanda, when he had learnt from the Blessed One these Eight Chief Rules, went to Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī and [told her all that the Blessed One had said].

¹ *Kāsu dhammesu*. The Six Rules for novices. They are referred to in the Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga, under Pāṭṭiyas LXIII-LXVII.

² The actual ordination (upasampadā) itself is not complete till it has been conferred by Bhikkhus (see the rule at X, 2, 2). The whole proceeding is fully set out below, X, 17. Compare also the 63rd and 64th Bhikkhunī Pāṭṭitiya.

³ This is the 52nd Bhikkhunī Pāṭṭitiya.

⁴ *Vāṇana-patho*. That is, literally, speech. But the reference is, no doubt, to the various kinds of official admonitions given in detail in chapter 20 below.

‘Just, Ānanda, as a man or a woman, when young and of tender years, accustomed to adorn himself, would, when he had bathed his head, receive with both hands a garland of lotus flowers, or of jasmine flowers, or of atimuttaka flowers, and place it on the top of his head; even so do I, Ānanda, take upon me these Eight Chief Rules, never to be transgressed my life long.’

6. Then the venerable Ānanda returned to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And, so sitting, the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: ‘Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī, Lord, has taken upon herself the Eight Chief Rules, the aunt of the Blessed One has received the upasampadā initiation.’

‘If, Ānanda, women had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata, then would the pure religion, Ānanda, have lasted long, the good law would have stood fast for a thousand years. But since, Ānanda, women have now received that permission, the pure religion, Ānanda, will not now last so long, the good law will now stand fast for only five hundred years. Just, Ānanda, as houses in which there are many women¹ and but few men are easily violated² by robber burglars³; just so, Ānanda, under

¹ Bahutthikāni. The context shows that we are to understand *itthi* and not *attha*. Compare Rockhill's ‘Life of the Buddha,’ p. 61.

² Suppadhamsiyāni. Compare Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga, *Samghādisesa* III, 1, 2, and see also *Kullavagga* VII, 5, 4.

³ *Korehi kumbatthenakehi*; on which Buddhaghosa has the following note:—*Kumbatthenakehi ti kumbhe dīpaṃ gāletvā ena ālokena paraghare bhaṇḍam viñitvā thenakakorehi*.

whatever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go out from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called mildew falls upon a field of rice in fine condition, that field of rice does not continue long ; just so, Ānanda, under whatsoever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called blight falls upon a field of sugar-cane in good condition, that field of sugar-cane does not continue long ; just so, Ānanda, under whatsoever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion does not last long. And just, Ānanda, as a man would in anticipation build an embankment to a great reservoir, beyond which the water should not overpass ; just even so, Ānanda, have I in anticipation laid down these Eight Chief Rules for the Bhikkhunts, their life long not to be overpassed.'

Here end the Eight Chief Rules for the
Bhikkhunts.

2.

1. Now Mahā-pagāpati the Gotami went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and stood respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Mahā-pagāpati the Gotami spake thus to the Blessed One: 'What course, Lord,

should I pursue towards these women of the Sākya clan ?'

Then the Blessed One taught Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī and incited her, and aroused her, and gladdened her with religious discourse ; and she, so taught, incited, aroused, and gladdened, bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, she departed thence.

Then the Blessed One, in that connexion, delivered a religious discourse, and said to the Bhikkhus, ' I allow Bhikkhunis, O Bhikkhus, to receive the upasampadā initiation from Bhikkhus ¹.'

2. Now those Bhikkhunis said to Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī : ' Neither have you received the upasampadā initiation, nor have we ; for it has thus been laid down by the Blessed One : " Bhikkhunis are to be initiated by Bhikkhus." '

Then Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī went to the venerable Ānanda, and [repeated their words to him]. And the venerable Ānanda went to the Blessed One, and [repeated them to him].

' In that moment, Ānanda, when Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī took upon herself the Eight Chief Rules, that was to her as the upasampadā initiation.'

3.

1. Now Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī went up to the place where the venerable Ānanda was, and bowed down before him, and stood respectfully on one side.

¹ Compare the 6th Garudhamma above, X, 1, 4.

And, so standing, Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī said to the venerable Ānanda: 'One thing, Ānanda, would I ask of the Blessed One. It were well, Sir, if the Blessed One would allow the making of salutations, the rising up in presence of another, the paying of reverence, and the performance of proper duties one towards another, to take place as between both Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis (equally) according to seniority.'

And the venerable Ānanda went to the Blessed One [and repeated her words to him].

'This is impossible, Ānanda, and unallowable, that I should so order. Even those others, Ānanda, teachers of ill doctrine, allow not such conduct towards women; how much less, then, can the Tathāgata allow it?'

And the Blessed One, on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to bow down before women, to rise up in their presence, to stretch out your joined hands towards them, nor to perform towards them those duties that are proper (from an inferior to a superior). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

4.

1. Now Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and stood respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī said to the Blessed One: 'What course, Lord, shall we pursue with reference to those precepts for the

Bhikkhuns which are applicable also to the Bhikkhus ?'

'Train yourselves, Gotamī, therein in the same manner as the Bhikkhus do.'

'And what course, Lord, should we pursue in reference to those precepts for the Bhikkhuns which are not applicable also to the Bhikkhus ?'

'Train yourselves, Gotamī, therein according to the substance thereof, as they are laid down.'

5.

1. Now Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī went to the Blessed One [&c., as before], and said: 'May the Blessed One preach to me the Dhamma (truth, doctrine) in abstract; so that, having heard the doctrine of the Blessed One, I may remain alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved¹.'

'Of whatsoever doctrines thou shalt be conscious, Gotamī, that they conduce to passion and not to peace, to pride and not to veneration, to wishing for much and not to wishing for little, to love of society and not to seclusion, to sloth and not to the exercise of zeal, to being hard to satisfy and not to content²—verily mayest thou then, Gotamī, bear in mind

¹ These last words are the standing expression for the preparatory stage to Arahatsip. Compare Mahāvagga I, 6, 16; Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta V, 68. The whole speech frequently occurs in the Saṃyutta Nikāya at the commencement of conversations with the Buddha.

² Most of these terms have already occurred in the standing 'religious discourse' which is related to have preceded the enunciation of so many of the rules for Bhikkhus (Kullavagga I, 2, 3).

that that is not Dhamma, that that is not Vinaya, that that is not the teaching of the Master. But of whatsoever doctrines thou shalt be conscious, Gotamī, that they conduce to peace and not to passion, to veneration and not to pride, to wishing for little and not to wishing for much, to seclusion and not to love of society, to the exercise of zeal and not to sloth, to content and not to querulousness—verily mayest thou then bear in mind that that is Dhamma, and that is Vinaya, and that the teaching of the Master.’

6.

1. Now at that time the Pâtimokkha was not recited to the Bhikkhunts.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow the Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, to be recited to the Bhikkhunts.’

Now it occurred to the Bhikkhunts: ‘By whom should the Pâtimokkha be recited to the Bhikkhunts?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the Pâtimokkha to be recited to Bhikkhunts by Bhikkhus.’

Now at that time Bhikkhus went to the residence of the Bhikkhunts and recited the Pâtimokkha to the Bhikkhunts there. The people murmured, and were indignant, saying: ‘There are their wives, there are their mistresses; now will they take pleasure together.’

The Bhikkhus heard this, and told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Bhikkhus are not, O Bhikkhus, to recite the

Pātimokkha to the Bhikkhunts at their residence. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to recite the Pātimokkha to the Bhikkhunts.'

The Bhikkhunts did not know how to recite the Pātimokkha. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to tell Bhikkhunts how to recite the Pātimokkha.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhunts did not confess the faults (they had committed).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhū, O Bhikkhus, is not to leave a fault unconfessed. . Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

The Bhikkhunts did not know how to confess their faults. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to tell Bhikkhunts how they should confess their faults.'

Then it occurred to the Bhikkhus: 'By whom ought the confession of a fault to be received from the Bhikkhunts?' They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to receive the confession of a fault from Bhikkhunts.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunts, on seeing a Bhikkhu on the road, or in a street closed at one end, or at the place where four cross-roads met, would place their bowl on the ground, and arranging their robes over one shoulder, would crouch down on their heels, and stretch forth their joined hands, and confess a fault. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: 'There are their wives, there are their mistresses; they are asking

pardon now after having treated them scornfully overnight.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Bhikkhus are not, O Bhikkhus, to receive the confessions of a fault from Bhikkhunts. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow Bhikkhunts, O Bhikkhus, to receive the confession of a fault from Bhikkhunts.'

The Bhikkhunts did not know how to receive the confession of a fault. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to tell Bhikkhunts how to receive the confession of a fault.'

3. Now at that time disciplinary proceedings (Kammas) were not carried out against Bhikkhunts. They told that matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow disciplinary proceedings, O Bhikkhus, to be carried out against Bhikkhunts.'

Then the Bhikkhus thought: 'By whom ought disciplinary proceedings to be carried out against Bhikkhunts?' They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to carry out disciplinary proceedings against Bhikkhunts.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunts who had been subjected to disciplinary proceedings, on seeing a Bhikkhu on the road, or in a street closed at one end, or at the place where four cross-roads met, would place their bowls on the ground, and arranging their robes over one shoulder, would crouch down on their heels, and stretching out their joined palms would ask for pardon, thinking that that was the proper time for doing so. The people murmured [&c., as before].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Bhikkhus are not, O Bhikkhus, to carry out disciplinary proceedings against the Bhikkhunts. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’ I allow Bhikkhunts, O Bhikkhus, to carry out disciplinary proceedings against Bhikkhunts.’

The Bhikkhunts did not know how to carry out the disciplinary proceedings. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to tell the Bhikkhunts how to carry out disciplinary proceedings.’

7.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhunts in *Samgha* assembled, having fallen into quarrel, strife, and dispute, got to blows, and were unable to settle the point at issue. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to settle for Bhikkhunts a point at issue.’

Now at that time Bhikkhus were settling for Bhikkhunts a point at issue, and as the point at issue was being enquired into, it was found that both Bhikkhunts competent to take part in an official act¹, and Bhikkhunts who had been guilty of an offence (had taken part in the *Samgha* during the official act (the *Kamma*) at which the point in issue arose).

The Bhikkhunts said: ‘It would be well if you, Sirs, would carry out disciplinary proceedings against the guilty Bhikkhunts, or absolve their offence: for

¹ Kammappattā; on which see Parivāra XIX, 6, 7.

thus has it been laid down by the Blessed One :
 “ Bhikkhus are to settle for the Bhikkhuns a point
 at issue.”

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘ I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to set on foot ¹
 an official act for Bhikkhuns, and then to give it in
 charge for Bhikkhuns to carry out the official act
 against Bhikkhuns. And I allow Bhikkhus to set
 on foot the (dealing with an) offence for Bhikkhuns,
 and then to give it in charge for Bhikkhuns to ac-
 cept the confession thereof.’

8.

1. Now at that time a Bhikkhunī, a pupil of the
 Bhikkhunī Uppalavannā, followed the Blessed One
 for seven years, learning the Vinaya ; but she, being
 forgetful, lost it as fast as she received it. And that
 Bhikkhunī heard that the Blessed One was about to
 go to Sāvattthi. Then she thought : ‘ For seven
 years have I followed the Blessed One, learning the
 Vinaya ; and, being forgetful, I have lost it as fast as
 I received it. Hard is it for a woman to follow the
 Blessed One her life long. What now shall I do ?’

And that Bhikkhunī told this matter to the Bhik-
 khuns, and they told it to the Bhikkhus, and the
 Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

‘ I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to teach the
 Vinaya to Bhikkhuns.’

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

¹ Ropetum, on which Buddhaghosa says : Tagganiyādīsu imam
 nāma kammam etissā kâtabban ti evam ropetvâ.

9.

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed at Vesālī as long as he thought fit, he sat out towards Sāvattthi; and, journeying straight on, he in due course arrived thereat. And there, at Sāvattthi, the Blessed One remained in the *Getavana*, Anātha Pindāka's Park.

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus threw dirty water over Bhikkhunts, thinking, perhaps, they would fall in love with them¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhu is not, O Bhikkhus, to throw dirty water at a Bhikkhunī. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*. I allow a penalty, O Bhikkhus, to be imposed on that Bhikkhu.

Then the Bhikkhus thought: 'What penalty is it that ought to be imposed on him?' They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'That Bhikkhu is to be declared to be one who is not to be saluted by the Bhikkhunī-samgha².'

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus uncovered their bodies, or their thighs, or their private parts, and showed them to Bhikkhunts, or addressed Bhikkhunts with wicked words, or associated with Bhikkhunts, thinking, perhaps, they would fall in love with them³.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ On *sāraggeyyun* compare *sāraggati* at V, 3, 1.

² On this decision compare the 'sending to Coventry' of *Khanna* for levity of conduct towards Bhikkhus at *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 4, and *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 12 (where the penalty is called *Brahma-danda*).

³ On *sampayogeti* compare *Kullavagga* I, 5, at the end.

‘A Bhikkhu is not, O Bhikkhus, to do [any of these things]. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, a penalty to be imposed on that Bhikkhu.’

Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘What penalty is it that ought to be imposed on him?’ They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘That Bhikkhu is to be declared to be one who is not to be saluted by the Bhikkhū-saṃgha.’

2. [The last section repeated of the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhūnt, the decision being the same down to]

Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘What penalty is it that ought to be imposed on her?’ They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to prohibit her (from entering a Vihāra)¹.’

When the prohibition was laid upon them, they would not accept it. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to inhibit them from the Exhortation.’

3. Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Is it lawful to hold Uposatha with a Bhikkhūnt who has been inhibited from the Exhortation, or is it not lawful?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to hold Uposatha with a Bhikkhūnt who has been inhibited from the Exhortation until such time as her case has been settled.’

Now at that time the venerable Udāyi, after having inhibited the Exhortation (to one or more Bhikkhūnt), went away on a journey. The Bhik-

¹ *Āvaranan ti vihārapavesane nivāraṇam*, says Buddhaghosa.

khunts murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: 'How can the venerable Udāyi [act so]?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to go on a journey after having inhibited the Exhortation. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time foolish and incompetent Bhikkhus inhibited the Exhortation.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'The Exhortation is not, O Bhikkhus, to be inhibited by a foolish, incompetent Bhikkhu. When such a one does so, he shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time Bhikkhus inhibited the Exhortation without grounds and without cause.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to inhibit the Exhortation without ground and without cause. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time Bhikkhus, who had inhibited the Exhortation, would not give a decision (on the matter out of which the inhibition arose).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'When, O Bhikkhus, you have inhibited the Exhortation, you are not to abstain from giving a decision (on the matter out of which the inhibition arose). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

4. Now at that time Bhikkhunts did not go to the Exhortation. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhunt, O Bhikkhus, is not to omit going to the Exhortation. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to the rule¹.'

¹ Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiya LVIII.

Now at that time the whole Bhikkhuni-saṃgha went to the Exhortation together. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying : 'There are their wives, there are their mistresses ; now will they take pleasure together.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'The whole Bhikkhuni-saṃgha is not, O Bhikkhus, to go to the Exhortation together. And if it should so go, it is guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, four or five Bhikkhunis to go together.'

[The same when four or five went the decision ending,]

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, two or three Bhikkhunis to go together to Exhortation ; and let them go up to some one Bhikkhu, and arrange their robes over one shoulder, and, sitting down on their heels, let them stretch forth their joined palms, and thus address him : "The Bhikkhuni-saṃgha salutes the feet of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and requests permission to come for the purpose of the Exhortation being held ; may that be granted, they say, to the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha."

'Then he who is entrusted with the recitation of the Pātimokkha is to ask : "Is there any Bhikkhu who has been appointed to hold the Exhortation of the Bhikkhunis?"

'If a Bhikkhu has been appointed thereto, the reciter of the Pātimokkha is to say : "Such and such a Bhikkhu has been appointed to hold Exhortation to the Bhikkhunis. Let the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha come to him accordingly."

'If no Bhikkhu has been appointed thereto, the reciter of the Pātimokkha is to say : "Which of the venerable ones is able to hold Exhortation to

the Bhikkhuns?" If any one is able to do so, and is possessed of the eight qualifications¹, he is to appoint him thereto, and is to say: "Such and such a Bhikkhu is appointed to hold Exhortation to the Bhikkhuns. Let the Bhikkhuns-saṃgha come to him."

'If no one is able to do so, the reciter of the Pātimokkha is to say: "There is no Bhikkhu appointed to hold Exhortation to the Bhikkhuns. May the Bhikkhuns-saṃgha obtain its desire in peace²."'

5. Now at that time Bhikkhus did not accept the (office of holding) Exhortation. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'The Exhortation is not, O Bhikkhus, to be declined. Whosoever shall not accept it, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was stupid. To him the Bhikkhuns went, and said: 'Sir, please to accept the (duty of holding) Exhortation.'

'I, sister, am stupid. How can I accept the Exhortation?'

'You should take it, Sir; for thus has it been laid down by the Blessed One: "Bhikkhus are to accept the (duty of holding) Exhortation to the Bhikkhuns."'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, all the rest, save the stupid, to accept the Exhortation.'

[The same repeated of a sick Bhikkhu, and a

¹ These are given at length in the Sutta Vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya XXI, 2, 1.

² Pāsādikena sampādetu, on which Buddhaghosa has no note. Perhaps 'by means of faith' would be a better rendering.

Bhikkhu on a journey. The same case put of a Bhikkhu living in the jungle. The decision is,]

‘I allow a Bhikkhu living in the jungle, O Bhikkhus, to accept the Exhortation, and to appoint a time and place for the meeting¹, saying: “There will I perform it.”’

Now at that time Bhikkhus accepted the Exhortation, but did not perform it. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘The Exhortation, O Bhikkhus, is not to be neglected. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhunts did not attend at the place appointed. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunt is not, O Bhikkhus, to omit attending at the place appointed. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

10.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhunts wore long girdles, and out of them they arranged fringes². The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: ‘As the women who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world do!’

¹ On *saṃketam*, see our note above on Mahāvagga VIII, 23, 3.

² Pāsuke namentiti gihidārikāyo viya ghanapaṭṭakena kāya-bandhanena pāsuke namanattāya bandhanti, says Buddhaghosa. Pāsuka is probably equal to the Sanskrit pārsvaka, and means a fringe arranged round the body, as shown in Plate LI of Cunningham’s ‘Bharhut Tope,’ being so called from the rib-like arrangement of the strings or cloth or other substance of which it was made. On corresponding girdles worn by men and forbidden to Bhikkhus, see Kullavagga V, 29, 2.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to wear a long girdle. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow a Bhikkhunī, O Bhikkhus, a girdle that will go once round the body¹, and fringes are not to be arranged in it. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhunis arranged fringes in cloth of bambū fibre², or in leather, or in white cotton cloth³, or in plaited cotton cloth⁴, or in fringed cotton cloth⁵, or in white or in plaited or in fringed kola cloth⁶, or in plaits or fringes made of thread. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: ‘As the women who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world do!’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to wear any of these things. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

2. Now at that time Bhikkhunis had their backs scrubbed with the steak-bone of an ox, or slapped with the jaw-bone of an ox; and had their fore-arms⁷,

¹ Ekapariyākatan ti ekavāram parikkhipanakam, says the Samanta Pāsādikā.

² Vilivena pattenāti (sic) saṇheti veḷuviḷvehi (sic) katapaḷḷena.

³ Dussapaḷḷenāti setavatthapaḷḷena.

⁴ Dussaveniyāti dussena kataveniyā.

⁵ Dussapaḷḷiyāti dussena katapaḷḷiyā.

⁶ Kolapaḷḷādisu kolakāvāsam kolan ti veditabbam.

⁷ Hattham koḷḷāpentīti aggam bāham koḷḷāpetvā morapat-tādīhi kīttakam karonti, says Buddhaghosa. The meaning is not clear. No. 10 of the tattoo marks figured on Plate LII of Cunningham’s ‘Bharhut Tope,’ referred to in the note on the next section, is a representation of a peacock’s feathers. On aḷḷilla, see Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 327 of the text. Compare the prohibition of the use by Bhikkhus of back-scratchers and other like things (Kulavagga V, 1, 1) connected with shampooing or luxurious bathing.

and the backs of their hands¹, and their calves², and the upper part of their feet³, and their thighs, and their faces, and their gums, so slapped. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: 'As the women who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world do!'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to [do any of these things]. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

3. Now at that time the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhuns [&c., down to]

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to anoint her face, nor to rub ointments on to her face⁴, nor to put chunam on to her face, nor to smear red arsenic on to her face, nor to paint her body, nor to paint her face, nor to paint her body and face. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

4. [Similar paragraph concluding,]

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to make (tattoo marks) by the corners of her eyes⁵, or on her cheeks⁶, nor to peep out of window⁷, nor to stand in the

¹ Hattha-kokkhan ti piṭṭhi-hattham.

² Pādan ti gaṅgham.

³ Pāda-kokkhan ti piṭṭhi-pādam.

⁴ This paragraph has already occurred above, V, 2, 5 of the Bhikkhus.

⁵ These two injunctions are found also in the 90th and 91st Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiyas.

⁶ Avaṅgam karontīti avanga-dese adhomukham lekham karonti (B.). Avaṅga=Sanskrit apāṅga.

⁷ Visesakam karontīti ganda-padese vikītra-saṇhānam visesakam karonti (B.). A number of tattoo marks on the cheeks are figured in Plate LII of Cunningham's 'Bharhut Tope.'

⁸ Oloketīti vātapānam vivaritvā vīthim oloketi (B.).

light (of a half-opened door)¹, nor to have dances performed, nor to keep courtesans, nor to keep a tavern, nor to keep a slaughter-house, nor to open a shop, nor to practise usury, nor to supply men slaves or women slaves, or men servants or maid servants, or animals, nor to carry on the business of florist and seedsman², nor to carry the razor case³.

[Similar paragraph concluding,]

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to wear robes that are all of a blue, light yellow, crimson, black, brownish-yellow, or dark yellow colour : nor to wear robes with skirts to them which are not made of torn pieces of cloth, or are long, or have flowers worked on them, or cobras' hoods; nor to wear jackets, nor dresses made of the fibre of the Tīrītaka plant⁴. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

11.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhunī, when on her death-bed, said: 'After I am gone, let my set of necessities⁵ belong to the Samgha.' Then the

¹ Sâloke tiṭṭhantīti dvārom vivaritvā upaddha-kāyam dassentiyo tiṭṭhanti (B.). Compare Theri-gāthā 73.

² Harītaka-pannikam pakinantīti harītakañ k'eva panninīka pakinanti, pakinnakāpanam pasārentīti vuttam hoti (B.). Compare pannika-upāsako in the Gāṭaka I, 411=II, 180.

³ Namatakam dhāreti. See V, 27, 3, and our note above on V, 11, 1. The expression evidently means here 'to be a barber.'

⁴ This paragraph has already occurred above, in respect to the Bhikkhus (Mahāvagga VIII, 29), where see our notes on the various items.

⁵ Parikkhāro; that is, the eight things over which a member

Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunts disputed as to it, saying: 'It belongs to us; it belongs to us.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'If, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhuni, or a novice under training to become one (a Sikkhamânâ), when on her death-bed, should say: "After I am gone, let my set of necessities belong to the Samgha," then it is the Bhikkhuni-samgha it belongs to; the Bhikkhu-samgha is not the owner thereof. If a Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, or a novice under training to become one (a Sâmañera), when on his death-bed, should say: "After I am gone, let my set of necessities become the property of the Samgha," then it is the Bhikkhu-samgha it belongs to; the Bhikkhuni-samgha is not the owner thereof¹.'

12.

1. Now at that time a certain woman, who had formerly belonged to the clan of the Mallas², had entered the Order of the Bhikkhunts. She, seeing a weakly Bhikkhu on the road, struck up against him with the edge of her shoulder, and knocked him over. The Bhikkhus murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: 'How can a Bhikkhuni assault a Bhikkhu?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhuni is not, O Bhikkhus, to assault a

of the Buddhist Order was allowed proprietary rights—the three robes, the alms-bowl, razor, needle, girdle, and water-strainer.

¹ By the rule laid down in the Mahāvagga VIII, 27, the set of robes and the bowl are to be assigned by the Samgha to those that waited on the sick—at least in the case of Bhikkhus,—and the analogy would doubtless hold good of the Bhikkhunīs also.

² Well known as wrestlers.

Bhikkhu. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I prescribe that a Bhikkhunta, O Bhikkhus, on seeing a Bhikkhu, should get out of the way when still at a distance, and make room for him.'

13.

1. Now at that time a certain woman, while her husband was on a journey, became with child by a paramour. She had a premature delivery, and asked a Bhikkhunta, a confederate of hers, to carry away the foetus in her bowl. And that Bhikkhunta put it into her bowl, and, covering it over with her upper robe, went away.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, who was on an alms-pilgrimage, had made a vow not to partake of the first food given to him until he had already given of it either to a Bhikkhu or to a Bhikkhunta. On seeing the Bhikkhunta, that Bhikkhu said: 'Come, sister! take some food.'

'No thank you, Sir.'

[And a second and a third time the Bhikkhu made the same request, and received the same reply. Then he said,]

'Sister! I have made a vow not to partake myself of the first food given to me until I have already given of it either to a Bhikkhu or to a Bhikkhunta. Come, sister! take the food.'

Then that Bhikkhunta, being so pressed by the Bhikkhu, pulled out her bowl, and showed him what was inside of it. And the Bhikkhu was indignant, and annoyed, and remonstrated, saying: 'How can you do such a thing?' And he told the Bhikkhus, and they were indignant, &c., and told the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhant is not, O Bhikkhus, to carry away a foetus in her bowl. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow a Bhikkhant, O Bhikkhus, on seeing a Bhikkhu, to pull out her bowl, and show it to him.’

The following short section will scarcely bear translating into modern English.

15.

1. Now at that time the people gave food to the Bhikkhus, and the Bhikkhus gave to the Bhikkhants. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: ‘How can their reverences give away to others what was given for them to have—as if we did not know how to give gifts?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is not to give away to others what was given for them themselves to have. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus had come into the possession of some (meat for) food. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give it to the Samgha.’

Too much came into their possession.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give away that which was given to special individuals (and to keep that which had come into the possession of the Samgha as a whole¹).’

¹ Puggalikam dātum. On this phrase compare the similar one below at X, 24. Buddhaghosa has no note either here or there.

Now at that time food, which had been stored up for the Bhikkhus, had come into their possession.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow food that has been stored up to be enjoyed by the Bhikkhuns after they have had it given over to them by the Bhikkhus.’

2. [The same repeated, reading Bhikkhuni for Bhikkhu, and vice versâ.]

16.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus had come into the possession of some bedding, and the Bhikkhuns had none. The Bhikkhuns sent a messenger to the Bhikkhus, saying: ‘It would be well if their reverences the Bhikkhus would give us some bedding on loan¹.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give bedding to the Bhikkhuns on loan.’

2. Now at that time Bhikkhuns, in their courses, sat down or lay down on stuffed bedsteads and chairs, and the stuffing was soiled with blood.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhuni is not, O Bhikkhus, to sit down or lie down on a stuffed bedstead or chair. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow the use, O Bhikkhus, of an indoor’s robe².’

The indoor’s robe got soiled.

¹ *Tāvakālikam*. See the passages quoted in our note above on *Kullavagga* VI, 18.

² *Āvasatha-kīvaram*. See the Old Commentary on this word as occurring in the 47th Bhikkhuni Pāṭittiya.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a thigh-cloth (a cloth to reach nearly down to the knee¹).’

The thigh-cloth slipped down.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow it, O Bhikkhus, to be fastened by a thread to be tied round the thigh.’

The thread broke.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a loin-cloth, and a string going round the hips (to keep it up)².’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhunis used to wear the hip-string always. The people murmured, &c., saying: ‘Like the women who still enjoy the pleasures of the world!’ They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhuni is not, O Bhikkhus, to wear a hip-string for constant use³. I allow its use to one who is in her courses.’

¹ *Âni-kolakam*. Buddhaghosa has no note on this. *Âni* must be here ‘that part of the leg immediately above the knee, the front of the thigh.’ Compare Böhlingk-Roth s. v. Nö. 2.

² *Samvelliyaṃ kaṭi-suttakam*. The *samvelliyaṃ* is the ordinary undress as worn for the sake of decency, even now, by a labourer working in muddy paddy fields, or at any severe task. It is a wedge-shaped strip of cotton cloth about a foot and a half long, about five inches wide at one end, and tapering down to one inch in width at the other. The broad end is fixed on to a string going round the waist (*kaṭi-suttakam*), and hangs down, when put on, in front of the legs. When worn under other clothes, it remains so; but when the other clothes are taken off for work the narrow end is passed under the body between the legs, and twisted round the hip-string behind (at the small of the back) so as to keep it fast. Its use is forbidden to Bhikkhus at V, 29, 5, where Buddhaghosa says, ‘Such as wrestlers and labourers wear.’

³ Its use is also forbidden to Bhikkhus (above, *Kullavagga* V, 2, 1).

17.

1. Now at that time there were found among the Bhikkhunis some who were [deformed in one or other of eleven ways]¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a woman on whom the upasampadā initiation is being conferred, is to be questioned as touching the four-and-twenty Disqualifications². And thus, O Bhikkhus, is she to be questioned :

(1-11) “Have you any one or other of the eleven deformities [each repeated as above]?”

(12-16) “Have you any of the following diseases—leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, or fits?”

(17) “Are you a human being³?”

(18) “Are you a female?”

(19) “Are you a free woman?”

(20) “Are you free from debts?”

(21) “Are you not in the king’s service?”

(22) “Have your father and mother given their consent?”

(23) “Are you full twenty years of age?”

(24) “Are you duly provided with robes and alms-bowl?”

“What is your name?”

. ¹ Here follow a number of abnormities, deformities, or diseases, all of which have reference to the womb or its accessories. Some of them are unintelligible to us. Compare the corresponding section in respect to Bhikkhus at Mahāvagga I, 68.

² Of these twenty-four, eleven are the deformities just referred to, and the rest are the same as those for Bhikkhus at Mahāvagga I, 76. The number of questions is, in fact, twenty-six, but the last two do not refer to Disqualifications.

³ For the reason of this, see Mahāvagga I, 63.

“What is the name of your proposer¹?”

2. Now at that time Bhikkhus put the questions as touching the Disqualifications to Bhikkhuns², and they who were seeking after the upasampadâ initiation became disconcerted and perplexed, and were unable to answer.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that initiation is to be conferred in the Bhikkhu-saṃgha upon a Bhikkhunī who has been initiated on the one side in the Bhikkhunī-saṃgha, and has there cleared herself (from the Disqualifications).’

Now at that time the Bhikkhuns questioned those who desired to receive the upasampadâ initiation about the Disqualifications, without having had them instructed beforehand (how to answer). The persons who desired to be ordained became disconcerted and perplexed, and were not able to answer³.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you first instruct the women about to be initiated (how to answer), and that you then question them as to the Disqualifications.’

Then they instructed the candidates in the midst of the assembly, and they still became disconcerted, and could not answer.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Pavattinī; corresponding to upagghāya in the case of Bhikkhus.

² This is in accordance with the rule laid down in X, 2, 2, that Bhikkhus, and not Bhikkhuns, are to confer the upasampadâ.

³ This paragraph is word for word the same as Mahāvagga I, 76, 2 of the Bhikkhus.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that they be instructed aside, and then questioned in the midst of the assembly.

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, ought they to be instructed:—First they ought to be made to choose an instructor¹; when they have chosen an instructor their robes and bowl must be shown to them: “This is your alms-bowl, this is your waist-cloth, this is your upper garment, this is your under garment, this is your vest, this is your bathing dress². Go and stand in such and such a place.”’

3. Ignorant and incompetent (Bhikkhunis) instructed them, and they became disconcerted, perplexed, and unable to answer.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘They are not to be instructed, O Bhikkhus, by unlearned, incompetent Bhikkhunis. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that they be instructed by learned and competent Bhikkhunis.’

4. Bhikkhunis not appointed (to the office of doing so) instructed them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, instruct them without

¹ *Upaggham*. It should be observed that this expression is found only here, and in the corresponding section for the Bhikkhus, at Mahāvagga I, 76, 3. Elsewhere, throughout, *Upagghāya* is the form used for Bhikkhus, and *Pavattinī* for Bhikkhunis. The word is probably here also, as in the Mahāvagga I, 76, 3, to be taken as a masculine.

² These last two are omitted in the corresponding section for the Bhikkhus, Mahāvagga I, 76, 3. On *Samkaṭṭhikam*, see the note of the Old Commentator on the 96th Bhikkhunī Pākittiya, and on *Udaka-sāṭikā*, the same on the 22nd Bhikkhunī Pākittiya.

having been appointed thereto. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhuni appointed to the office instruct them.

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, ought she to be appointed—one may either appoint herself, or one may be appointed by another. And how is a Bhikkhuni to appoint herself? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhuni lay the following motion (ñatti) before the Saṃgha: “Let the Saṃgha, reverend Ladies, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from the venerable lady, M. M. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, I will instruct N. N.” Thus may a Bhikkhuni appoint herself.

‘And how is a Bhikkhuni to be appointed by another? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhuni lay the following resolution before the Saṃgha: “Let the Saṃgha, reverend Ladies, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from the venerable lady, M. M. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let A. A. instruct N. N.” Thus may one Bhikkhuni be appointed by another.

5. ‘Then let that so appointed Bhikkhuni go to the person who is seeking to be initiated, and thus address her: “Listen to me, N. N. This is the time for you to speak the truth, to declare that which is. When you are asked about what has happened before the Saṃgha, you ought, if it is so, to answer: “That is so;” if it is not so, to answer: “That is not so.” Be not perplexed, be not disconcerted. I shall ask you thus: “Are you deformed (&c., down to the end of the twenty-six questions in § 1).”’

(After the instruction was over, the instructor and the candidate) returned together to the assembly.

‘They are not to return together. Let the instructor return first, and lay the following resolution before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from the venerable lady, M. M.; and she has been instructed by me. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let N. N. come forward.” Then let her be told to come forward. Then let her be told to adjust her upper robe over one shoulder only, to bow down before the Bhikkhunts, to sit down on her heels, and stretching forth her joined palms, to ask for the upasampadā initiation, saying: “I ask the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, for initiation. May the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, raise me up (out of the worldly life), having pity on me.” And a second and a third time is she to repeat that request.

6. ‘Then let a learned and competent Bhikkhunt lay the following resolution before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, hear me. This person, N. N., desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from M. M.; and she has been instructed by me. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let me question N. N. as touching the Disqualifications. Listen to me, N. N. [as before, down to the end of the questions].”

7. ‘Then let a learned and competent Bhikkhunt lay the following motion before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, hear me. This person, N. N., desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from the venerable lady, M. M. She is free from the Disqualifications, and is duly provided with alms-bowl and robes. This person, N. N., asks the *Samgha* for the upasampadā initiation, the vene-

rable lady, M. M., being her proposer. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* receive N. N., the venerable lady, M. M., being her proposer. That, then, is the motion.

“Let the *Samgha*, venerable Ladies, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ, the lady, M. M., being her proposer. The *Samgha* confers the upasampadâ upon N. N., the lady, M. M., being her proposer. Whosoever of the venerable ones agrees thereto, let her keep silence; whosoever agrees not thereto, let her speak. A second time I say the same thing.” [The whole of this paragraph repeated.] And a third time I say the same thing. [Paragraph repeated.]

‘The *Samgha* has conferred the upasampadâ upon N. N., the lady, M. M., being her proposer. The *Samgha* agrees thereto. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.’

8. ‘Then, further, let her be taken before the Bhikkhu-*samgha*, and there told to arrange her robe over one shoulder only, to bow down before the Bhikkhus, and, sitting down on her heels, to stretch forth her joined palms, and say: “I, Sirs, N. N., who, being desirous of receiving the upasampadâ initiation from M. M., have received it on the one side (of the *Samgha*, from the Bhikkhunts), and have there been declared free (from the Disqualifications), do hereby ask the *Samgha* for the upasampadâ.” [The rest of the proceedings are the same as before the Bhikkhunī-*samgha*.] “May the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, raise me up (out of the worldly life), having pity on me.” And a second time do I hereby ask [&c., repeated]. And a third time do I hereby ask [the same repeated].

[The rest of the proceedings are the same as in the last sections 6 and 7, putting 'Bhikkhu' for 'Bhikkhunī,' and 'reverend Sirs' for 'reverend Ladies.']

'Then, further, let them (the Bhikkhus) measure the shadow, tell (the newly-received Bhikkhunī) what season and what date it is, tell her what part of the day it is, tell her the whole formula¹, and tell the Bhikkhunis: "You are to teach her what are the three things allowed², and what are the eight things interdicted³."' "

18.

Now at that time Bhikkhunis wasted their time in the dining-hall, doubting as to which should take which seat.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the senior eight Bhikkhunis shall take their seats according to seniority, and the rest as they happen to come in.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunis, on the ground that the Blessed One had so prescribed, let the eight senior Bhikkhunis in every other place take

¹ *Samgāti*. On the meaning of this curious use of the word, see our note on the corresponding section for the Bhikkhus (*Mahāvagga* I, 77).

² The three *Nissayas*, which are doubtless the same as the 1st, 2nd, and 4th of the four Resources mentioned in the corresponding paragraph for Bhikkhus (*Mahāvagga* I, 77). The third is forbidden to Bhikkhunis, below, X, 23.

³ *Aṭṭha akaraṇiyāni*. These must bear the same relation to the eight Bhikkhunī *Pārāgikas* as the four Interdicts in the corresponding paragraph for the Bhikkhus (*Mahāvagga* I, 78) do to the four Bhikkhu *Pārāgikas*.

exclusive possession (of the first eight seats), and the rest arranged themselves as they came in.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, as above, only in the case of the dining-hall. Everywhere else let there be no exclusive right to seats by seniority.’

19.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhuns did not hold Pavâranâ.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunî is not, O Bhikkhus, to omit holding Pavâranâ. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to law¹.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhuns held Pavâranâ by themselves, and not in the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunî is not, O Bhikkhus, to hold Pavâranâ apart, and not in the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to law².’

Now at that time Bhikkhuns holding Pavâranâ with the Bhikkhus only, and not apart by themselves, disturbed (the meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunî is not, O Bhikkhus, to hold Pavâranâ with the Bhikkhu-saṃgha only. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata².’

Now at that time Bhikkhuns spent all their time

¹ The 57th Bhikkhunî Pâkittiya, which is the same as the 4th Garudhamma above, X, 1, 4.

² See last note.

before noon holding Pavāraṇā [and so had no time left for the early meal].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that they hold Pavāraṇā in the afternoon.’

When holding Pavāraṇā in the afternoon, they had not time enough [to conclude their own ceremony that day, and take part in that of the Bhikkhus].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow them, O Bhikkhus, to hold their own Pavāraṇā one day, and that with the Bhikkhus the next day.’

2. Now at that time the whole of the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha declaring, each one for herself, her Pavāraṇā before the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, disturbed (the proceedings).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that some one learned and competent Bhikkhuni be deputed to make the Pavāraṇā invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha before the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. And thus, O Bhikkhus, is she to be deputed :

“First, the Bhikkhuni is to be asked (whether she be willing to serve). When that has been done, a learned and discreet Bhikkhuni is to lay this motion before the Saṃgha : Let the Saṃgha, venerable Ladies, hear me. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha depute N. N. to make the Pavāraṇā invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha before the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. That is the motion.

“Let the Saṃgha, venerable Ladies, hear me. The Saṃgha deposes N. N. to make the Pavāraṇā invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha before the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. Whosoever of the venerable

ones approves thereof, let her keep silence. Who-soever approves not thereof, let her speak.

“ N. N. is deputed by the *Samgha* to make the Pavâranâ invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-samgha before the Bhikkhu-samgha. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

3. ‘When that Bhikkhuni has been deputed, she, accompanied by the Bhikkhuni-samgha, is to go before the Bhikkhu-samgha, arrange her robe over one shoulder, bow down before the Bhikkhus, and sitting on her heels, to stretch forth her joined palms, and say: “The Bhikkhuni-samgha invites the Bhikkhu-samgha (to point out to them any faults they may have committed) in respect of things heard, or seen, or suspected. May the Bhikkhu-samgha speak to the Bhikkhuni-samgha (if there be anything wherein they have offended) out of compassion toward them. Then will they, if they perceive the offence, confess the same. And a second time the Bhikkhuni-samgha [the whole repeated]. And a third time [the whole repeated]”¹.’

20.

Now at that time Bhikkhunis inhibited Bhikkhus from the Uposatha, or from the Pavâranâ, or from the Exhortation, or issued commands to them, or asked them to give them leave to rebuke them, or warned them of some offence they supposed they

¹ This, of course, is the same form that each separate member of the Order uses before his or her own *Samgha*. Compare our notes above on the corresponding passage in the Mahāvagga, IV, 1, 4.

were committing, or called upon them to remember whether or not they had committed an offence¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to perform any one of these official acts towards a Bhikkhu. Should she do so, the act is itself invalid, and she is guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhus inhibited Bhikkhunis [&c., as before, giving the contrary decision].

21.

Now at that time the *Kāḍḍaggiya* Bhikkhunis had themselves carried in vehicles to which cows were yoked with a bull between them², or bulls were yoked with a cow between them. People were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying: ‘That is what is done at the feast of the Gaṅgā, and the Maḥi³.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to be carried in a vehicle. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to law⁴.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhunī was sick, and unable to go on foot.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow the use of a carriage, O Bhikkhus, to a sick (Bhikkhunī)⁴.’

¹ On all these official acts of a Bhikkhunī, see the notes above on *Kullavagga* I, 5.

² On all these expressions, see our notes above at *Mahāvagga* V, 9, 3, where they recur word for word.

³ This is the 85th Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiya.

⁴ This is repeated from the 85th Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiya. The corresponding permission is given to Bhikkhus by *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 2.

Now the Bhikkhuns thought: 'Should the carts be yoked with cows or bulls?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a cart yoked with cows or bulls, or drawn by hand¹.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhuni was much distressed by the jolting of the cart.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a litter or sedan chair².'

22.

1. Now at that time a courtesan named *Addhakâsî*³ had adopted the religious life under the Bhikkhuns, and she wanted to go to Sâvatthi to be received as full member of the Order (to receive the upasampadâ initiation) by the Blessed One himself. And men of abandoned life heard of it, and beset the road. And when *Addhakâsî*, the courtesan, heard that they had done so, she sent a messenger to the Blessed One, saying: 'I want to receive the upasampadâ initiation: what course of action should I adopt?'

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, addressed the Bhikkhus, after delivering a religious discourse⁴, and said: 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to confer the upasampadâ initiation (upon Bhikkhuns) even by a messenger⁵.'

¹ *Hattha-vaṭṭakam*. See the note on Mahāvagga V, 10, 3.

² So also for Bhikkhus at Mahāvagga V, 10, 3.

³ On the meaning of this nickname or epithet, compare our note on Mahāvagga VIII, 2 (and see also VIII, 1, 1, and 3).

⁴ As set out in *Kullavagga* I, 1; Mahāvagga I, 35, 6.

⁵ The ordinary rule, no doubt, required, as in the case of Bhik-

2. They conferred it by (sending) a Bhikkhu as the messenger.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to confer the upasampadā initiation on a Bhikkhunī by sending a Bhikkhu as messenger. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

They conferred it by sending a female student a male novice a female novice an ignorant, incompetent Bhikkhunī, as the messenger.

[Similar decision in each case.]

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to confer the upasampadā initiation by sending a learned, competent Bhikkhunī as a messenger.'

3. 'That Bhikkhunī messenger is to go before the Saṃgha, and arranging her robe over one shoulder, is to bow down before the Saṃgha, and sitting on her heels, to stretch forth her joined palms, and say: "N. N., having been desirous of receiving the upasampadā initiation with the lady, M. M. (as her proposer), has received it on the one hand from the Bhikkhunī-saṃgha, and has there been declared free (from the Disqualifications)¹. But she is prevented by some danger or other from coming before the Saṃgha (to have her initiation confirmed)². N. N. asks the Saṃgha for initiation. Let the Saṃgha raise her up (out of the worldly life) out of compassion upon her.' [To be said thrice.]

khus, a Saṃgha of not less than ten persons (Mahāvagga I, 31, 2, and IX, 4, 1), each of ten years standing or more (Mahāvagga I, 31, 8). But even for Bhikkhus there were, under special circumstances, certain relaxations of this rule (Mahāvagga V, 13, 11).

¹ See above, X, 17, 1, for the twenty-four Disqualifications.

² Compare above, X, 1, 4, and X, 17.

‘ Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu lay the motion before the *Samgha*. “ Let the *Samgha*, venerable Sirs, hear me. N. N., having been desirous [statement of fact, as before]. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* confer the upasampadâ initiation upon N. N., M. M. being her proposer. That is the motion.

“ Let the *Samgha*, venerable Sirs, hear me. N. N., [statement of fact, as before]. The *Samgha* hereby confers the upasampadâ initiation upon N. N., M. M. being her proposer. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. And a second time I say the same thing. N. N., (&c., down to) let him speak. And a third time I say the same thing. N. N., (&c., down to) let him speak.

“ The *Samgha* has hereby conferred the upasampadâ initiation upon N. N., M. M. being her proposer. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”’

‘ Then, further, let them (the Bhikkhus) measure the shadow, tell (the messenger that she may tell the newly-received Bhikkhuni) what season and what date it is, tell her what part of the day it is, tell her the whole formula ; and tell the Bhikkhunis to teach her what are the three things allowed, and what are the eight things interdicted¹.’

23.

Now at that time Bhikkhunis dwelt in the forest, and men of abandoned life violated them.

¹ See above, X, 17, 8.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to adopt the forest life. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.’

24.

1. Now at that time a certain lay disciple had given to the Bhikkhunī-saṃgha a servant’s lodge² (to live in).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a stable.’

It did not satisfy (their wants)³. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a separate residence for Bhikkhuns.’

That did not satisfy their wants. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, building operations⁴ (to be carried on for the benefit of Bhikkhuns).’

¹ Compare Mahāvagga I, 30, 4, and I, 77, and our note above on X, 17, 8.

² This word has already occurred, in a list of various buildings, at Mahāvagga III, 5, 9, where we have rendered it stable. Budhaghosa says here uddositan (MS. udosita) ti bhandā-sālā, and as at Mahāvagga I, 61, assa-bhandā and hatthi-bhandā are evidently grooms attending on horses or elephants (compare Gāṭaka I, 62, 3), bhandā-sālā may mean a servant’s hall for the use of that particular class of servants. A lawsuit about an uddosita forms the Introductory Story to the 1st Bhikkhunī Saṃghādisesa, but the passage throws no light on the special meaning of the term. See also the Sutta-vibhaṅga on Nissaggiya II, 3, 5, and Khudda Sikkhā III, 19. The Sanskrit equivalent might perhaps be udavasita, if the reading of the Samanta Pāsādikā had any traditional value; but the dd is not doubtful in the MSS. of the text at any of the passages quoted. Assa-sālā is the word for stable at Gāṭaka I, 62, 3.

³ Na sammati. See the note on V, 13, 3.

⁴ Navakammam. See the note above at V, 13, 3.

That did not satisfy their wants. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow Bhikkhuns, O Bhikkhus, to assign certain places to live in to individual members of the Order¹.’

25.

1. Now at that time a certain woman who had already conceived, but did not know it, was received into the Order among the Bhikkhuns. Afterwards her womb moved within her². Then that Bhikkhunī thought: ‘How shall I now conduct myself towards this child?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow her, O Bhikkhus, to bring it up till it have attained to years of discretion³.’

Then the Bhikkhunī thought: ‘It is not permissible for me to live alone, nor for any other Bhikkhunī to live with a male child. What course ought I to pursue?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow the Bhikkhuns, O Bhikkhus, to depute any one Bhikkhunī, and give her as a companion to that (first-mentioned) Bhikkhunī.’

¹ Puggalikam kâṭum. See the note above on X, 15, 1.

² There is a touching story founded on a similar incident which is given as the Introductory Story to No. 12 of the *Gātakas*, translated in Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ pp. 199–205. By the 61st Bhikkhunī Pākittiya it is lawful or unlawful to initiate a pregnant woman according as she is unconscious or conscious of the fact of her conception.

³ Viññutam pāpunāti. That is, no doubt, to puberty. Compare the opening phrases of the Introductory Story referred to in the last note (*Gātika* I, 231) and also *Gātika* III, 437.

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, is she to be appointed : First that Bhikkhunī ought to be asked (whether she be willing to undertake the duty). After she has been asked, a learned and competent Bhikkhunī ought to lay the motion before the Saṃgha, saying :

“Let the Saṃgha, venerable Ladies, hear me. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha depute N. N. as a companion to M. M. That is the motion.

“Let the Saṃgha,”’ [&c., as usual, to the end of the Kammavâḥā.]

2. Then that companion Bhikkhunī thought : ‘Now how should I conduct myself towards this child ?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe that the Bhikkhunis, O Bhikkhus, conduct themselves towards that child precisely as they would towards other men, save only as regards the sleeping under the same roof¹.’

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhunī, who had been guilty of a grievous offence, was living subject to the Mānatta penance². Then that Bhikkhunī thought : ‘It is not permissible for me to live alone, and it is not permissible for any other Bhikkhunī to live with me. What now ought I to do ?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow the Bhikkhunis, O Bhikkhus, to depute any one Bhikkhunī, and to give her as a companion to that Bhikkhunī. And thus, O Bhikkhus, ought

¹ Sāgāram ; on which Buddhaghosa has no note.

² For what this implied, see Kullavagga II, 1, 2, and II, 6, 1, and compare the 5th Garudhamma above, X, 1, 4.

she to be deputed [&c., as in last section but one, down to the end of the Kammavâkâ].'

26.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhuni first abandoned the precepts, and then threw off the robes¹. Afterwards she came back, and asked the Bhikkhunis to admit her into the Order again.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhuni ought not, O Bhikkhus, to abandon the precepts. But by having thrown off the robes she is ipso facto incapable of being a Bhikkhuni.'

2. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhuni, though still wearing the orange-coloured robe, joined a sect of the Titthiyas. Afterwards she came back, and asked the Bhikkhunis to receive her into the Order again.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhuni, O Bhikkhus, who, when still wearing the orange-coloured robe, has gone over to the Titthiyas, is not to be received again².'

27.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhunis, fearing to offend, would not let men salute them, or cut their hair or nails, or dress their wounds.

¹ On the distinction between these two phrases, see the note on Mahāvagga II, 22, 3.

² For the similar rule in the case of Bhikkhus, see Mahāvagga I, 38, 1.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow them, O Bhikkhus, to permit those things.’

2. Now at that time Bhikkhunts, when sitting on a divan, allowed (other people thereon) to touch them with their heels.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to sit on a divan¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhunī was sick, and without using a divan she could not be at ease.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow Bhikkhunts, O Bhikkhus, to use a half-divan².’

3. [Rule as to construction of privies³.]

4. Now at that time the Bhikkhunts used chunam at their baths.

People murmured, saying, ‘As the women in the world do!’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to use chunam at her bath. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of clay and the red powder of rice husks⁴.’

¹ Pallaṅkam. Compare Mahāvagga V, 10, 4, 5; Kullavagga V, 37, VI, 8, VI, 14; and the 42nd Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiya.

² Aḍḍha-pallaṅkam. Probably a cushion, which only one person could use at a time.

³ Compare the Rules for the Bhikkhus, Kullavagga VIII, 9, 10, which we have also left untranslated. Buddhaghosa says here, Heṭṭhā-vivaṭe upariḷḷhanne ti ettha saṅge kūpo khato hoti upari pana padaramattam eva sabba-disāsu paññāyati evarūpe pi vaṭṭati.

⁴ Kukkusam. Buddhaghosa says here, Kukkusam mattikan

[Similar paragraph, ending]

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to use scented clay at her bath¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of common clay.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunis bathing together in the steam-bath room made a tumult.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Bhikkhunis are not, O Bhikkhus, to bathe in a steam-bath. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunis bathing against the stream allowed the rush of water against them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to bathe against the stream. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunis bathed in a place not a common bathing-place, and men of abandoned life violated them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to bathe at a place not a common bathing-place. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunis bathed at a bathing-place used also by men. People murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying, 'As those women do who are still living in the pleasures of the world¹.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

ti kundakañ k' eva mattikañ ka. The use of these last two was allowed to Bhikkhus by Kullavagga VI, 3, 1, for building purposes.

¹ This is apparently covered by the 88th and 89th Bhikkhunī Pāṭikkhiya.

‘A Bhikkhū is not, O Bhikkhus, to bathe at a bathing-place used also by men. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, Bhikkhūs, O Bhikkhus, to bathe at a bathing-place used by women.’

End of the Third Portion for Recitation.

End of the Tenth Khandhaka, the Bhikkhū-
Khandhaka.

ELEVENTH KHANDHAKA.

ON THE COUNCIL OF RĀGAGAHA.

1¹.

1. Now the venerable Mahâ Kassapa addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Once I was travelling along the road from Pāvā to Kusinârā with a great company of the Bhikkhus, with about five hundred Bhikkhus. And I left the high road and sat myself down at the foot of a certain tree.

'Just at that time a certain naked ascetic (*âgīvaka*), who had picked up a Mandârava² flower in Kusinârā, was coming along the road towards Pāvā. And I saw him coming in the distance, and on seeing I said to him:

"O, friend! surely thou knowest our Master?"

"Yea, friend, I know him. This day the Samāna Gotama has been dead a week. That is how I obtained this Mandârava flower."

'Then, Sirs, of those of the Bhikkhus who were not yet free from their passions, some stretched out

¹ The following section differs from the corresponding passage in the 'Book of the Great Decease' (VI, 36-41) in the very curious and instructive way pointed out by H. O. in the Introduction to his edition of the text, p. xxvi, on which see the remarks of Rh. D. at p. xiii of the General Introduction to his 'Buddhist Suttas.'

² This was a flower which was supposed to grow only in heaven, and its appearance on earth showed that the devas, on some special occasion, had been casting down heavenly flowers upon the earth.

their arms and wept; and some fell headlong on the ground; and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

'But those of the Bhikkhus who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief, collected and composed at the thought: "Impermanent are all component things. How is it possible [that they should not be dissolved]?"

'Then I, Sirs, spake thus to the Bhikkhus: "Enough, Sirs! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One already declared to us that it is the very nature of all things near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, Sirs, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!"

'Then at that time¹, Sirs, one Subhadda, who had gone out from the world in his old age, was seated there in the company of Bhikkhus. And Subhadda, the late-received one, said to the Bhikkhus: "Enough, Sirs! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samāṇa. We used to be annoyed by being told, 'This beseems you, this beseems you not.' But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do¹."

¹ In the 'Book of the Great Decease' the following speech comes before the preceding one.

‘Come, Sirs, let us chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and what is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those who hold to the Dhamma become weak; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful, and those who hold to the Vinaya become weak!’

2. ‘Let then the venerable Thera choose out Bhikkhus.’

Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa chose out five hundred Arahats less one. And the Bhikkhus said to the venerable Mahâ Kassapa: ‘Lord, this venerable one, Ānanda, although he have not yet attained [to Nirvāṇa], yet is he incapable of falling into error through partiality, or malice, or stupidity, or fear, and thoroughly have the Dhamma and the Vinaya been learnt by him from the Blessed One himself. Therefore let our Lord choose the venerable Ānanda. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa chose also the venerable Ānanda.’

3. Then it occurred to the Thera Bhikkhus: ‘In what place shall we now chant over together the Dhamma and the Vinaya?’ And it occurred to the Thera Bhikkhus: ‘In Râgagaha is alms plentiful, and there is abundance of lodging-places. What, now, if we were to spend the rainy season at Râgagaha, and chant the Dhamma and the Vinaya together there: and if no other Bhikkhus were to go up to Râgagaha for the rainy season¹?’

4. Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa laid the

¹ This last was necessary, for if other Bhikkhus spent the Was at Râgagaha, either they must take part in the council, or its

resolution before the *Samgha*: 'Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* appoint that these five hundred Bhikkhus take up their residence during the rainy season at Râgagaha, to chant over together the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and that no other Bhikkhus go up to Râgagaha for the rainy season. This is the resolution. Let the venerable *Samgha* hear. The *Samgha* appoints accordingly. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The *Samgha* has appointed accordingly. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'

5. So the Thera Bhikkhus went up to Râgagaha to chant over together the Dhamma and the Vinaya. And the Thera Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has spoken in praise of the repair of dilapidations. Let us, then, during the first month of the rainy season repair such dilapidations, and during the middle month let us chant over the Dhamma and the Vinaya together.' And during the first month they repaired dilapidation.

6. And the venerable Ânanda—thinking, 'Tomorrow is the assembly, now it beseems me not to go into the assembly while I am still only on the way (towards Arahatsip)'—spent the whole night with mind alert. And at the close of the night, intending to lie down, he inclined his body, but before his head reached the pillow, and while his feet were still far from the ground, in the interval he became

decisions would have been invalid through its being incompletely constituted (want of *vaggatta*).

free from attachment to the world, and his heart was emancipated from the *Âsavas* (that is to say, from sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance)¹.

7. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa laid the resolution before the *Samgha*: 'If the time seem meet to the *Samgha*, I will question Upâli concerning the *Vinaya*.' And the venerable Upâli laid a resolution before the *Samgha*: 'Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, I, when questioned by the venerable Mahâ Kassapa, will give reply.'

Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa said to the venerable Upâli: 'Venerable Upâli, where was the first *Pârâgika* promulgated?'

'In *Vesâlî*, Sir.'

'Concerning whom was it spoken?'

'Concerning *Sudinna*, the son of *Kalanda*.'

'In regard to what matter?'

'Sexual intercourse.'

Thus did the venerable Mahâ Kassapa question the venerable Upâli as to the matter, as to the occasion, as to the individual concerned, as to the (principal) rule, as to the sub-rule², as to who would be guilty, and as to who would be innocent³, of the first *Pârâgika*.

¹ In other words, he became an *Arahat*. Some MSS. omit the clause about the feet.

² *Anupaññatti*. Turnour (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1837, p. 19) translates this word, which is not in Childers, by 'the sequel or application of the exhortation.' We think the *paññatti* refers to the principal rule (as laid down in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* at the close of I, 5, 11), and the *anupaññatti* to the additions made to it in the following sections.

³ This last clause doubtless refers to the closing words in the account given in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* of each rule.

‘Again, venerable Upâli, where was the second Pârâgika promulgated?’

‘At Râgagaha, Sir.’

‘Concerning whom was it spoken?’

‘Dhaniya, the potter’s son.’

‘In regard to what matter?’

‘The taking of that which had not been given¹.’

Thus did the venerable Mahâ Kassapa question the venerable Upâli as to the matter, and as to the occasion, and as to the individual concerned, and as to the (principal) rule, and as to the sub-rule, and as to who would be guilty, and as to who would be innocent of the second Pârâgika.

‘Again, venerable Upâli, where was the third Pârâgika promulgated?’

‘At Vesâlî, Sir.’

‘Concerning whom was it spoken?’

‘A number of Bhikkhus.’

‘In regard to what matter?’

‘Human beings².’

Thus did the venerable Mahâ Kassapa question the venerable Upâli as to [all the particulars, as before] of the third Pârâgika.

‘Again, venerable Upâli, where was the fourth Pârâgika promulgated?’

‘At Vesâlî, Sir.’

‘Concerning whom was it spoken?’

‘The Bhikkhus dwelling on the banks of the Vaggumudâ river.’

‘In regard to what matter?’

¹ That is, ‘theft.’

² That is, murder or manslaughter. ‘The slaying of’ is to be understood.

‘Superhuman conditions.’

Thus did the venerable Mahā Kassapa question the venerable Upāli as to [all the particulars, as before] of the fourth Pārāgika. And in like manner did he question him through both the Vinayas¹; and as he was successively asked, so did Upāli make reply.

8. Then the venerable Mahā Kassapa laid a resolution before the Saṃgha: ‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Saṃgha, I would question Ānanda concerning the Dhamma.’

And the venerable Ānanda laid a resolution before the Saṃgha: ‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Saṃgha, I, as questioned by the venerable Mahā Kassapa, will give reply.’

And the venerable Mahā Kassapa said to the venerable Ānanda: ‘Where, venerable Ānanda, was the Brahmaṅgāla spoken?’

‘On the way, Sir, between Rāgagaha and Nalanda, at the royal rest-house at Ambalattikā².’

‘Concerning whom was it spoken?’

‘Suppiya, the wandering ascetic, and Brahmadatta, the young Brāhman.’

Thus did the venerable Mahā Kassapa question

¹ Ubhato-vinaye. That is, relating on the one hand to Bhikkhus, and on the other to Bhikkhunīs (not Sutta Vibhaṅga and Khandhakas). The Burmese MS. at Berlin reads ubhato-vibhaṅge, suggested possibly by Buddhaghosa’s expression in the corresponding part of his accounts of this Council at the commencement of the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī and the Samanta Pāsādikā (see Turnour, loc. cit., and H. O., Vinaya III, 290.)

² In the text read rāgāgāraḥ, as suggested in the notes at p. 329, and confirmed by the Sutta itself (ed. Grimblot).

the venerable Ânanda as to the occasion of the Brahmagâla, and as to the individuals concerning whom it was spoken.

‘And again, venerable Ânanda, where was the Sâmañña-phala spoken?’

‘At Râgagaha, Sir; in Givaka’s Mango Grove.’

‘And with whom was it spoken?’

‘With Agâtasattu, the son of the Vedeht.’

Thus did the venerable Mahâ Kassapa question the venerable Ânanda as to the occasion of the Sâmañña-phala, and as to the individual concerned. And in like manner did he question him through the five Nikâyas, and as he was successively asked, so did Ânanda make reply.

9. Then the venerable Ânanda spake thus to the Thera Bhikkhus: ‘The Blessed One, Sirs, at the time of his passing away, spake thus to me: “When I am gone, Ânanda, let the Samgha, if it should so wish, revoke all the lesser and minor precepts¹.”’

‘Did you then, venerable Ânanda, ask the Blessed One which were the lesser and minor precepts?’

‘No, Sirs.’

Some Theras then said that all the rules save the four Pârâgikas; others that all save those and the thirteen Samghâdisesas; others that all save those and the two Aniyatas; others that all save those and the thirty Nissaggiyas; others that all save those and the ninety-two Pâkittiyas; others that all save those and the four Pâridesaniyas were lesser and minor precepts.

Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa laid a resolution before the Samgha: ‘Let the venerable

¹ ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ VI, 3.

Samgha hear me. There are certain of our precepts which relate to matters in which the laity are concerned. Now the laity know of us that "such and such things are proper for you *Samanas* who are *Sakyaputtiyas*, and such and such things are not." If we were to revoke the lesser and minor precepts, it will be said to us: "A set of precepts was laid down for his disciples by the *Samana* Gotama to endure until the smoke should rise from his funeral pyre¹. So long as their teacher remained with these men, so long did they train themselves in the precepts. Since their teacher has passed away from them, no longer do they now train themselves in the precepts.'

'If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, not ordaining what has not been ordained, and not revoking what has been ordained, let it take upon itself and ever direct itself in the precepts according as they have been laid down. This is the resolution.

'Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. [These things being so²] the *Samgha* takes upon itself the precepts according as they have been laid down. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The *Samgha* has taken upon itself the precepts according as they were laid down. Therefore does it keep silence. Thus do I understand.'

10. Now the Thera Bhikkhus said to the vener-

¹ *Dhūmakālikam*. See our note above on VI, 17, 1. *Buddhaghosa* says here, *Dhūmakālikan ti yāva samanassa Gotamassa parinibbāna-kītika-dhūmo paññāyati tāvakālo ti attho*.

² The whole repeated.

able Ānanda : 'That was ill done by thee, friend Ānanda, in that thou didst not ask the Blessed One which were the lesser and minor precepts. Confess thy fault.'

'Through forgetfulness was it, Sirs, that I did not ask that of the Blessed One. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault¹.'

'This also, friend Ānanda, was ill done by thee, in that thou steppedst upon the Blessed One's rainy-season garment to sew it. Confess thy fault.'

'It was not, Sirs, through any want of respect to the Blessed One that I did so. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault.'

'This also, friend Ānanda, was ill done by thee, in that thou causedst the body of the Blessed One to be saluted by women first², so that by their weeping the body of the Blessed One was defiled by tears. Confess that fault.'

'I did so, Sirs, with the intention that they should not be kept beyond due time. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault.'

'This too, friend Ānanda, was ill done by thee, in that even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were given thee by the Blessed One, thou didst not beseech him, saying, "Let the Blessed One remain on for a kalpa! Let the Happy One remain on for a kalpa for the good and happiness of the

¹ Compare Mahāvagga X, 1, 8, at the end.

² It is worthy of notice that this episode is not referred to in the 'Book of the Great Decease' (VI, 23-26. Compare V, 46-51).

great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men¹!" Confess that fault.'

'I was possessed (by the Evil One)², friends, when I refrained from so beseeching him. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault.'

'This also, friend Ānanda, was ill done by thee, in that thou exertedst thyself to procure admission for women into the Dhamma and Vinaya proclaimed by the Tathāgata³. Confess that fault.'

'That did I do, friends, thinking of Mahā Pagāpati the Gotamī, the sister of the Blessed One's mother; his nurse and comforter, who gave him milk; how she, when she who had borne him was dead, herself suckled him as with mother's milk. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault.'

11. Now at that time the venerable Purāṇa was wandering through the Southern Hills with a great company of Bhikkhus, with five hundred Bhikkhus. And when the Thera Bhikkhus had completed the chanting over together of the Dhamma and the Vinaya, he, having stayed in the Southern Hills as long as he thought fit, went on to Rāgagaha to the Veḷuvana, to the Kalandaka Nivāpa, where the Thera Bhikkhus were, and having greeted the Thera Bhikkhus, he took his seat on one side.

¹ This refers to the conversations in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' III, 1-4, and 43-60 (especially 56).

² *Pariyuḥhita-kitto*. The words in parentheses are supplied from the 'Book of the Great Decease,' III, 4, where see Rh. D.'s note on the spelling of the word.

³ *Pabbaggam*, admission into the Order.

When he was so seated, the Thera Bhikkhus said to him :

‘The Dhamma and the Vinaya, friend Purāṇa, have been chanted over together by the Thera Bhikkhus. Do thou, then, submit thyself to and learn the text so rehearsed by them¹.’

‘The Dhamma and the Vinaya, Sirs, have been well sung by the Theras. Nevertheless, even in such manner as it has been heard by me, and received by me from the very mouth of the Blessed One, in that manner will I bear it in my memory.’

12. Now the venerable Ānanda said to the Thera Bhikkhus : ‘The Blessed One, Sirs, said to me at the time of his death : “Let then the Saṃgha, Ānanda, when I am dead, impose the higher penalty on Kḥanna the Bhikkhu².”’

‘Didst thou then, friend Ānanda, ask the Blessed One what the higher penalty was?’

‘I did, Sirs, (and the reply was) : ‘Let Kḥanna the Bhikkhu, Ānanda, say whatever he may wish ; but the Bhikkhus should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him.”’

‘Do thou, then, friend Ānanda, let Kḥanna the Bhikkhu know that the higher penalty has been imposed upon him.’

‘How can I, Sirs, do so? Passionate is that Bhikkhu, and rough.’

‘Go then, friend Ānanda, in company with a number of other Bhikkhus.’

‘Even so, Sirs,’ said Ānanda, in assent to the Thera Bhikkhus. And he took with him a number

¹ Saṅgātim upēhi.

² See ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ VI, 4.

of Bhikkhus, to wit, five hundred Bhikkhus, and embarked on a boat going up stream, and disembarked at Kosambi, and not far from king Udena's park he took his seat at the foot of a certain tree.

13. Now at that time king Udena was enjoying himself in the park together with the ladies of his palace. And the ladies heard that their teacher, the venerable Ānanda, was seated at the foot of a tree not far from the park. And they said to king Udena :

‘ They say that our teacher, the venerable Ānanda, is seated at the foot of a tree not far from the park. We desire, Lord, to go and see him.’

‘ Go, then, and see the Samana Ānanda.’ And they went and saluted the venerable Ānanda, and took their seats on one side. And he instructed, and aroused, and incited, and gladdened them with religious discourse. And when that discourse was concluded, they presented the venerable Ānanda with five hundred robes, and exalted and thanked him for his discourse, and arose from their seats, and saluted him, and keeping him on their right sides as they passed him, they departed thence.

14. And king Udena saw the ladies coming from the distance. And on seeing them he said to them :

‘ Well, did you succeed in seeing the Samana Ānanda ?’

‘ We saw him, Sire.’

‘ Did you present the Samana Ānanda with any gift ?’

‘ We gave, Sire, to the venerable Ānanda five hundred robes.’

Then king Udena was indignant and annoyed, and became angry, saying :

‘How can the Samāna Ānanda accept so many robes? Would he set up as a hawker in cloths, or would he open a shop¹?’

And king Udena went to where the venerable Ānanda was, and after exchanging with him the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, sat down by his side. And when he was so seated, he said to him :

‘Did our ladies come hither, Ānanda?’

‘Yes, great king.’

‘Did they give anything to your reverence?’

‘They gave me, great king, five hundred robes.’

‘And what does your reverence intend to do with those five hundred robes?’

‘I shall divide them, great king, among those of the Bhikkhus whose robes are worn out.’

‘And what do you intend, Ānanda, to do with the worn-out robes?’

‘Of those, great king, we shall make counterpanes.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old counterpanes?’

‘Of those, great king, we shall make bolster cases.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old bolster cases?’

‘Of those, great king, we shall make carpets.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old carpets?’

‘Of those, great king, we shall make towels for the washing of the feet.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old towels?’

¹ Paggâhika-sâlâ, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing.

‘Of those, great king, we shall make dusters.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old dusters?’

‘Those, great king, we shall tear in shreds, and beat up with mud, and use them for making flooring of clay.’

Then king Udena thought: ‘These Sakyaputtiya Samanas make general use of everything in a conscientious way, and take nothing as one man’s peculiar property¹.’ And he presented other five hundred pieces of cloth to the venerable Ānanda.

15. But Ānanda went on to the Ghosita Ārāma, and sat down then on the seat spread out for him. And the venerable *Khanna* went to the place where he was and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And when he was so seated, Ānanda said to him:

‘The *Samgha*, friend *Khanna*, has imposed upon you the higher penalty.’

‘What then, friend Ānanda, is the higher penalty?’

‘You, friend *Khanna*, may say to the Bhikkhus whatever you wish; but the Bhikkhus are neither to speak to you, nor exhort you, nor admonish you.’

‘Shall I not be even a slain man, friend Ānanda, so long as I am neither spoken to, nor exhorted, nor admonished by the Bhikkhus?’ said *Khanna*, and he fainted and fell.

Then the venerable *Khanna*, pained, grieved, and seized with remorse through the higher penalty, remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And ere long he attained to that supreme

¹ Na kulāvam gāmenti, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing.

goal¹ of the higher life for the sake of which men even of good family go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers—yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realise, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that rebirth was at an end for him, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that, after this present life, there would be no beyond²!

So the venerable *Khanna* became yet another among the Arahats. And after he had attained to Arahatship, the venerable *Khanna* went to the venerable *Ānanda*, and said :

‘ Remove from me now, friend *Ānanda*, the higher penalty.’

‘ From the moment, friend *Khanna*, that you had realised Arahatship, from that moment was the higher penalty removed from you.’

16. Now whereas five hundred Bhikkhus, without one failing, without one more, took part in this rehearsal of the Vinaya, therefore is that rehearsal of the Vinaya called ‘ that of the five hundred ³.’

Here ends the Eleventh Khandhaka, on the
Rehearsal by the Five Hundred.

¹ That is, Arahatsip, *Nirvāṇa*.

² This *Nirvāṇa* paragraph is constantly recurring (e.g. ‘ Book of the Great Decease,’ V, 68 ; *Mahāvagga* V, 1, 18 ; *Samyutta* VII, 1).

³ Compare XII, 2, 9.

TWELFTH KHANDHAKA.

ON THE COUNCIL OF VESÂLI.

1.

1. Now at that time, a century¹ after the death of the Blessed One, the Bhikkhus of Vesâli, Vaggians, promulgated at Vesâli the ten theses :—(1) that storing salt in a horn vessel was permissible; (2) that the midday meal might be eaten when the sun's shadow showed two finger breadths after noon; (3) that he who intends to go into the village could begin to eat again after he had once left off; (4) that a number of Bhikkhus residing within the same boundary might hold Uposatha separately; (5) that a *Samgha* not at unity within itself might carry out an official act, undertaking to inform Bhikkhus of it; (6) that it was permissible for a Bhikkhu to do anything adopted as a practice by his *Upagghāya*; (7) that curds might be eaten by one who had already finished his midday meal; (8) that it was permissible to drink unfermented toddy; (9) that a rug or mat need not be of the limited size prescribed if it had no fringe; (10) that it was permissible to receive gold and silver².

¹ As pointed out at p. xxii of our Introduction, we believe this number ought not to be taken too literally, but to be considered a round number.

² The above terms are explained below, §§ 1, 10, and 2, 8.

Now at that time the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, who was wandering through the Vaggian country, arrived at Vesâlî; and there the venerable Yasa stayed at the Mahâvana, in the Kûâgâra Hall.

Now at that time the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî, on Uposatha day, filled a copper pot with water and placed it in the midst of the Bhikkhu-samgha, and said to such of their Vesâlian lay disciples as came there: 'Give, Sirs, to the Samgha a kahâpana¹, or half a one, or a pâda, or a mâsaka. It will be wanted for the Samgha, for the provision of various utensils.'

When they had thus spoken, the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, said to the lay disciples: 'Do, Sirs, nothing of the kind. The use of gold and silver is not allowed to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas. The Sakyaputtiya Samanas neither allow it to be given to them, nor take charge of it. The Sakyaputtiya Samanas are men whose gems and jewelry have been laid aside, and who are without silver and without gold.'

Though the lay disciples from Vesâlî had been thus addressed by the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, they gave money to the Samgha. And the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî, at the close of the night, reserving one portion², divided that money according to the number of the Bhikkhus. And they said to the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka:

'This, friend Yasa, is thy due portion of the money.'

¹ About a penny; on this and the following terms, see Rh. D.'s 'Ancient Coins and Measures, &c.,' p. 6.

² Pañvîso. See Mahâvagga VIII, 27, 4.

‘I have no due portion in that money. I do not allow any money to be given to me.’

2. Then the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī said one to another: ‘This brother, Yasa, the son of Kākandaka, upbraids and reviles, and renders dissatisfied believing and faithful followers. Come, let us carry out against him the Act of Reconciliation¹.’ And they did so.

Then the venerable Yasa, the son of Kākandaka, said to them: ‘It has been laid down, Sirs, by the Blessed One, that a companion shall be appointed to go as messenger with a Bhikkhu against whom the Act of Reconciliation has been carried out². Appoint, Sirs, a Bhikkhu, as companion messenger to me.’ And the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī deputed a Bhikkhu to that work, and gave him as a companion messenger to the venerable Yasa.

And the venerable Yasa, taking the companion Bhikkhu with him, entered into Vesālī, and said to the believing laymen there:

‘I am said, Sirs, to be upbraiding and reviling, and rendering dissatisfied believing and faithful followers, thereby that I have said what is against the Dhamma to be against the Dhamma, and what is Dhamma to be Dhamma, and what is against the Vinaya to be against the Vinaya, and what is Vinaya to be Vinaya.

3. ‘Now the Blessed One was once, Sirs, staying at Sāvattthi in the Getavana, Anātha Pindika’s pleasure-ground. And there, Sirs, the Blessed One exhorted the Bhikkhus, and said:

¹ *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma*. See *Kullavagga* I, 18.

² On *Anudūta*, see *Kullavagga* I, 20–22.

“ There are, O Bhikkhus, four obstructions of the sun and moon, by which when the sun and moon are affected, they give no heat and they give no light, and they are no longer glorious. And what are the four ? They are clouds and fog and dusty smoke and Râhu¹, by which when the sun and the moon are affected they give neither heat nor light nor sheen. Just so, O Bhikkhus, there are four stains by which when Samanas and Brâhmanas are affected they give neither heat nor light nor sheen. And what are the four ? There are some Samanas and Brâhmanas who drink strong drink, and things intoxicating, abstaining not therefrom². This is the first of such stains. And further, O Bhikkhus, there are some Samanas and Brâhmanas who practise sexual intercourse, and abstain not therefrom. This is the second of such stains. And further, O Bhikkhus, there are some Samanas and Brâhmanas who accept silver and gold, abstaining not from the use thereof. This is the third of such stains. And lastly, O Bhikkhus, there are some Samanas and Brâhmanas who gain their livelihood by low arts³, abstaining not from such means of life. This is the fourth of such stains.”

‘ Thus spoke, Sirs, the Blessed One : and when the Happy One had thus spoken, the Master further said :

“ Stained by lust and malice, some Samanas and Brâhmanas,

¹ That is, eclipse.

² It is curious that this matter is not, like all the following, referred to in the Sîlas. See Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 190.

³ Those, namely, which are set out in the Mahâ Sîla (Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ pp. 196–203).

Men blinded by ignorance, praise things that
seem to have delight.

Strong drink they drink and fierce, indulge in
sensual acts,

Devoid of wisdom, silver and gold they take.

And by low arts some Samanas and Brâhmans
live.

Stains are such actions called by the Buddha
of the Solar race,

Stains—by which defiled some Samanas and
Brâhmans,

Impure brutes and unclean, give neither heat
nor light.

Covered rather by darkness, purblind, enslaved
by craving lusts,

They enlarge the realm of death¹, and dread
rebirth they gain."

'It is for upholding this opinion that I, Sirs, have
been said to be upbraiding and reviling and render-
ing dissatisfied believing and faithful followers, in
that I have said what is against the Dhamma to be
against the Dhamma, and what is Dhamma to be
Dhamma; what is against the Vinaya to be against
the Vinaya, and what is Vinaya to be Vinaya.

4. 'And once the Blessed One was staying, Sirs,
at Râgagaha, in the Veluvana, at the Kalandaka
Nivâpa. Now at that time among the royal atten-
dants sitting together in the women's apartment in
the palace, the following saying was heard: "Silver
and gold is allowed to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas.

¹ That is, by being repeatedly reborn they continually die.
*Vaddhenti kârasin ti punappunam kalevara-nikkhipamâna-
bhûmim vaddhenti*, says Buddhaghosa. The word occurs at
Gâtaka I, 146.

The Sakyaputtiya Samanas accept it, and take it in charge." Now at that time Manikû/aka, a village headman, was present. And he said to the people there: "Say not so, Sirs. Neither is silver and gold allowed to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, nor do they accept it, nor take it in charge. The Sakyaputtiya Samanas are men who have laid aside gems and jewelry, and are without silver, and without gold." And the headman, Manikû/aka, succeeded in satisfying them.

'Then the headman, Manikû/aka, went to the place where the Blessed One was and saluted him, and took his seat on one side. And he told the Blessed One the whole matter¹, and said:

"Now am I, Lord, in maintaining as I did, one who speaks according to the word of the Blessed One, one who does not falsely represent the Blessed One, one who does not put forth minor matters in the place of the true Dhamma? And is there anything that leads to blame in such discussion, this way and that, as touching the observance of the rules of the order²?"

"Most certainly, Manikû/aka, in maintaining thus you speak in accordance with my word, and do not represent me falsely, nor put forth minor matters as the true Dhamma. Nor is there anything leading to blame in such discussions. For gold and silver is not allowed, Manikû/aka, to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, nor ought they to accept it, nor take it in charge. Men who have laid aside gems and jewelry are the Sakyaputtiya Samanas,

¹ The whole is repeated in the text.

² The whole of this speech recurs, nearly word for word, in the Mahāvagga VI, 31, 4.

men without silver and without gold. For to whomsoever, *Manikūḷaka*, gold and silver are allowed, to him also the five kinds of sensual pleasure¹ are allowed. And to whomsoever these five kinds of pleasure are allowed, him you may know of a certainty to be following neither the rule of the *Samanas*, nor the rule of the sons of *Sākya*. Although, *Manikūḷaka*, I have said that he who is in need of grass may seek for grass, and he who is in need of wood may seek for wood, and he who is in need of a conveyance may seek for a conveyance, and he who is in need of a servant may seek for a servant; yet have I never said in any way whatever that gold or silver may be sought after or accepted."

'It is for maintaining this opinion that I, Sirs, have been said to be upbraiding and reviling and rendering dissatisfied believing and faithful followers, in that I have said what is against the Dhamma to be against the Dhamma, and what is Dhamma to be Dhamma; that what is against the Vinaya is against the Vinaya, and what is Vinaya is Vinaya.'

5. 'And once, Sirs, the Blessed One at the same place, at *Rāgagaha*, on the occasion of the matter of *Upananda*, the *Sākyan*, distinctly laid down a precept by which gold and silver were forbidden².

'It is for maintaining this opinion that I, Sirs, have been said to be upbraiding and reviling and rendering dissatisfied believing and faithful followers, in that I have said what is against the

¹ Compare *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 2.

² This is set out in full in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* in the Introduction to the 18th *Nissaggiya Pāṭittiya*.

Dhamma to be against the Dhamma, and what is Dhamma to be Dhamma ; that what is against the Vinaya is against the Vinaya, and what is Vinaya is Vinaya.'

6. When he had thus spoken, the lay brethren said to Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka : ' There is but one, Sirs¹, who is a Sakyaputtiya Samana, our master, Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka. All the rest are no Samanas, neither Sakyaputtiyas. Let the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, dwell among us. We will exert ourselves to provide him with robes, and food, and medicine, and the necessities for the sick.'

Then the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, having gained over the lay brethren, returned with the companion Bhikkhu to the Ârâma.

7. And the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî asked the companion Bhikkhu : ' Did Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, obtain, Sir, the forgiveness of the lay brethren ?'

' Evil, Sirs, hath been wrought against us. Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, and he alone has been decided to be a Sakyaputtiya Samana, and all of us neither Samanas nor Sakyaputtiyas.'

Then the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî said : ' The venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, without being deputed by us, has proclaimed to laymen (a false doctrine)². Come, let us carry out the Act of Suspension³ against him.' And

¹ They are speaking to Yasa and the anudâta.

² This cannot refer to the 9th Pâkittiya, which only speaks of making known grievous offences. Ânguttara II, 5, 2 refers to laymen as well as to sâmaṇeras.

³ Ukkhepaniya-kamma. See Kullavagga I, 25.

they assembled together with the intention of doing so.

But the venerable Yasa, the son of Kākandāka, rose up into the sky and descended at Kosambi. And he sent messengers to the Bhikkhus of the Western country, and of Avanti, and of the Southern country¹, saying, 'Let your reverences come! We must take in charge this legal question before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and what is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Dhamma become weak; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Vinaya become weak.'

8. Now at that time the venerable Sambhûta Sāṇavâsî² was dwelling on the Ahogaṅga Hill³. And thither the venerable Yasa, the son of Kākandāka, went; and on his arrival he saluted the venerable Sambhûta Sāṇavâsî, and took his seat on one side: and being so seated he said to him:

'Lord, these Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālî have

¹ On these terms, compare note on Mahāvagga VII, 1, 1.

² Sāṇavâsî is, literally, he who wears a hempen dress. In the traditions of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature we find mentioned a Sāṇavâsika, said to be a predecessor, in the teacher and pupil line, of Upagupta (Wassilief, p. 44). The Nepalese call him Soṇavâsî (Rajendralâl Mitra, 'Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepâl,' p. 10). He is the hero of the Sāṇavâsî Avadāna part of the Bodhisatva Avadāna Kalpalatâ (Mitra, p. 67, Bendall 'Catalogue of Cambridge MSS.,' p. 42), where the name is explained: 'I wished for an ochre-coloured robe (soṇa); hence I was called Sāṇavâsî.'

³ See, for the position of this mountain, our note last quoted.

put forward ten theses.' And he told him what they were¹, and added: 'Come now, Lord, let us take in charge this last question before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and what is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Dhamma become weak; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Vinaya become weak.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsi, in assent to the venerable Yasa Kâkaṇḍaka-putta.

Then about sixty Bhikkhus from the Western country, all of whom were hermits, all of whom lived only on alms, all of whom dressed only in cast-off clothes, and kept only three robes, and all of whom were Arahats, assembled together at the Ahogaṅga Hill. And about eighty-eight from Avanti and the Southern country, some of whom were hermits, and some of whom lived only on alms, and some of whom dressed only in cast-off clothes, and some of whom kept only three robes, but all of whom were Arahats, met together with them on the Ahogaṅga Hill.

9. And the Thera Bhikkhus, consulting together, came to this conclusion: 'This legal question, now, is hard and subtle. How can we obtain such support that we may have the greater power at the decision thereof²?'

¹ In the text the full words of I, 1 are here repeated.

² Compare below, XII, 2, 1.

Now at that time the venerable Revata was dwelling at Soreyya, and he was wise in the traditions, one who had learned the Âgamas (the four Nikâyas), and knew by heart the Dhamma, the Vinaya, and the Mâtikâs ; intelligent, discreet, and wise, modest, conscientious, devoted to the precepts¹. And the Thera Bhikkhus thought that if they could gain him over to their side, they would attain their end.

And the venerable Revata, by the divine ear, clear and surpassing that of men, heard the Thera Bhikkhus as they were thus consulting together ; and he thought : ' This legal question is both hard and subtle, it would not become me to hold back therefrom. But even now those Bhikkhus (the Vaggians) will be coming. It would be unpleasant travelling for me were I to fall in with them. Let me go on before them.'

So the venerable Revata went from Soreyya to Samkassa. And when the Thera Bhikkhus went to Soreyya, and asked : ' Where is the venerable Revata ?' they said : ' He is gone to Samkassa.'

Now the venerable Revata had gone on from Samkassa to Kannakugga. And when the Thera Bhikkhus came to Samkassa, and asked : ' Where is the venerable Revata ?' they said : ' He is gone on to Kannakugga.' And in the same way they followed him thither, and to Udumbara, and to Aggalapura, and to Sahagâti, and there they met with the venerable Revata.

10. And the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsi said to the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandâka :

¹ These adjectives have occurred above at Mahâvagga X, 1, 2, and Kullavagga I, 11, 1.

‘Friend, the brother Revata is wise in the traditions, has learnt the Âgamas, knows by heart the Dhamma, the Vinaya, and the Mâtikâs, he is intelligent, discreet, and wise, modest, conscientious, and devoted to the precepts. If we ask the venerable Revata a puzzling question, he is capable of spending the whole night on that one question. And even now the venerable Revata will call upon a Bhikkhu who is an intoner¹, and a pupil of his. Do you, therefore, when the Bhikkhu has concluded, go to the venerable Revata and ask him concerning these ten theses (points).’

‘Even so, Sir,’ said the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandâka, in assent to the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsi.

And the venerable Revata called upon the Bhikkhu, the pupil of his, the intoner. And when the Bhikkhu had concluded, the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandâka, went to the venerable Revata, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And, so seated, he said to the venerable Revata²:

‘Is the horn-salt-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this horn-salt-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to carry about salt in a horn with the intention of putting it into food which has not been salted?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Is the two-inch-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this two-inch-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to eat the midday meal

¹ Sarabhâṇakam. See our note above at Kullavagga V, 3, 2.

² The whole of the following questions and answers recur below at XII, 2, 8, where the reasons of the answers also appear.

beyond the right time, provided only that the shadow has not yet turned two inches ?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Is the village-trip-license, Lord, allowable?'

'What, Sir, is this village-trip-license?'

'Is it allowable, Lord, for one who has once finished his meal, and refused any more, to eat food which has not been left over, on the ground that he is about to proceed into the village?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Is the circuit-license, Lord, allowable?'

'What, Sir, is this circuit-license?'

'Is it allowable, Lord, for a number of Bhikkhus who dwell within the same circuit, within the same boundary, to hold separate Uposathas?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Is the indemnity-license, Lord, allowable?'

'What, Sir, is this indemnity-license?'

'Is it allowable, Lord, for a Saṃgha, which is not legally constituted¹, to perform an official act on the ground that they will afterwards obtain the sanction of such Bhikkhus who may subsequently arrive?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Is the precedent-license, Lord, allowable?'

'What, Sir, is this precedent-license?'

'Is it allowable, Lord, to do a thing on the ground that, "My preceptor (*upagghâya*) has practised this; or my teacher (*âkariya*) has practised that?"'

'In some cases, Sir, this is allowable, and in some not².'

¹ Vaggena. See our note on the 21st Pâṭittiya, and Kullavagga V, 2, 1.

² That is, of course, according as the thing enjoined is, or is not,

‘Is the churn-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this churn-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, for one who has once finished his meal, and has refused any more, to drink milk not left over from the meal, on the ground that it has left the condition of milk, and has not yet reached the condition of curds¹?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to drink toddy?’

‘What, Sir, is this toddy?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to drink spirits which have left the condition of not being spirits, and yet have not acquired intoxicating properties²?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Is a rug or mat (when it is beyond the prescribed size) lawful, Lord, because it is unfringed?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Is gold and silver, Lord, allowable?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘These are the ten theses, Lord, which these Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî have put forth. Come, Lord, let us take this legal question in hand before that which is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and that which is Dhamma is put aside; before that which is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and that which is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those

lawful. *Ekaṅko kappatī ti idaṃ dhammikaṃ ātinnam sandhāya vuttam*, says Buddhaghosa.

¹ That is, which is neither liquid nor solid: something apparently like buttermilk.

² It is a question constantly arising under the excise laws in India and Ceylon, whether the liquor in the case has become arrack, or is only arrack in the making, and unfermented. This last is called unfermented toddy.

who argue in favour of the Dhamma become weak ; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Vinaya become weak.'

'Even so, Sir,' said the venerable Revata, in assent to the venerable Yasa, the son of Kākandaka.

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

2.

1. Now the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī heard the rumour : 'Yasa, they say, the son of Kākandaka, wishing to take this legal question in hand, is seeking about for support, and support they say he is succeeding in getting.' And they thought : 'This legal question, now, is hard and subtle. How can we obtain such support that we may have the greater power at the decision thereof¹ ?'

And they thought : 'The venerable Yasa, who dwells at Soreyya, is wise in the traditions, and is one who has learnt the Āgamas, who knows by heart the Dhamma, the Vinaya, the Mâtikâs, is intelligent, discreet, and wise, modest, conscientious, and devoted to the precepts. If we could gain him over to our side, we should attain our end.'

Then the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī got together much property, requisites, a number of things of the Samanas' life—to wit, bowls and robes, and rugs, and needlecases, and girdles, and filters, and regulation-pots². And, taking this property with

¹ Compare above, XII, 1, 9.

² On Dhamma-karaka, see our note at Kullavagga V, 13, 1.

them, they went up stream by boat to Sahagâti, and there disembarked, and took their meal at the foot of a certain tree.

2. Now to the venerable Sâḥa, who retired apart and was plunged in meditation, there occurred this doubtful problem: 'Are the Bhikkhus of the East, or the Bhikkhus of the West, the more in accordance with the Dhamma in the opinion that they hold?' And having gone over the Dhamma and the Vinaya in his mind, he came to the conclusion, 'The Bhikkhus of the East are not, and the Bhikkhus of the West are, in accordance with the Dhamma in the opinion that they hold.'

And a certain one of the deities in the Pure Abode¹ perceived how this doubtful problem had arisen in the venerable Sâḥa's mind, and as quickly as a strong man could stretch forth his bent arm, or draw it in again when it was outstretched, so quickly did that deity vanish from the Pure Abode, and appeared before the venerable Sâḥa; saying to him: 'Thou art quite right, Sâḥa; it is the Eastern Bhikkhus whose opinions are against the Dhamma, and the Western Bhikkhus whose opinions accord therewith. Do thou, therefore, O Sâḥa, even as the Dhamma is, so take thy stand!'

'Both formerly, O deity, and now, also, do I take my stand even as the Dhamma is. Notwithstanding, I shall not make manifest my opinion until (the Saṃgha) shall have appointed me (judge) over this question².'

3. Now the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî, taking with them the aforesaid property, went to the place

¹ The Heaven, so called.

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² Compare below, § 6.

where the venerable Revata was, and said to him :
 ' Let the venerable Thera receive at our hands these
 requisites of a Samana's life.'

But he refused to receive it, saying, ' Not so, my
 friends. I have all the things¹ I want.'

Now at that time a Bhikkhu named Uttara, who
 had been twenty years admitted into the Order²,
 was the attendant upon the venerable Revata. And
 the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī went to him, and
 said : ' Let your reverence receive at our hands
 these requisites of a Samana's life.'

But he made the same reply.

Then they said : ' People used to offer such re-
 quisites to the Blessed One. If he received them,
 they were happy. If he did not receive them, they
 used to offer them to the venerable Ānanda, saying,
 " Let the venerable Thera receive these requisites
 of a Samana's life : that will be just as if the Blessed
 One had received them." Let the venerable Uttara
 receive these things : that will be as if the Thera
 had received them.'

Then the venerable Uttara, being thus importuned
 by the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī, accepted one robe,
 saying, ' You may tell me, friends, what you want.'

' Let the venerable Uttara say thus much for us
 to the Thera : " Let the venerable Thera say thus
 much in the meeting of the Saṃgha—" It is in the
 regions of the East that the Buddhas, the Blessed
 Ones, are born. It is the Bhikkhus of the East
 who hold opinions in accord with the Dhamma,
 whereas the Bhikkhus of the West do not.' "'

¹ Literally, 'I have the three robes.'

² *Vīsativasso*; that is, since his *upasampadā*.

‘Even so, Sirs,’ said the venerable Uttara, in assent to the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâli. And he went to Revata, and told him what they had said.

‘Thou urgest me, O Bhikkhu, to that which is against the Dhamma,’ said the Thera, and sent away the venerable Uttara¹.

And the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâli said to the venerable Uttara: ‘What, friend Uttara, did the Thera say?’

‘It is an evil you have wrought me, Sirs. The Thera has sent me away, saying, “Thou urgest me, O Bhikkhu, to what is against the Dhamma.”’

‘Are you not, Sir, of full age, of twenty years (since your upasampadâ)?’

‘Yes, Sirs, I am.’

‘Then do we take the nissaya under you as your pupils².’

4. Now the *Samgha* met together with the intention of deciding the legal question. And the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the *Samgha*, saying,

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If we were to settle this question, it might be that those Bhikkhus who had at first taken the matter in hand might raise it again³. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* settle it at that place where it arose.’

¹ *Pañāmesi*. That is, permanently from attendance upon him. Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 27, 2, where the word is used of the formal dismissal or turning away of a pupil.

² *Garū-nissayaṃ gaṇhāma*; on which Buddhaghosa has nothing, though the phrase does not occur elsewhere in the *Khandhakas*.

³ Compare the 63rd *Pāṭiṭṭiya*.

Then the Thera Bhikkhus went to Vesālī, with the intention of settling the matter there.

Now at that time the eldest Thera in the world, Sabbakāmi by name, one who was of a hundred and twenty years' standing from the date of his upasam-padā, and who had been a pupil¹ of the venerable Ānanda, was living at Vesālī. And the venerable Revata said to the venerable Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi :

'I shall go to that Vihāra in which the Thera Sabbakāmi dwells. Do you go betimes to the venerable Sabbakāmi, and question him as touching these ten points.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi, in assent to the venerable Revata.

And the venerable Revata came to that Vihāra in which the venerable Sabbakāmi lived ; and a sleeping-place was made ready for the former in the inner chamber, and for the latter in front thereof. And the venerable Revata, thinking, 'This Thera, though so old, does not care to sleep,' did not go to rest. And the venerable Sabbakāmi, thinking, 'This Bhikkhu, though a traveller and tired, does not care to sleep,' did not go to rest.

5. Then when the night was far spent, the venerable Sabbakāmi said to the venerable Revata :

'By what manner of life, beloved one, have you lived now these so many years ?'

'By continuing in the sense of love, honoured friend, have I continued thus so many years.'

'They say that you have continued thus, beloved one, by easiness of life : and that indeed, beloved one, is an easy life, (I mean) the continuing in love.'

¹ Literally, 'had dwelt in the same Vihāra with.'

‘Even long ago, Sir, when I was a layman, was much love laid up in my heart, therefore is it that now also I live much in the sense of love, and indeed since long I have attained to Arahatsip. And by what manner of life have you lived now these many years?’

‘By continuing in the sense of the emptiness (of worldly things) have I, beloved one, lived these many years.’

‘They say that you, honoured friend, have continued thus by the sense of being a man born to greatness¹; and that indeed, honoured friend, is the same feeling, (I mean) the sense of the emptiness of things.’

‘Even long ago, beloved one, when I was a layman, had I a strong sense of the emptiness of things, therefore is it that now also I live much in that feeling, and indeed since long I have attained to Arahatsip.’

6. Now² this conversation between the Thera Bhikkhus was still unfinished when the venerable Sambhûta Sâravâsi arrived there. And he went up to the venerable Sabbakâmi, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And, so seated, he said to the venerable Sabbakâmi:

‘These Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî have put forth in Vesâlî these ten points;’ and he told them all³. ‘Now you, O Thera, have mastered much Dhamma and Vinaya at the feet of your preceptor.

¹ Mahâpurisa. On the subsequent history of which word, see Senart’s *Légende du Buddha*, pp. 54, 107.

² Karahi. Compare ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ III, 53; Childers, p. 32.

³ The text repeats XII, 1, 1.

What, then, is the conclusion to which you, O Thera, come as you lay over in your mind the Dhamma and the Vinaya ;—whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma, that of the Bhikkhus of the East, or that of the Bhikkhus of the West ?'

'You also, Sir, have mastered much Dhamma and Vinaya at the feet of your preceptor. What, then, is the conclusion to which you, Sir, come as you lay over in your mind the Dhamma and the Vinaya ;—whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma, that of the Bhikkhus of the East, or that of the Bhikkhus of the West ?'

'The conclusion to which I come, Lord, as I so lay over in my mind the Dhamma and the Vinaya, is this—that the Bhikkhus of the East hold an opinion that is not in accord with the Dhamma, while the Bhikkhus of the West are in accord with the Dhamma. Notwithstanding, I do not intend to make manifest my opinion until (the *Samgha*) shall have appointed me (referee) over this question¹.'

'The conclusion to which I also have come, Sir, as I lay over in my mind the Dhamma and the Vinaya, is this—that the Bhikkhus of the East hold an opinion that is not in accordance with the Dhamma, while the Bhikkhus of the West are in accord with the Dhamma. Notwithstanding, I do not intend to make manifest my opinion until (the *Samgha*) shall have appointed me (referee) over this question.'

7. Then the *Samgha* met together with the intention of enquiring into this legal question. But while they were enquiring into it, both was much pointless speaking brought forth and also the sense

¹ Compare above, § 2.

in no single speech was clear¹. Then the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the *Samgha* :

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. Whilst we are discussing this legal question, there is both much pointless speaking, and no sense is clear in any single speech. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* settle this legal question by referring it (to a jury)².’

And he chose four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West—from the Bhikkhus of the East the venerable Sabbakâmi, and the venerable Sâḷha, and the venerable Khugga-sobhita, and the venerable Vâsabha-gâmika—and from the Bhikkhus of the West, the venerable Revata, and the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsi, and the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandâka, and the venerable Sumana. Then the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the *Samgha* :

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. During the enquiry into this matter there has been much pointless talk among us, and in no single utterance is the sense clear. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* delegate four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by reference. This is the resolution.

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. During the enquiry into this matter there has been much pointless talk among us, and the sense in any single utterance is not clear. The *Samgha* delegates four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by reference. Whoso-

¹ So above in *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 19, where the proceeding adopted in the subsequent sentences is laid down for use on such an occasion.

² *Ubbâhikâya*. See the passage quoted in the last note.

ever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The delegation is made accordingly. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'

Now at that time a Bhikkhu named *Agita*, of ten years' standing, was the reciter of the *Pâtimokkha* to the *Samgha*. Him did the *Samgha* appoint as seat regulator¹ to the Thera Bhikkhus.

Then the Thera Bhikkhus thought, 'At what place, now, ought we to settle this legal question?' And it occurred to them: 'This *Vâlîka Ârâma* is a pleasant place, quiet and undisturbed. Let us settle the matter there.' And thither the Thera Bhikkhus proceeded to enquire into the question.

8. Then the venerable *Revata* laid a resolution before the *Samgha*²: 'Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, I will question the venerable *Sabbakâmt* as touching the *Vinaya*.' And the venerable *Sabbakâmt* laid a resolution before the *Samgha*: 'If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, I, when asked by *Revata* touching the *Vinaya*, will give reply.'

And the venerable *Revata* said to the venerable *Sabbakâmt*: 'Is the horn-salt-license, Lord, allowable?'

¹ *Âsana-paññâpakam*. This office is not mentioned in the other *Khandhakas*. We should expect to find it at *Kullavagga* VI, 21, 2. The reason of this is that it is no office of authority. The different referees would take their seats in the order of their seniority, and all that the *âsana-paññâpaka* would have to do would be to see that they were provided with everything they required (it was not much, chiefly mats or rugs to sit upon) in the hall or grove where they met.

² Here, of course, consisting of the eight referees.

‘What, Sir, is this horn-salt-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to carry about salt in a horn with the intention of putting it into food which has not been salted?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘At Sâvatthi, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is the person, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pākittiya, in eating food which has been put by¹.’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This first point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the first vote.’

‘Is the two-inch-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this two-inch-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to eat the midday meal beyond the right time, provided only that the shadow of the sun has not yet turned two inches?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where has such a claim been rejected?’

‘At Râgagaha, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pākittiya, in eating at the wrong time².’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This second point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the second vote.’

‘Is the village-trip-license, Lord, allowable?’

¹ Pākittiya XXXVIII.

² Pākittiya XXXVII.

‘What, Sir, is this village-trip-license?’

‘Is it allowable for one who has once finished his meal, and has refused any more, to eat food which has not been left over, on the ground that he is about to proceed into the village?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘At Sāvatti, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pāṭittiya, in eating food which has not been left over¹.’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This third point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the third vote.’

‘Is the circuit-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this circuit-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, for a number of Bhikkhus who dwell within the same circuit, within the same boundary, to hold separate Uposathas?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘At Rāgagaha, in the Uposatha Saṃyutta².’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Dukkata, in neglecting the Vinaya.’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This fourth point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the fourth vote.’

¹ Pāṭittiya XXXV.

² Saṃyutta must here be used for Khandhaka. The passage referred to is Mahāvagga II (the Uposatha Khandhaka), 8, 3.

‘Is the indemnity-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this indemnity-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, for a *Samgha* which is not legally constituted to perform an official act, on the ground that they will afterwards obtain the sanction of such *Bhikkhus* as subsequently arrive?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘In the *Kampeyyaka* section, in the body of the *Vinaya*¹.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of *Dukkata*, in neglecting the *Vinaya*.’

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This fifth point, having been examined into by the *Samgha*, has been found to be false *Dhamma* and false *Vinaya*, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this fifth vote.’

‘Is the precedent-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this precedent-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to do a thing on the ground that “My preceptor (*upaggahâya*) has practised this,” or “My teacher (*âkariya*) has practised that?”’

‘In some cases, Sir, it is allowable, and in some not².’

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This sixth point, having been examined into by the *Samgha*, has been found to be false *Dhamma* and false *Vinaya*, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this sixth vote.’

‘Is the churn-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this churn-license?’

¹ *Vinaya-vatthu*. Here used as a title, apparently of the *Khandhakas*. The passage referred to is in the *Kampeyyaka Khandhaka* (*Mahāvagga* IX, 3, 5).

² See the note above on XII, 1, 10.

‘Is it allowable, Lord, for one who has once finished his meal, and has refused any more, to drink milk not left over from the meal, on the ground that it has left the condition of milk and has not yet reached the condition of curds?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘At Sāvatti, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pāṭittiya, in eating food which has not been left over¹.’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This seventh point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this seventh vote.’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to drink toddy?’

‘What, Sir, is this toddy?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to drink spirits which have not yet become spirits and have not yet acquired intoxicating properties?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was it rejected?’

‘At Kosambi, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pāṭittiya, in the drinking of fermented liquors and strong drink².’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. The eighth point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this eighth vote.’

¹ Pāṭittiya XXXV.

² Pāṭittiya LI.

'Is the unfringed-seat, Lord, allowable¹ ?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Where has it been rejected ?'

'At Savatthi, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.'

'Of what offence is he, who uses such a seat, guilty ?'

'Of Pākittiya, in using a thing which ought to be cut down (to the proper size)².'

'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This ninth point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this ninth vote.'

'Is gold and silver, Lord, allowable ?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Where was it forbidden ?'

'At Rāgagaha, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.'

'Of what offence is he, who takes it, guilty ?'

'Of Pākittiya, in accepting gold and silver³.'

'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This tenth point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this tenth vote.'

'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. These ten points, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, have been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master.'

¹ That is, does the fact of its being unfringed make legal a mat or rug otherwise illegal by reason of its size? See above, XII, 1, 10.

² Pākittiya LXXXIX.

³ The 18th Nissaggiya Pākittiya.

‘¹ This legal question, Sir, has been concluded ; and being settled, it is settled once for all. Nevertheless, Sir, do you question me on these ten points in the midst also of the *Samgha* ², in order to persuade those Bhikkhus ³.’

So the venerable Revata questioned the venerable Sabbakâmi on the ten points also in the midst of the *Samgha*, and as he was questioned on one after the other, the venerable Sabbakâmi gave reply.

9. Now whereas at this rehearsal of the Vinaya seven hundred Bhikkhus, without one more, without one being wanting, took part, therefore is that rehearsal of the Vinaya called ‘That of the seven hundred ⁴.’

Here ends the Twelfth Khandhaka, on the Rehearsal by the Seven Hundred.

¹ It is clear from the word *tvam âvuso*, that Sabbakâmi is here addressing Revata.

² That is not only of the referees, but of all the Bhikkhus there at Vesālī.

³ *Bhikkhûnam saññattiyā*. See the use of this phrase at *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 26, and VII, 4, 1, and our note on the latter of those two passages.

⁴ Compare XI, 1, 15.

NOTE ON THE BHĀNAVĀRAS.

As the division into Bhānavāras or Portions for Recitation is of some value in the history of the way in which the books were handed down, and is now overshadowed by the more practical division for modern purposes adopted in this translation into chapters and sections, the following table may be of use :—

MAHĀVAGGA.

Present division.	Pāli title.	Page in text.	Extent in text.
KHANDHAKA I.			
Chapter 6.	<i>Paṭhama-bhānavāram</i>	14	14
„ 14.	<i>Dutiyaka-bhānavāram</i>	24	10
„ 21.	<i>Uruvela-pāśihāriyam tatiyaka-bhānavāram niṭṭhitam</i>	35	11
„ 24.	<i>Katutthaka-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	44	9
„ 30.	<i>Upagghāya - vatta - bh. niṭṭhitam pañkamam</i>	58	14
„ 33.	<i>Khaṭṭham bhānavāram</i>	61	3
„ 38.	<i>Sattamam bhānavāram</i>	71	10
„ 53.	<i>Abhayūvara-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	81	10
„ 79.		98	? 17
KHANDHAKA II.			
Chapter 16.	<i>Añña-titthiya-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	115	16
„ 27.	<i>Kodanā-vatthu-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	128	13
„ 36.	<i>Uposatha-khandhake tatiyam bhānavāram</i>	136	8
KHANDHAKA III.			
Chapter 8.	<i>Vassāvāsa-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	148	11
„ 14.		155	7
KHANDHAKA IV.			
Chapter 6.	<i>Paṭhama-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	164	9
„ 18.		178	14
KHANDHAKA V has no Bhānavāras, and ends in the			
	text on page	198	20

KHANDHAKA VI.

Chapter 15.	Bhesagga-anuññāta-bh. paṭhamam	209	10
„ 30.	Likkhavi-bh. niṭṭhitam	233	24
„ 33.	Katu-vīsati-bh. niṭṭhitam	240	7
„ 40.		251	11

KHANDHAKA VII.

Chapter 7.	Ādāya-bh. niṭṭhitam	259	7
„ 13.		265	6

KHANDHAKA VIII.

Chapter 1.	Paṭhamaka-bh. niṭṭhitam	281	14
„ 15.	Visākhā-bhānavāram	294	13
„ 32.		310	16

KHANDHAKA IX.

Chapter 4.	Vāsabha-gāma-bhānavāram paṭhamam	322	11
„ 6.	Upāli-pukkā-bhānavāram dutiyam	328	6
„ 7.		333	5

KHANDHAKA X.

Chapter 2.	Dīghāvu-bhānavāram paṭhamam	349	13
„ 6.		359	10

KULLAVAGGA.

KHANDHAKA I-IV. None.

KHANDHAKA V.

Chapter 21.	Dutiya-bhānavāram	129	25
„ 37.		143	14

KHANDHAKA VI.

Chapter 3.	Bhānavāram niṭṭhitam paṭhamam	154	9
„ 11.	Dutiya-bhānavāram	167	13
„ 21.		177	10

KHANDHAKA VII.

Chapter 2.	Paṭhamaka-bhānavāram niṭṭhitam	188	9
„ 3.	Bhānavāram niṭṭhitam dutiyam .	198	10
„ 5.	Bhānavāram niṭṭhitam tatiyam .	206	8

KHANDHAKA VIII.

Chapter 4.	Bhānavāram paṭhamam	215	8
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KHANDHAKA IX.

Chapter 3. Paṭṭhama bhānavāro ¹	247	12
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KHANDHAKA X.

Chapter 8. Paṭṭhama-bhānavāram	261	9
„ 16. Duttiya-bhānavāram	271	10
„ 27. Tatiya-bhānavāram	281	10

KHANDHAKA XI has none	292	9
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KHANDHAKA XII.

Chapter 1. Paṭṭhama-bhānavāram	301	8
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On this it may be observed—

1. The last Bhānavāra in each Khandhaka is not referred to either by name or by number, except in Mahāvagga II, and in Kullavagga VII and X. In the Mahāvagga fourteen of the Bhānavāras have special titles, independent of their number in the particular Khandhaka.

2. Probably two Bhānavāras in Mahāvagga V, all the Bhānavāras in Kullavagga I–IV, and the first in Kullavagga V, are not noticed in the printed text.

3. Making allowance for these we have in the Mahāvagga 31 (? 32) Bhānavāras, occupying about 350 pages of Pāli text, and about 610 pages in our translation. In books V–XII of the Kullavagga we have 20 Bhānavāras, occupying about 200 pages of Pāli text, and about 350 pages in our translation. Total 51 (? 52) Bhānavāras, occupying about 550 pages of Pāli, and about 960 pages of translation.

4. As in the printed text repetitions have been avoided by a mode of reference to former passages which was impossible in the MSS., the average length of the matter contained in a Bhānavāra, as written much more in full in the MSS., would be somewhat greater than its average length as actually printed. It would probably amount to what, if printed verbatim, would occupy in space not much less than a sheet of the size and type used in the edition of the text. Thus the three Bhānavāras in Mahāvagga VIII, which owing to the subject-matter are printed with only a few such contractions, occupy respectively 14, 13, and 16 pages of the text.

¹ Sic. This is the only instance in the Vinaya of a masculine use of the word.

5. The recital in the usual sara-bhañña (or intonation, see *Kullavagga* V, 3) of such a 'portion for recitation' would occupy in time about half-an-hour.

6. Spence Hardy informs us in his 'Eastern Monachism' (p. 168) that the *Dīgha Nikāya* contains 64, the *Magghima Nikāya* 80, the *Samyutta Nikāya* 100, and the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* 120 *Bhānavāras*. In fact it is only a few of the longer Suttas in the first two collections which are actually divided into *Bhānavāras* in the MSS.; and only the longer *Nipātas* in the *Āṅguttara*. There are no *Bhānavāras* in the *Eka-* and *Duka-Nipātas* of that collection; and there are also none in the *Samyutta Nikāya*, and none in any of the books of the later literature contained in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (including all those in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*) as yet published.

7. The division into *Bhānavāras* is not made use of in many books of the *Piṭakas* themselves, or in the fifth-century commentaries of Buddhaghosa and others. In the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* it is only used in *Pārāgikas* I-III, and in the *Parivāra* not at all. When Spence Hardy says therefore (loc. cit. p. 172) that the *Piṭakas* and commentaries combined contain 5347 *Bhānavāras*, he must be referring to a mere calculation and not to the actual use of the MSS. On the other hand, the fact of *Bhānavāras* being used in the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Khudda-sikkhā* may possibly afford some clue to the age in which those works were composed.

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VOLUMES XIII, XVII, XX.

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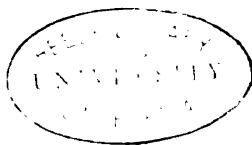
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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.									
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 3 (ng) } { 𐬚 (N) }	.	.	.	.	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬛 (ḥ hr)	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	च	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	k
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	छ	.	.	.	.	.	kh
15 Media	.	g	.	ज	.	.	.	.	.	.
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	झ	.	.	.	.	.	.
17 " Nasalis	ñ	.	.	ञ	.	.	.	.	.	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . .	य	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init.	𐬨	ي	ي	,	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 „ lenis	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 „ asper assibilatus	. . .	s	. . .	श	𐬨	𐬨	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 „ lenis assibilatus	. . .	z	. . .	. . .	𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز	. . .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . .	त	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	. . .	. . .	थ	𐬨	𐬨	تھ	تھ	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . .	द	𐬨	𐬨	د	د	. . .	. . .
27 „ aspirata	dh	. . .	. . .	ध	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 „ assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . .	न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	. . .	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . .	ल	𐬨	𐬨	ل	ل	. . .	l
31 „ mollis 1	. . .	l	. . .	ळ	𐬨	𐬨	ل	ل	. . .	. . .
32 „ mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . .	स	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	. . .	s
34 „ asper 2	. . .	s (ʃ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 „ lenis	z	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز	. . .	z
36 „ asperimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
37 „ asperimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z

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